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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

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BY

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PASSING PITEFULL HEXAMETERS

A STUDY OF QUANTITY AND ACCENT IN ENGLISH
RENAISSANCE VERSE

THE Tudor movement for imposing classical metres on English verse has several claims on the attention of literary and linguistic historians. It admirably supplements the deductions drawn from Grammarians and Orthoepists as to the prevalent lack of realism in facing phonetic actualities; it marks the emergence of a prosodic consciousness and it provides an invaluable introduction to the fundamental assumptions and the governing habits of the Elizabethan critical mind.

There is no explicit early Tudor prosody, and in particular no indication of what theories (if any) the poets held as to the internal structure and modulation of the English line. In spite of what is said in text-books as to the 'breakdown' after Chaucer due to linguistic change, Skelton can, in his roomy and breezy way, achieve what effects he pleases. Wyatt and Surrey were undoubtedly faced with certain problems which they incompletely solved, but this was because their 'reforms' were even more formal and stylistic than they were prosodic. Because at the present day we are habituated to the notion of stress as, however loosely and in whatever combination with other factors, governing rhythm, it is assumed in studies of early Tudor poetry that the poets had analysed out this concept and that they knew that they were, or ought to be, writing accentual verse. The 'advance' of Surrey over Wyatt is accordingly expressed in terms of the deliberate adjustment of word- and sentence-stress to metrical pattern¹. What little evidence there is goes to show that this is too modern a point of view.

The question of the interior structure of the line becomes a matter of theoretical discussion with the initiation of the Quantity *versus* Rhyme controversy by that Cambridge circle of Cheke, Watson and their friends from whom Ascham derived his inspiration. The poet has, at all periods,

¹ See, as one instance out of many, a recent article by H. J. Byrom: *The Case for Nicholas Grimalde as editor of 'Tottel's Miscellany'*, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. xxvii, April, 1932, p. 138: '...the rule [established by Surrey] that metrical accent shall always fall on the word which bears the sentence stress and on the syllable of that word normally stressed in speaking.' There is no evidence known to the present writer that sentence-stress was 'crystallised out' as a prosodic principle during the sixteenth century.

his own guides of ear, instinct and tradition; the layman seeks to understand. Ascham's words leave no room for doubt that in the early and mid-Tudor period there was no general understanding of the structure of English verse which would enable a humanist to formulate clearly the essential difference in mechanism between the native verse he despised and that which he wished to supersede it. Ascham tries unsuccessfully to explain how Surrey's rhymeless metre falls short of 'trew versifying': Surrey observes 'iust number, and euen feete: but here is the fault, that [his] feete, be feete without ioyntes, that is to say, not distinct by trew quantitie of sillables.' 'Iust number' undoubtedly means the syllabic rule, by which (if anyone took the trouble) Surrey's verse was certainly scanned. The word *accent* is, of course, not used, for it formed no part of the classical prosodist's vocabulary, but there is no hint of recognition of any factor which, in the absence of quantity, differentiates between the syllables; hence the 'feete without ioyntes.' Watson's two hexameters on Ulysses are sufficient to betray the confusion of ideas in this early period and the futility of attempts to reform the prosody of a language of which neither the traditions nor the actual phonetic conditions were understood. If we can trust the printer's spelling Watson must have scanned his lines as follows:

All trāuēllērs dō glādly rēpōrt grēat prāyse ōf Vlyssēs,
Fōr thāt hē knēw mǎny mēns mǎnērs, and sǎw mǎny citiēs¹.

In the opening phrase *tra* is, consistently with the quantitative system, subordinated to *All*; *ell*, however, is scanned as short in spite of the double *l* (which may be the printer's); *ers* is, of course, long by position. If we read *All trāuēllērs* we have a consistently quantitative scansion. In the next line, however, difficulties occur. In *mānērs* the versifier scans with two 'longs' on two incompatible principles (if we accept the printer's spelling): *man* owes its 'length' to the fact that, as the first syllable, it takes stress; *ers* is long 'by position.' If we read *manners* the first syllable owes its 'length' to an orthographical device. Finally, *cities* is, quantitatively, a pyrrhic foot [*sītiz*] however it be spelt. It requires once more the invocation of orthography (*cittiēs*) to turn it into what the Elizabethan eye (not ear) recognised as a trochee (or spondee, since *ie* could, if desired, be claimed as a 'diphthong').

Neither a prosodic theory nor a knowledge of phonetics is essential to the writing of smooth verses. The mediocre versifiers of the mid-century

¹ *English Works of Roger Ascham* (Camb. Eng. Classics), p. 224.

—the Thomas Churchyards and Thomas Phaers—were only too successful in the regular alternation of light and strong syllables. The lyrists were, moreover, in actual touch with musical rhythms and tunes. Some thinking on prosodic lines must have been stimulated by the study of foreign manuals of poetics and by the imitation of models in the foreign vernaculars. With Gascoigne's *Certain Notes of Instruction concerning the Making of English Verse*, 1575, the word *accent* emerges into prosodic discussion. Yet even here, where there is no complication from 'perfitte versifying,' we find the term involved in a haze of confusion, of which the prime cause is an inability or unwillingness to listen to English metrical speech without some very largely irrelevant classical or foreign authority in the hand. By this time the language had been well enough disciplined into a thudding regularity—'the right butter-woman's rank to market.' Gascoigne's word for the 'thud' or stress is emphasis; 'accent' refers rather to the method of marking degrees of emphasis. His terminology has no relation to English and confuses accentual and quantitative principles. He speaks of the 'long' accent and the 'short' accent. He scans an example with accents¹:

Vñlèsse hè bèléue, thàt ál is bùt váyne,

but talks about the alternation of long and short syllables. His discrimination of the different accents is not based upon his working knowledge of English rhythms; it is Priscian more than a little scratched. He professes to find three accents in English: *lenis* (unstressed), *circumflexa* (indifferent—for this he gives no illustration) and *gravis* which 'is drawn out or eleuate and maketh that sillable long wherevpon it is placed.' In spite of these shortcomings, however, the subject has made a great advance; the principle (emphasis) and the accompanying word (accent) have taken their place in English prosodic theory, though, as will appear, it is doubtful whether any of Gascoigne's contemporaries could have glossed him accurately and consistently².

This was in 1575; as late as 1586 we find William Webbe displaying a confusion as much more archaic as his poetic experience and skill were less. The prosodic controversy had made considerable strides by that time. It was in fact at the zenith of its importance. Webbe's professional bias leads him naturally to the classical side. His reading in English poetry was commendably wide and his English style smells but little of the lamp; his notions of verse and language are, however, formal and

¹ Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, p. 50.

² Especially since Gascoigne's terminology differs from the common usage. Elizabethans generally (following Priscian) use *gravis* (not *lenis*) for low or weak, *acuta* for high or strong.

unrealistic. Like Ascham he would not appear to have heard of accent¹ and does not use the term even when he is endeavouring to describe the characteristics of the native 'tynkerly verse.' English prosody, we gather, is mainly a matter of the syllabic rule and rhyme. Each verse must be answerable to the other in respect of equal number of syllables and these verses must 'fall together mutually in Ryme.' The lack of the idea of accent leads to some ineffectual wrestling with an imperfectly apprehended additional principle: words must none of them be wrested 'contrary to the naturall inclination or affectation of the same, or more truely, ye true quantity thereof.' The word *quantity* here merely adds confusion to vagueness².

There can be only one explanation of the curious inhibitions which Elizabethans of Webbe's type display on the subject of accent, so that the one further step in analysis that was required after Gascoigne was still not taken in 1586. In Priscian and his successors the 'accents' are not a matter of the standard versification. To import accent into prosodic discussion was to join that which Priscian had divided. It is perhaps as a result of this humanist or grammarian's inhibition that James VI of Scotland, once tutored by Buchanan, knows nothing of accent or emphasis in his *Revlis and Cawtelis*, 1584, though he wrote with Gascoigne's treatise beside him. From his words we should infer that Scots metres in his day were consistently quantitative: 'all syllabis are deuided in thrie kinds: That is, some schort, some lang, and some indifferent.' He scans in longs and shorts and never mentions any other basis of differentiation between syllables.

Meanwhile acuter minds than that of the wisest fool in Christendom were at work on the question of quantity in English and were becoming aware of some of the difficulties revealed by experiment in quantitative verse. The part played in English speech by some tendency or force often running counter to quantity could not be overlooked except by purists. This tendency is generally called the inclination, affectation, proportion, propriety, or natural force, of the word—in short everything but accent. It was, too, beginning to be perceived that the wholesale application of the law of position in a language as clogged with consonants as English

¹ The word is used in the table of contents in connexion with the prosodic crime of 'wresting the Accent.' If the word is here used as a technical prosodic term (meaning stress) the user can scarcely have been Webbe. But see p. 6 ('accent' in Spenser-Harvey correspondence). For Webbe's remarks above quoted see Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

² Webbe's scansion shows a long-lived confusion. When he illustrates from Phaer and Golding how most English verses run on 'the olde Iambicke stroake' he unthinkingly scans them by longs and shorts, writing the macron over the syllables which he mechanically stressed in reading:

I thāt mý slēndēr oātēn pipe in vērse wās wōnt tō sōunde.

created as many difficulties as it solved. Our chief source of information is the Spenser-Harvey correspondence (1580). From these letters¹ we learn that there were two camps, the 'Die-hards' headed by Archdeacon Drant and the Moderates headed by Gabriel Harvey. Drant had drawn up 'rules' and the members of the Areopagus blotted much paper in the effort to conform with them. It is clear that the 'rules' permitted no tampering with the letter of Latin prosodic law. The rule of position, in particular, was to be absolutely binding. Without the magic of orthography the poets would have been reduced to desperate straits. It is to the credit of the Moderate side that they first saw through this farce of manipulating the spelling.

In the first letter Spenser accuses Harvey of making here and there a breach in Master Drant's rules. Harvey replies with spirit that he has neither heard nor seen Master Drant's rules. In a second long and interesting letter he ranges himself against any attempt to coerce the English language into prosodic forms not in accordance with its normal *pronunciation*. Harvey has penetrated the snares of 'ortographie.' He saw well that no formal rules of position, diphthongs, etc., were possible without either a disregard of spelling or a consistent and standardised adjustment of spelling to pronunciation. The final arbiter of quantity is not what the word can be made to look like, but what we say. The *carpenter* pattern of word had become a principal bone of contention, and Spenser, with the Drantists, stood by the law of position. 'You shal neuer,' says Harvey roundly, 'haue my subscription...(though you charge me with the authoritie of fīue hundreth Maister Drants) to make your *Cārpēntēr*, our *Cārpēntēr*, an inch longer or bigger than God and his Englishe people haue made him.' 'Say you,' he breaks out on another occasion, '*sūddāinlȳ* if you like; by my *cērtāinlȳ* and *cērtāintȳ* I wil not.' He will have no truck with a purely alien law of position: 'Position maketh neither long nor short in our tongue, but so far as we can get her good leaue.' No grammar-school device has this power over our language 'to encrease, or diminish the number of Sillables, but only the common allowed and receiued Prosodye (i.e., pronunciation)...continued by a general use and Custome of all.' In effect Harvey's scansion of such words as *rōyāltȳ*, *mānfūllȳ*, *bārgainēth*, *fōllōwing*, *mērchāndīse* undermines the whole position of quantity, for the refusal of his English ear to register the medial syllables of these words as metrically important (which he would call 'long') is due to their lack of stress. When he scans *hōnēstie* as a dactyl he is indeed

¹ The relevant letters can be found in Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, vol. I.

unconsciously allowing stress to override quantity altogether and giving us an *accentual imitation* (*honestie*) of a classical foot. Except to the purist this seems the obvious way out, and was the way very generally taken. Everything that Harvey has to say on the subject shows his sound instinct for compromise and a grasp of realities quite original in 1580. Yet even he never once defines or clearly names the alien force with which quantity must come to terms. The word *accent* is used occasionally in the correspondence, but only in the common unspecialised senses in which it was (and still is) used in the ordinary spoken language to mean 'fashion of speaking,' or 'method of pronunciation,' as when to-day we speak of a 'provincial' or 'affected' accent. Nor does Harvey anywhere mention stress or emphasis; he gets no nearer than such general terms as *pronunciation*, *proprietie*, *generall receyued custome*, etc.¹ Apart from this limitation, his remarks are the most sensible to be found within the hexameter movement and exercised far-reaching influence.

The period of maximum activity in English hexameters was comprised within the years 1580-92. There is reason to suppose that during these years the fabrication of hexameters, alcaics and sapphics went on apace and became a fashionable toy in scholarly and courtly circles. By 1592, however, the sonnet was well-launched upon its sentimental journey and the hexameter could not compete. It soon began to receive that kind of unwanted advertisement that kills more surely than counter-argument. Nothing in which Harvey took an interest could escape Nashe's ridicule, and Stanyhurst offered to satirist and comic dramatist 'copy' too rich to be ignored. In 1599 an undaunted pedant endeavoured to keep the flag flying by his *First Booke of the Preservation of King Henry VII*. But the hexameter was dead. Campion, in his *Observations* published three years later, admitted the 'passing pitefull' success of this metre in English, and very wisely confined himself to iambic and trochaic measures. Daniel's answering *Defence of Rhyme*, 1603, founds the defence of the native metres on a broader basis than anyone had so far envisaged, and achieved a victory for rhyme so complete that the first readers of *Paradise Lost* were, the printer tells us, 'stumbled as to why the poem rimed not.' Hence the Preface *On the Verse*.

Such, in very rapid survey, is the rise and fall of the prosodic con-

¹ This is the more curious since Harvey read and annotated Gascoigne. The latter, of course, confused the issue by mixing in one paragraph the governing principle of the 'natural Emphasis or sound' and the 'three maner of accents.' Harvey clearly did not recognise anything more definite in 'natural Emphasis' than his own 'natural pronunciation,' for he wrote over it 'Prosodia.'

troversy¹. One of the most interesting and significant points offered by it is the indubitable fact that to the Elizabethan the central principle of the native measures was not stress, but rhyme². It occurred to no one to write a *Defence of Stress*. Stress as the principle of differentiation between syllables and consequently the controller of rhythm lay only partially disentangled before 1589. One explanation is, of course, that the early Elizabethans had not our long non-dramatic blank-verse tradition before them, still less our free verse and other rhymeless forms, to help them to disengage the two principles, or rather, to disengage the structural principle of stress from the ornament of rhyme. Apart from rhyme, the generally recognised principle was the syllabic rule. This is in keeping with the mental habits of the age. Anyone could count and anyone could hear the chime at the ends of the lines. Stress was by comparison incalculable, and most Elizabethan prosodists, even when after Gascoigne's treatise the subject had received some advertisement, felt themselves in need of more guidance on this question than was in that age available for them. Orthography could work marvels for the Drantists and others in the management of formal 'quantity,' but the adherents of the other side, though they were not above helping out their rhymes by the aid of this magic, could derive no leading from it in the matter of stress. Stress did not show; you could not spell it. There was no authority to say where the emphasis came in every type of word. There was only custom, and though we hear more and more of custom from Harvey to Daniel and many fine things were pithily said of it, the average Elizabethan could not derive the warmth and comfort from this abstraction that he drew from a copy of Priscian in the hand.

Spenser was an experimenter in metrical forms all his life and an education in practical prosody to his generation. We know where he stood with regard to the hexameter; we do not know how (in the light or darkness of his classical experiments) he expressed to himself the guiding principles of his English versification. A keen and original sense of rhythm he certainly possessed, particularly at the beginning of his career. Proof can be found in the daring shifts of accent and blending of long and short lines in the April and November odes in the *Shepheards Calender*, and even more in the bold scrapping of the syllabic rule in the February

¹ For more detailed illustrations and a more authoritative comparison of English efforts with classical numbers than can be attempted here see Dr R. B. McKerrow, *The use of so-called classical metres in Elizabethan verse*, *Mod. Lang. Quart.*, iv (1901) and v (1902).

² Convincing proof is offered by the Preface to the *Preservation of Henry VII* where the lines of the plain rhymers are described as 'lines of prose with a Rythme at the end.' In the absence of quantitative pattern it is assumed that there is no government of modulation to distinguish from prose.

metre with its reliance on the four strong beats in every line for the steering of the verses. As the lines are read, even the rhymes seem sometimes to take secondary importance. It is, implicitly, the strongest assertion of the stress-principle in Elizabethan prosody, yet E.K. finds no word in appreciation of this.

The quality of that courtly wit whom it is more convenient to call Puttenham than anything else is nowhere better seen than in the passages of the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), where he deals with this matter of accent, and sanely and realistically compares the native English measures with Latin and Greek numbers¹. At last we have a critic who attaches a definite prosodic meaning to 'accent' and who understands that accent contributes to a mechanism of English verse as legitimate and capable of organisation as the mechanism of the classical metres. He scans English lines by using the acute accent for the stresses, and he speaks not confusedly of long and short accents but of the sharp (i.e., strong) and the flat (i.e., weak)². His appeal is to the ear and his criterion the spoken language: 'And yet if ye will aske me the reason, I cannot tell it, but that it shapes so to myne eare and as I thinke, to euery other mans.' Puttenham had it in him to talk sense on the English hexameter, and when he made up his mind to consider the topic constructively for the benefit of the young poet, we might expect to hear from him the most practical discussion of it. The expectation is only partially fulfilled.

As has already been said, Puttenham is merely deferring to a fashionable topic. The hexameter is not near his heart. Hence the irresponsibility with which he sets out to show 'how...the vse of the Greeke and Latine feete might be brought into our vulgar Poesie, and with good grace inough³.' The result of his earlier sound thinking on English measures is seen in occasional shrewd observations. He is able to penetrate in some degree into the inter-relation in Latin of accent and quantity, as when he notes that the sharp accent did not involve 'any necessary prolongation of their times.' He may be credited with dimly perceiving that English verses, on whatever principle the prosodist constructs them, must, when read, obey their accents and therefore that classical feet, if they are to 'go' in English, must be partly or wholly accentual imitations of the quantitative patterns. This it should not have been difficult to see after Harvey, and there are many examples quoted in different contexts in which Puttenham exemplifies it clearly enough—*mīdnīght*, *brōkēn*,

¹ Ed. Arber, Bk. II, *Of Proportion Poetical*; esp. Ch. III, VI and VIII.

² These terms, of course, based on those derived by Latin grammarians from the Greek, impair the complete realism of Puttenham's descriptions.

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. XII [XIII]. Title-page *et seq.*

dūetifüll, daūngëroūsnēss, etc. But there are too many inconsistencies for us to be sure that he is doing justice to himself on this subject. Unfortunately he has now some Latin manual in his hand, and this gradually asserts its baleful influence. He loses confidence in the principle of the ear, slips into bookishness and wavers on some of the fundamentals on which before he had spoken to very good purpose. He contradicts himself on the subject of orthography. He allows formal precedents in Latin to cloud the distinction between accent and quantity and to lead him back towards Gascoigne's confused terminology. Yet every now and then he fastens on something real. These chapters are, in short, an engaging mixture of good sense and a good ear, half-hearted toying with a modish subject and extreme formalism of the most bookish Elizabethan type. All Puttenham's instincts linked him with the other side. He had been brought up in the tradition of the *Songs and Sonnets*. Had he felt for the classical metres the same craftsman's interest that led him to set forth with eager delight the 'Fuzie or Spindle,' 'the egge displayed,' the 'lozange rabbated,' he would have achieved some lucid thinking on the phonetic and other realities involved. As it is, he plunges in with airy, because untested, confidence. When his mother wit warns him that he is venturing beyond his depth he scrambles out, leaving the hexameter to sink or swim: 'I leaue to speake any more of them...mincing measures which an idle inuentiue head could easily deuise, as the former examples teach.'

Though every critic must pay for his unguarded moments it has fallen unfairly to Puttenham's lot to exemplify in one section of his discussion the Elizabethan critical mind at its most formal and bookish. Since the disregarded realities are in this case phonetic, however, it behoves very few to cast a stone at him. The Elizabethans could not have our notions of natural or scientific law, still less of evolution in language. A people that had not yet heard of the circulation of the blood was not likely to be fruitfully curious about the mechanism of speech. Even so, an age so fertile in rhetorical analogies might have been expected to hit out some constructive analogy between the physical aspects of speech and the body or natural world as, like them, the product of natural processes and under the dominance of growth and change. It seems strange that the intelligent should have found it difficult to think of the quantitative differentiation of vowels as a natural, that is physical, feature of language to be accepted as we accept long days in summer and short in winter. But Nature-in-itself was still too alien and difficult a concept for the humanist. Everything existed either for a purpose or by tradition, and language, as the basis of literature, could not in any of its aspects be thought of

apart from purposive or arbitrary human agency. This habit of mind is excellently illustrated by Puttenham's exposition of the 'pre-election' theory of the origin of quantity. Quantity springs neither from nature nor reason; purely from precedent hardened by custom. The first poets settled it 'at their pleasure or as it fell out.' Homer made all the quantity of the Greeks: 'he that first put in a verse this word *Penelope*, which might be Homer or some other of his antiquitie, where he made *pē* in both places long and *nē* and *lō* short, he might haue made them otherwise and with as good reason.' The prestige of Homer constrained other poets to follow him. The reader is now afire to learn whether Caedmon or Chaucer invented English quantity, but at this point Puttenham, having roundly stated that, though in other rules of 'shortning or prolonging sillables' there may be reason, in this kind of inexplicable quantity there can be nothing but 'bare tradition,' is warned by his good Genius of the uncharted seas ahead¹. Dropping an airy comparison between such prosodical speculations and the 'mysticall constructions of the Cabbalists,' he alters course, and proceeds on his way with a marked diminution of seriousness. By the exercise of such rights of 'pre-election' on the very stuff of our syllables poets became for the Elizabethans 'language-makers,' in far more than the ordinary sense. In the light of these views Spenser's sometimes irritating juggling to secure eye-rhyme as well as ear-rhyme in the *Faerie Queene* and elsewhere becomes a very mild assertion of the poet's prerogatives with language. Ben Jonson's cavil that Spenser 'writ no language' [commonly used by his countrymen] belongs to a later and more realistic attitude of mind.

Of all the curious phenomena associated with the prosodic controversy, there is none so striking as the obsession by 'Ortographie.' It was in vain for men of sense (and there was more sense among the classicists than is generally acknowledged) to protest against this Procrustes method of scansion. They could not save even themselves. It was the law of position very largely which kept the Elizabethan clinging to this raft.

This law, because it invokes factors which can be registered by the eye, soon acquired a bad eminence among the 'classical' rules which were to be imposed upon English versification. Latin spelling in the works of the

¹ In the next chapter (xiii), however, Puttenham, having had occasion to assert himself, begins to think independently, and is at once led to explore certain phonetic explanations of differences of quantity. It is interesting that Stanyhurst (writing six years before the publication of the *Arte of Poesie*), in spite of his lip service to Harvey's principles of obedience to the ear, assumes that, 'having the maidenhead of all works divulged in this metre,' he possesses this right of pre-election: 'in the firste verse of Virgil I make *seasons* long; in another place it will percase stead me more if I make it short, and yet I am now tyed to use it as long.'

classical period was (with certain recognised variations) fixed and was transmitted to the Elizabethans in already carefully edited and standardised French and Italian texts. But an Elizabethan could spell his name in half a dozen different ways, and though the compositors were evolving certain conventions, in most of the manuscripts which the poets wrote themselves and which circulated in competition with printed books, chaos still reigned. It can easily be guessed what inconsistencies and anomalies ensued when the comparatively exact science of Latin prosody was translated into this vague and shifting medium. There was an early Age of Innocence when no one worried; when any short syllable could be made long by doubling the consonant, when most vowels could be written as diphthongs or *vice versa*, and when it was quite naively assumed that types of syllable which were 'common' in Latin would be conveniently common in English also. This period lasts from Ascham to Archdeacon Drant. To this there succeeded a more distracted phase when the hexametrist found himself torn between two or three conflicting loyalties. As a humanist he had his 'rules,' but as an Englishman he could not allow the native bent of his own language to be entirely thwarted. As a poet, or at least a man of sense and taste, he was convinced by audible experiment that no lines, however regularly constructed, would 'go' on quantity alone. Terms must be made between the 'rules' of dead Latin poets and the obstinate, though obscure, forces governing the living language. Harvey and the prosodists after him, in all of whom his influence is at work, saw this quite clearly.

But to act was a different matter. The thought of cutting adrift in practice from the holdfast of Latin precedent induced a sort of paralysis. Webbe provides an excellent example. He was inspired by Ascham and convinced by Harvey. Under the influence of the latter he writes with admirable perspicacity: 'Now as for the quantity of our wordes, therein lyeth great difficultye....For in truth there being such diuersity betwixt our words and the Latine, it cannot stande indeede with great reason that they should frame.' The only hopeful course is for someone of sufficient authority to draw up alternative laws adapted to English, 'such as woulde admitt the placing of your aptest and fullest wordes together.' It cannot be too strongly insisted that to the Elizabethan of this type the ear was no guide: it was impossible to say which syllables were long and which were short simply by listening to them, and then to rely on this natural differentiation in devising iambs, trochees and dactyls¹. Webbe is certainly not

¹ Cf. Stanyhurst's remark about *seasons*, *ante*, p. 10 note. That the syllables *are* long or short whatever he as prosodist elects to do, does not occur to him here.

the man to make the experiment. Being determined to write some sapphics and alcaics he applies to them the admittedly inapplicable rules and prefers to omit the 'best wordes and such as would naturally become the speech best' rather than 'committe anything which shoulde notoriously impugne the Latine rules.' He wishes that some exception could be made against the precise observation of position, but when it comes to a point of practice he is willing that words which would not 'abide the touch' of position should be a little 'wrested.'

The conclusion is forced upon one that when Elizabethans of this calibre, and even of far better, talk about quantity and so on, they are speaking of something visible rather than audible. *Flud* is short but *Fludde* is long; *citie* may differ quantitatively from *cittie* and from *city*. The one word *princess* appears in Stanyhurst with two spellings and therefore two quantities—*prīncēs* and *prīncēsse*; the same author in his Introduction tells us that the second syllable of words like *passage* may be made long by inserting a *d*—*passadge*. There is a visible and legible rule which says that vowels before other vowels are short and another to the effect that diphthongs are always long. Accordingly Campion scans *flying*, *dying*, etc., but *playing*. He shortens long vowels at the end of words when the next begins with a vowel; thus the long vowels (or diphthongs) of *denye*, *ensue*, *foresee*, etc., lose their length before a following vowel. Some were nervous of admitting as long any syllable that did not carry a legible guarantee in the form of written consonants or two written vowels. Even a double vowel was not always a sufficient indication of length. Stanyhurst will scan as short long monosyllables which were undoubtedly long in his day, and, indeed, have in many cases been long throughout the whole ascertainable history of our language. Dozens of examples can be picked at random from his eccentric pages:

This gift sē yē | sēnd tō mīne | āshēs
Tō theē in | fāst wēd|lōck wīl ī | knīt thye wīfe | ōnl̄ye rē|māynīng
Wōuld kēpe ōn | āll māīne | seas
Of mī nāme | Aēneid|āns dwēll|ers

It will be noted that in all these cases the artificially shortened vowels are followed by words beginning with a vowel. It is scarcely going too far to say that it is only consonants which confer and indicate length—not even spelling as a 'diphthong,' as is shown by other examples:

...thee | mēn raīse ān | hōrribil | ōwterīe.

Stanyhurst's full and interesting Introduction shows that he had studied Harvey with care. He is emboldened to make (theoretically) a stand against 'being ouer stifly tied to the ordinances of the Latines.' He

prepares the reader for a number of deviations from classical precedent and announces his intention to treat certain types of syllable as long, others as short, others as common. He pays lip service to the ear 'whych must needes be the vmpire of the word.' Occasionally he recognises a phonetic fact or the nature of an orthographical convention. As a practical versifier, however, he betrays a most un-Irish reverence for the all-powerful 'letter' of the law. He shows no more courage than Webbe. Though he had professed himself convinced by Harvey's arguments justifying the scansion of the disputed 'carpenter' words as dactyls, he will not, though hard pressed for dactyls, use them as such. He prefers to do without words of this pattern. Nor does he carry further the principle of compromise between quantity and the half-understood forces of 'natural pronunciation' (i.e., stress) as suggested by Harvey, and exemplified in a free and easy way by Abraham Fraunce. His scansion by consonants pays no regard to word-stress or sentence-stress: the definite article (when spelt *thee*) is long; a following long-stemmed noun may be short unless some consonant supports its length. A weak preposition provided with necessary consonant backing is long; its noun may lose natural length unless a consonant follows:

Ōn shoāre ēke | I foūndēd tōwne wāls bȳ dēstīnīe lūcklēsse.

Nouns, verbs and adjectives occurring in the same phrase are differentiated according to the distribution of consonants:

Frām'd ā steēde | of timb|er steam|ing like | mounten in | hudgenesse.

It might be expected that Stanyhurst's hexameters would prove the most broken-backed in Elizabethan experiment. He follows neither natural quantity nor natural emphasis. In point of fact Harvey's are far more unreadable. As the reader, innocent of prosodic theory, works into Stanyhurst's Four Books, he will be not only amused by the exuberant gambols of the diction; he will be caught up and carried along by a truly athletic swing and stride. The explanation of this anomaly is that the innocent reader will not read the lines as hexameters at all. They are constructed with pedantic care, but no one will naturally read them as constructed. It is most unlikely that Stanyhurst did so himself. By distribution of consonants he built up a nominally 'falling' metre with a high proportion of formal dactyls and final trochees. But sustained falling measures are not natural to English and certainly were not in the sixteenth century. Stanyhurst's ear was dominated by strong *rising* rhythms, and these asserted themselves in spite of theory. The stress rhythm often runs diametrically counter to the (formal) time rhythm. If we scan by

accents the line tends to resolve itself into free five-stress 'anapaestic-iambics'¹ with an extra syllable at the end. It is too light and easy a line for a genuine hexameter, but it has considerable scope and elasticity, for the extra syllable means that an upward movement of the first half of the line will merge into a falling cadence at the end². Over and over again the lines begin with the swift anapaestic uprush:

1 2 3 4 5
From the moũth | of Tý|bris, from lánd | eke of Ít|alie séav|er'd
Too the skie | thee surges, from deepe profunditie taking
And a king | he placed, through whose Maiestical Empyre

In such a line the accentual spondees and other 'substitutions' come with excellent effect:

And the séa sálte foáming
Thee Gréeke fleéte scórching.

As in all English rising rhythms, substitutions of falling cadences can be made, especially at the beginning of lines:

Heére do I | stand present
Yeéld to thee | like kindnesse.

There is Virgilian precedent for a delicate counterpoint between time and stress, but no one could claim delicacy for the manner in which Stanyhurst's stresses trample on his quantity. There is indeed nothing beautiful in the movement of his verses, but their freedom and ease can be enhanced by a comparison with the lack of inner progress in Harvey's pieces. Here there is no alternative rhythm, and though Harvey, true to his principles, does no violence to customary word-accent, the hitherto unconsidered sentence-stress lies in ambush to rob him of his victory. His feet are indeed without joints and incapable of simulating any sort of verse movement. What holds one up in reading Stanyhurst is not the actual movement of the lines, if they are allowed to follow the sense, but the distorted spellings (especially of articles, prepositions, etc.) and the too-richly onomatopoeic diction—the 'huffe-snuffe' element. Harvey ground out with pain such 'spavin'd dactyls' as these:

A thousand good leaues be for euer graunted Agrippa,
 For squibbing and decayming against many fruitlesse
 Artes and Craftes, deuise by the Diuls and Sprites for a torment
 And for a plague to the world: as both *Pandora*, *Prometheus*
 And that cursed *good bad Tree* can testifie at all times:
 Meere Gewegawes and Bables, in comparison of these,
 Toyes to mock Apes and Woodcockes, in comparison of these...

¹ These and other classical names are used here, not to assert the existence of such feet in English measures, but as the briefest generally understood descriptions of certain metrical effects.

² The cadence of the final portion of the line is therefore the same as that of the hexameter.

but Stanyhurst, even after playing his exhausting games with consonants, could romp merrily through the *Aeneid* to the tune of such inspiring rhythms as those in which Laocoon 'bellows' to the Trojan multitude in Book II:

what fond, phantastical, harebraine
Madnes hath enchaunted your wits, you townsmen vnhappie?
Weene you (blind Hodipecks) thee Greekish name returned,
Or that their presents want craft? Is subtil Vlsses
So soone forgotten? My lief for a haulpennie (Troians)
Either heere ar couching soom troupes of Greekish assemblie
Or to crush our bulwarecks this wooreck is forged, al houses
For to prie, surmounting thee towne: soom practis or oother
Heere lurcks of coonning: trust not this treacherus ensigne:
And for a ful reckning, I like not barrel or herring!

Can spirited 'translation' go further than in the last sentence?

Campion, presumably the last of these prosodists and a sane and mature poet, still shows how difficult it was to attain an English (and therefore phonetic) conception of quantity. He writes with a practical poet's experience of Latin versification and with the whole of Elizabethan experiment and theory as object lessons before him. His *Observations on the Arte of English Poesie* (1602) is the nearest approach made in Elizabethan times to that authoritative law-giving for the treatment of English syllables which Webbe desired. Campion knows what has to be said with regard to orthography: 'because our English Orthography (as the French) differs from our common pronounciation, we must esteeme our sillables as we speake, not as we write¹.' He can break through the inhibitions surrounding the word 'accent' and declare: 'aboue all the accent of our words is diligently to be obseru'd, for chiefly by the accent in any language the true value of the sillables is to be measured.' He can distinguish between those classical measures which are in tune with English speech habits and those which will defy acclimatisation; the hexameter and all the more complicated feet and combinations of feet are thrown overboard, leaving mainly simple sequences of iambs and trochaics. Above all, his practice is level with his theory; it does not collapse under him as does Harvey's, or proceed in unconscious independence as does Stanyhurst's. Under the enthusiasm which led to this pamphlet Campion coaxed our language into several fresh and delightful rhythms which might well have proved a more active inspiration to poets than they have done. There is far more to praise than the generally admired 'Rose-cheeked Laura, come' or 'Kate can fancy only herdles husbands.'

A rule is, however, proved, that is, tested by, its exceptions. What Campion says about accent seems like a realistic acceptance of the rôle of

¹ *Observations*, Bodley Head Quarto, pp. 37-8.

stress in English, until he subjoins his exception. 'Neither can I remember any impediment except position that *can alter the accent* of any syllable.' Thus, though the second syllable of *Trumpington* (a variant of the familiar *carpenter*) is 'short' by 'accent' it is 'naturally long, and so of necessity must be held of every composer.' It is clear, therefore, that Campion does not accept theoretically the principle of accentual imitation. His scansions are to be genuinely quantitative, but at the same time accent is not to be violated. There is only one way of thus serving two masters. Words where the two principles clash must be omitted. The experimenter can only use a part of the English language; the loss of the disputed, and in themselves often musical, polysyllables means that his language will be even more monosyllabic than that of his 'native' competitor. Practically, therefore, Campion proceeds by a series of tactful evasions, and the bulk of his measures are, as Daniel noted¹, familiar rhythms arrived at by a quantitative process, disguised by classical titles and by tricks of division of lines. It is easy enough to follow Daniel and show up inconsistencies and exceptions in other contexts of Campion's treatise.

It is in the midst of the intellectual and critical conditions illustrated by these theories and experiments that the Elizabethan poetic achievement was won. The prosodic side of this achievement we describe in modern or ancient terminology; treatises have been written to trace the as yet unheard-of stress-principle in early Tudor prosody or to prove that Shakespeare's verse is 'trochaic.' The poets are, however, mostly silent as to their technique, and it is only legitimate to approach their prosody, in the first instance, with the concepts which can be proved to be generally prevalent in their age. The prosodists leave us in no doubt that the genuinely *popular* notions were the syllabic rule and rhyme; the idea of accent was more difficult and more limited in its impact. No prosodist, not even Puttenham, handles it with complete consistency. It is legitimate to require of a popular dramatist like Shakespeare an approximation to the norm of ten syllables per line; we go beyond our warrant if, without the most realistic scrutiny, we assume *as a basis of construction* five or any other set number of stresses to the line.

The prosodists were of service in their own day. It was important that questions should be asked and inevitable that the impulse to ask them should spring from admiration of the past. It was for the profit of the poet that attention should be drawn to the values of syllables and the

¹ Daniel underestimated, however, the novelty conferred by the close attention to vowel length and to the interior modulation of the lines compensating for the loss of rhyme.

government of rhythms. Both Spenser and Sidney served an apprenticeship to 'trew versifying' and may thus have learnt what could not, as well as what could, be done. The exchange of argument provided a certain training in the grounds and technique of criticism, the fruit of which can be seen in Harvey's original realism, Puttenham's urbane lightness of touch, Campion's balance between theory and practice. To have prepared the ground for, and finally provoked the ripe judgments of, Daniel's *Defence of Rhyme* is in itself a vindication, for far more is involved in this pamphlet than rhyme or no rhyme. Daniel speaks with the authentic voice of English criticism, the same voice that is heard in Dryden and Dr Johnson, on the whole complex of authority, nature, custom and art¹:

Me thinkes we should not so soone yeeld our consents captiue to the authoritie of Antiquitie, vnlesse we saw more reason: all our vnderstandings are not to be built by the square of *Greece* and *Italie*. We are the children of nature as well as they, we are not so placed out of the way of iudgment but that the same Sunne of Discretion shineth vpon vs.

The prosodic pamphlets testify to a gradual clarifying and strengthening of power of analysis as well as to increase of independence and judgment. The notion of accent clarifies itself and the twin mechanisms of time and stress are finally distinguished. Daniel, with Puttenham behind him, can handle these and other factors with ease and firmness:

For as Greeke and Latine verse consists of the number and quantitie of sillables, so doth the English verse of measure and accent. And though it doth not strictly obserue long and short sillables, yet it most religiously respects the accent: and as the short and the long make number, so the Acute and the graue accent yeelde harmonie².

Daniel's words have the ring of finality, but it is hard to know when the last word of any controversy has been said. A half-century later during Milton's long choosing and beginning late the doctrines of the old Elizabethan humanists, with their continental backing, must have been strengthening their hold on the poet's mind. Rhyme became a 'troublesome and modern bondage' which constrains poets to express many things otherwise and worse than they would otherwise have expressed them. In the rejection of rhyme Milton's individual judgment served him well, but his words³ reveal more than a well-directed personal preference; they betray their pedigree. It is as a follower of Ascham that he dismisses rhyme as the invention of a barbarous age; like the earlier attackers and defenders he takes rhyme as the central principle of modern verse, and shows himself as innocent of the notion of stress as if Gascoigne,

¹ *Defence of Rhyme*, Bodley Head Quarto, pp. 17-18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³ Preface to *Paradise Lost*.

Puttenham, Campion and Daniel had never written. He reverts, that is, to the old grammarian's inhibition which ruled from Ascham to Webbe. He puts before the intending reader the three main principles upon which his versification is based: 'apt numbers, fit quantity of Syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another,' that is, right choice and exact maintenance of measure, attention to quantity of syllables, and the manipulation of *enjambement* and variety of pause to allow sense units to overflow line units. It is well known that Milton paid meticulous attention to details of quantity, that he adapted his spellings to show certain variations (e.g., *the* and *thee*, personal pronoun) and that some of his most striking and characteristic effects (such as the prosodic difference between *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*) were won by the management of vowel quantity and quality. Nevertheless it must surprise anyone who returns to the Preface with an attentiveness refreshed by study of earlier prosodic theory, to find that as against the 'elder sisters' of number and quantity, accent receives not even a Cinderella acknowledgment. We are so committed to the idea of stress as governing rhythm, however loosely, that we find it difficult without special discipline to read classical and foreign verse on any other basis. The schoolboy left to himself equates — — — with *tum tiddy tum*. We think naturally therefore of stress-patterns as providing the major design of *Paradise Lost*, reinforced by the vowel music and the varied flowing of the sense. Most school editions encourage their pupils to scan Milton's lines by accents as if this were indisputably the *conscious* principle of their composition. The poet's own words give no warrant for this. It is consistent with the tradition behind the Preface that he should count and scrutinise his syllables, but not that he should count his stresses.

The older prosodists with their half-understood doctrines had the merit of raising questions in their own day. They have rendered a service to us if they lead us back from too modern an approach to accepted poets like Spenser and Milton. It is also, above all, the business of the prosodist to enforce acoustic attention to verse. It is salutary to re-read some familiar passage of *Paradise Lost* accepting, for the moment, Milton's own principles *and no more*—to level out as much as may be the 'stresses' and to follow with the maximum flexibility the time- and tone-values and the structure of the periods. To do this, even imperfectly, is to gain new insight into the unique sonority and 'suspension' of Miltonic verse. It is this which no imitator has recaptured. Such a reading will show up the high proportion of coincidences between what we were taught to mark as the stresses and genuine long syllables—long, too, in an impressive

number of cases by pure vowel length, since Milton trusts the ear and knows a long vowel when he hears one. After this, since Milton is writing sense and English (of a sort), one may look for the unacknowledged principle of stress or emphasis and determine its contribution to the small unit of the line and the large unit of the paragraph. No one denies that the stresses are there; they are on the whole more regularly (or metrically) spaced than the variously drawn-out sense would in itself demand. In spite of the freedom claimed for the movement of the sense, the metre makes no approach to the 'talking-verse' brought to perfection earlier in Milton's own century by Shakespeare, Webster and Donne. There is no evidence that Milton was at any time impressed by this. Without monotony the formal, flowing rhythm (marrying breath and tone) asserts itself and may even be said to pull against the varied involutions of the sense. The prosody is always an end in itself and significant in itself. Milton's verses *are* verses.

As controversialist, whatever the bone of contention, Milton's partisan ardour led him almost invariably to over-statement. In his controversy, too, the note of scorn is seldom absent for long. The Preface is polemic as well as criticism, and is by no means lacking in scorn for the unlettered creatures who wanted the poem to rhyme. To show the superfluity of their 'stumbling' Milton opens with an unjustifiable over-simplification: 'The measure is *English* Heroic Verse without Rhyme.' The relation of Milton's line to the acclimatised 'heroic' measure from Chaucer to Waller cannot be thus simply stated. His verse is at once an individual and a traditional utterance, and is only to be justly and fully appreciated in the light of the complex of traditions on which it rests—the classical and the foreign (especially Italian); humanistic doctrine and native habit.

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THE THEME OF 'TIMON OF ATHENS'

So exclusively has the problem of authorship engaged the attention of *Timon* scholars that the theme and purpose of the play have received only casual remark. Some critics, such as Hazlitt¹ and Furnivall², would make it a satire on the 'ingratitude of men,' although this theme seems incidental in the later acts. Some, like Richardson³, would rather blame Timon for 'ostentatiousness' or wanton prodigality; but, as Wright⁴ and Wecter⁵ show, Shakespeare looked upon him as a public hero. Most critics give up the problem; and, though Hazlitt had declared that Shakespeare followed closely 'the unity of his design,' they find the play incoherent—hasty or unfinished or botched by an incompetent reviser. Stapfer called it 'more brilliant than solid⁶'; and Lee deplored its 'lack of constructive plan⁷.' Parrott termed it a 'dramatic impossibility,' which 'presents a striking figure in an interesting situation, but . . . gives no satisfactory account of the development of the situation⁸.' Wright, likewise, found the plot disunified, Timon's change of nature unmotivated, and Alcibiades' vengeance unconnected with Timon's wrongs⁹. Adams felt the material 'unsuited to a great drama¹⁰'; and Lawrence wondered why Shakespeare chose the subject¹¹. Thus the play is censured as disorganised, meaningless, and, apart from the purple passages, no credit to Shakespeare's genius, although it is regularly dated about 1608, at the very height of his dramatic power.

But this is only one of several difficulties that the tragedy presents. The prodigal Timon of the earlier acts seems to be rather a fool; and the misanthropic Timon of the latter acts seems, if not a knave, at least an unpleasing portrait of vengeful cynicism; and yet Shakespeare clearly expected his audience to sympathise with Timon. According to the faithful Flavius, who was in a way to know, Timon's 'worst sin is, he

¹ W. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Plays*, New York, 1845, p. 43.

² F. J. Furnivall, ed. *Timon*, London, 1908, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴ J. H. Wright, *The Problem of 'Timon of Athens'*, London, 1923, p. 24.

⁵ D. Wecter, *Shakespeare's Purpose in 'Timon of Athens'*, *P.M.L.A.*, XLIII, pp. 701 ff.

See also E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies*, New York, 1927, p. 294.

⁶ P. Stapfer, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity*, London, 1880, p. 260.

⁷ S. Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, New York, 1916, p. 400.

⁸ T. M. Parrott, *Shakespeare Association Papers*, x, 1923, p. 27.

⁹ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹⁰ J. Q. Adams, *Life of Shakespeare*, New York, 1925, p. 402.

¹¹ W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies*, New York, 1931, p. 222 f.

does too much good¹; and again: 'he's so kind, that he now Pays interest for it².' Alcibiades blames Athens bitterly as 'mindless' of Timon's 'worth³.' Timon's servants all agree that he was a 'noble master,' and reiterate their loyalty⁴. Even a complete outsider like the First Stranger praises his 'right noble mind, illustrious virtue⁵' and 'honourable carriage,' and the acrid Apemantus cannot withhold a sort of praise of Timon's liberality: 'Thus honest fools lay out their wealth on court'sies⁶.' His generosity is all the more marked for its being out of fashion⁷; and Flavius points the moral of the play:

Who then dares to be half so kind again?
For bounty that makes gods, does still [ever] mar men⁸.

Timon, we are assured, had practised no vices⁹; and, indeed, he stands as an exemplar of the military virtue of valour¹⁰ as well as the civil virtue of liberality. Clearly, then, Shakespeare expected his audience to admire Timon's very prodigality, to feel outraged at his ruin and to sympathise with him, as with King Lear's, seemingly unbalanced ravings in the later scenes. The entire play so constantly expresses this attitude that it can hardly be imputed merely to some co-author; and indeed most critics of the canon agree that the main outline of the plot and the conception of Timon himself are Shakespeare's own¹¹. This fundamental paradox—a bankrupt wastrel whose downfall we are expected to lament—is the theme of the play and the problem of the present study.

The difficulties, however, do not end here. Why, above all, should Shakespeare write such a drama on a classical theme, and yet so utterly unclassical in treatment¹², at the very time¹³ that he was following Plutarch most closely in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, and was striving for classical authenticity even in supplementary details¹⁴? This theme, moreover, does not appear in any of the known sources of the play. Shakespeare's Timon is ruined through the virtue of generosity: Plutarch and Painter depict him simply as the misanthrope, and give only the merest hint that the cause of his reverses was some 'wrong' or ingratitude¹⁵; and, in the old manuscript play, Timon is ruined through sheer accident

¹ *Timon*, iv, ii, 39.

² *Ibid.*, iv, iii, 93.

³ *Ibid.*, iii, ii, 86 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v, i, 128 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, iii, 255 ff.

² *Ibid.*, i, ii, 201 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, ii, 6, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, ii, 243

⁸ *Ibid.*, iv, ii, 40. See also iii, ii, 91 f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, v, i, 163, etc.

¹¹ Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 21, etc.; Parrott, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 ff.; Wilhams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹² Noted by Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 401, and Stapfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 259.

¹³ Lee, Parrott, Lawrence and others seem generally to agree on 1608 or 1609.

¹⁴ See the present writer, *The Realism of Shakespeare's Roman Plays*, *St. Phil.*, xxx, pp. 225 ff.

¹⁵ See *Shakespeare's Library*, ed. Hazlitt, iii, p. 399 f.; iv, pp. 395 ff.; and *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, ed. Skeat, p. 296.

by the loss of his ships¹. The Timon of Elizabethan popular tradition, moreover, probably based on these, shows little resemblance to Shakespeare: Barckley², De l'Espine³, Rowlands⁴, Brathwait⁵—not to mention Shakespeare himself in *Love's Labour's Lost*⁶—refer to him only as 'cruel Timon,' old and cynical, hater of God and man, and so hardly a character to win an Elizabethan's sympathy or praise. The same appears in the allusions noted by Stapfer⁷; and Lyly, Mulcaster, Greene, Nashe, Lodge and Dekker show Timon merely as the 'stock exponent of misanthropy'⁸. The paradox then of Timon's moral excellence is Shakespeare's own addition to his source. As if to intensify this paradox, he also added a full portrayal of the prodigal Timon of the first two acts, based seemingly on Lucian; and, even if one accept Bond's persuasive thesis⁹ that he took this material by way of Boiardo's *Timone*, the paradox is still Shakespeare's own; for, in Boiardo, the hero's father, who built up the fortune, was a usurer, and the son's dissipation of this wealth appears as the just effect of ill-acquired money¹⁰. Shakespeare makes two basic differences: usury does not create Timon's fortune, but destroys it¹¹; and we are to look on this destruction, not with approval as in Boiardo, but with deep commiseration. Shakespeare, then, contrary to his established habit, not only much enlarged the plot of a popular story, but utterly changed its point of view and theme, so that it was not a picture of misanthropy but a lament for fallen greatness; and one perhaps may ask how these elements that Shakespeare added made the Elizabethans view the prodigal-cynic as a sympathetic figure.

A careful examination of the play, however, shows that, strictly speaking, the foregoing statement of the theme is incomplete: Timon is ruined not merely, or even mainly, by his over-generous habits but by 'usury,' that is by the high rates of interest when his steward had to borrow to anticipate his income and by heavy forfeitures when he could not keep the day and hour nominated in the bond. This theme of usury was already loosely associated with the Timon story in the old MS. play and in Boiardo's *Timone*; but Shakespeare made it an integral motive of the plot, the very cause of the catastrophe. Attacks on usury are

¹ *Shakespeare's Library*, vi, pp. 393 ff.

² *Ibid.*, ed. cit., iv, pp. 395 ff.

³ M. I. De l'Espine, *A Very Excellent and Learned Discourse*, London, 1592, leaf 69.

⁴ S. Rowlands, *The Melancholy Knight*, ed. Hunterian Club, No. xxiv, p. 7.

⁵ R. Brathwait, *English Gentleman*, London, 1633, p. 257, etc.

⁶ *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv, iii, 169.

⁷ Stapfer, *op. cit.*, p. 255 f.

⁸ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 12 f.

⁹ W. R. Bond, *Lucian and Boiardo in 'Timon of Athens'*, *M.L.R.*, xxvi, p. 52.

¹⁰ Cf. the present writer, *Usury in the 'Merchant of Venice'*, *M.P.*, about to appear.

¹¹ In the old MS. play that Shakespeare may have used appears the usurer Abyssus, but he has no clear relation to Timon's undoing.

common in his plays¹, and in Elizabethan drama as a whole², but, in *Timon of Athens*, not only the plot but the dialogue constantly reflects them; and, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, no one ever says a word in its defence. 'Usurers' men' are compared to 'bawds³'; usurers have 'gluttonous maws⁴'; and 'usuring' is a term of reproach⁵. In *King Lear*, with supreme hyperbole as if all the injuries in the world sprang from ungrateful daughters, the old man cries out upon Edgar's distresses: 'Didst thou give all to thy daughters⁶?' So Timon, when he suspects the loyal Flavius, accuses him of 'usuring kindness⁷,' as though that were the nadir of all mean deception, so utterly is he obsessed with the ruin it has wrought him. In *Timon of Athens*, it is a kind of legalised theft, as in *Coriolanus*, permitted and even practised by the senators to the ultimate undoing of the State; for the ruin of great families dragged down their hosts of servants and dependants and disorganised all society; and Timon's servants bewail his fall with an immediate and personal sincerity⁸.

In the Elizabethan age, the old feudal nobility had reached an economic *impasse* that might well arouse one's sympathy and that produced overwhelming social changes. Religious, military, political and economic causes were bringing about a peaceful revolution that was very generally deplored⁹. Many of the old county families were still Roman Catholic, and so fell under special taxation and other disabilities. The final abandonment of the feudal military system during the 1590's¹⁰, moreover, and the substitution of professional soldiers ended the military power of the aristocracy¹¹; and the romantic independence of knight-errantry degenerated into Falstaffian escapades necessarily embarked upon to pay, or to avoid paying, the 'shot' of tavern bills¹². The lucrative Court positions went to the upstarts of Tudor creation¹³; and it was they who directed the corrupt machinery of the law¹⁴ which was displacing feudal custom. Cheap money, moreover, from the mines of Mexico and Peru caused a constant rise in prices¹⁵ which enriched the merchants at the expense of the

¹ See the present writer, *Usury in 'The Merchant of Venice.'*

² Stonex (*P.M.L.A.*, xxxi, pp. 190 ff.) lists 71 plays from 1553 to 1637.

³ *Timon*, II, ii, 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, iv, 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, v, 99 ff. See also the references already cited.

⁶ *Lear*, III, iv, 45.

⁷ *Timon*, IV, iii, 517.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, ii *passim*.

⁹ Stubbes, *Anatomie*, New Shak. Soc., 1876, p. 29, and Ward, *C.H.E.L.*, V, p. 391.

¹⁰ See the present writer, *Captain General Othello, Anglia*, XLIII, pp. 296 ff.

¹¹ R. Kelso, *The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century*, Urbana, Ill., p. 32.

¹² See the present writer, *Sir John Falstaff, R.E.S.*, VIII, pp. 414 ff., and *Orlando the Younger Brother, P.Q.*, about to appear.

¹³ E. P. Cheyney, *History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, New York, 1914, p. 22.

¹⁴ H. Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, London, 1886, pp. 96 ff.

¹⁵ See, for instance, S. Rowlands, *Doctor Merry-man* (1609), ed. Hunterian Club, p. 23.

other classes¹; for persons with fixed incomes such as feudal rents suffered from the fallen purchasing power of money. Dekker is bitter against this flow of gold from America²; and Timon's several tirades against gold, the 'common whore of mankind³,' seem to refer to this condition.

In such an economic state, and with coin in the country parts a rarity at best, the rural aristocracy had great ado to pay the imposts that were levied with little warning and in unforeseeable amounts⁴; and thus sheer necessity might force them to a loan. Then, as in the Middle Ages, money was in theory supposed to be lent for Christian charity; but in fact the rapid expansion of trade had advanced interest to ruinous rates⁵, and the forfeit, if one failed to meet the loan, was even worse. Thus 'usury⁶' was the immediate and obvious cause that wrecked the ancient families: and 'usury' and penalties for 'date-broke bonds⁷' are explicitly stated as the cause for Timon's loss of his vast estates that had stretched as far as Lacedaemon⁸. To stem this rising tide of ruin, there was little hope. Noblemen were not supposed to enter trade, or even the professions⁹. All political preferment emanated from the Court; but the Court 'lived too luxuriously' to be within the means of more than a very 'few¹⁰'; and the Cecils were not lavish with pecuniary rewards. The courtier must 'live idly and without manual labour' and yet 'bear the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman¹¹.' The government ruled the rabble without an army by the prestige of Divine Right publicly manifest in magnificent display; and policy demanded that the courtiers must be garbed 'as extravagantly as they could afford¹²,' or even more so. This, in turn, obliged them to avoid the filthy streets, use boats and own a private coach¹³. *Noblesse oblige* was ruining the ancient houses; and their one recourse was a rich marriage of convenience¹⁴—a solution all

¹ Ward, *op. cit.*, v, p. 393 f.

² T. Dekker, *Workes for Armourours* (? 1609), *Works*, ed. Grosart, iv, p. 87. On the 'needy Gentleman,' see R. H. Tawney, ed. of T. Wilson's *Discourse upon Usury*, New York, 1925, pp. 31 ff.

³ W. Besant, *Tudor London*, London, 1904, p. 238.

⁴ Interest ran up to 80 per cent. See Besant, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

⁵ 'Usury' referred to any rate of interest. See *N.E.D.*

⁶ *Timon*, II, II, 43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, II, 158.

⁸ Harrison, *Description of England*, London, 1587, Bk. II, Chap. xix; and *Cyuite and Vncyuite Life, Inedited Tracts*, ed. Hazlitt, Roxburghe Library, 1868.

⁹ Digges, *Four Paradoxes*, London, 1604, p. 77.

¹⁰ J. W. Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, London, 1839, Chaps. xx and xxiv.

¹¹ Besant, *op. cit.*, p. 197. 'Liberality distinguished the gentleman from the boor' (Kelso, *op. cit.*, p. 91). It was a Christian as well as an Aristotelian virtue (W. Baldwin, *Morall Philosophie*, London [? 1620], p. 112 (ed. princ., 1564).

¹² H. Peacham, *Coach and Sedan* (1636), London, 1925, sig. d.

¹³ See Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.; W. Gouge, *Domesticall Duties*, 3rd ed., London, 1634, p. 573; the present writer, *Desdemona*, *Rev. Lit. Comp.*, xii, pp. 337 ff.; and *The Wooing of Olivia*, about to appear. N.B. the marriages in *The Taming of the Shrew*.

too common in the age and glanced at in the play itself¹. Thus the young gentleman who would rise in the world must buy the necessary finery at a high price for which he must borrow at excessive interest²; and so he 'sinks (as in a quicksand) by degrees, so deep into the Merchant, Mercer, or Taylors booke, that hee is up to the eares, ere hee be aware, neither can he be well drawne out, without a teame of Vsurers, or the present sale of some land³.' The moral Whetstone, in such a case, visits his anger, not upon the spendthrift gentleman, but on the merchants and usurers who ruin him⁴; for he is merely obeying established custom and struggling to maintain his ancestral place.

The merchants meanwhile, after the commercial decay of the early Tudor period⁵, were more and more enriched⁶, and competed with the noblemen in equipage and magnificence. They purchased coats of arms⁷, and bought up the landed estates about London⁸. Stubbes deplored this effort of the low-born to become gentlemen⁹; but James I capitalised and encouraged it by selling patents of nobility and creating the new rank of baronet. So the old aristocracy was threatened with 'loss of all distinction¹⁰'; and their places were taken by merchants who looked to their tenants for income rather than for feudal services, who dismissed superfluous retainers, enclosed the common land, increased the rents, and spent a large part of their time away in London¹¹. No wonder a general outcry arose against the change¹². Usury seemed the cause that enriched the new families and destroyed the old¹³. Land was the one conservative investment of the age; and land was, therefore, the immediate prize of rich merchants who hoped to found great families; and thus the landed aristocracy was the especial object of their attack¹⁴.

The Elizabethans were fully conscious of this change. Lodge more

¹ *Timon*, i, i, 139 ff.

² Stonex in *Schelling Ann. Papers*, p. 270.

³ Peacham, *op. cit.*, sig. d ff.

⁴ G. Whetstone, *A Mirrour for Magistrates of Cities*, London, 1584, leaf 4.

⁵ Besant, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 ff.

⁶ Kelso, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁷ Peacham, *op. cit.*; and Lodge, *Chrestoleros*, Spenser Soc., 1888, p. 44.

⁸ Peacham, *op. cit.*, sig. d.

⁹ Stubbes, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁰ Kelso, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Ward, *op. cit.*, v, p. 391; and G. B. Harrison, *Essay in Breton's Melancholicke Humours*, London, 1929, p. 54.

¹¹ See T. Adams, *The Dewills Banket*, London, 1614, pp. 8 ff.; T. Becon, *Godly Prayers*, Parker Soc., Cambridge, 1844, p. 24; [G. Markham], *Health to Servingmen*, Roxburghe Library, 1868, p. 119; D. Lupton, *London and the Country Carbonadoed*, pp. 100 ff., and the present writer, *Olivia's Household*, about to appear in *P.M.L.A.*

¹² Such conditions must have inspired a widespread cynicism; and 'all that state compounds' (*Timon*, iv, ii, 35) must have seemed rather empty.

¹³ See the present writer, *Usury in 'The Merchant of Venice.'*

¹⁴ Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.; Stonex, *Schelling Ann. Papers*, p. 276; and Besant, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

than once bewailed it, and wrote a thorough *exposé*¹. Dekker², Middleton³ and Powell⁴ lamented it at length; and Shylock typifies the current hate of usury⁵; and even Bacon, who approved of interest upon loans, regretted that high rates were ruining the county families⁶. This evolution, furthermore, was no new thing; and it seems always to have been laid to the door of usury. As early as the reign of Henry IV. there was a Parliamentary petition against usurers who have so 'subtily contrived' that 'several of all Estates as well spiritual as Temporal, have been impoverished, and their Beasts and Lands lost'.⁷ The declared object, moreover, of Elizabeth's act of 1570 was to remedy the evil effects of excessive interest, which 'hath exceedingly abounded to the utter undoing of many gentlemen, merchants, occupiers and others'.⁸ Stonex notes that the usurers of Elizabethan literature 'deal characteristically with young gentlemen of property, and take mortgages as security'⁹; Acheley put into a single group 'gold-entombing hellish usurers' and 'foule, dissembling frye of flatterers'¹⁰, as apparently preying upon the same social class. Philip Caesar declared that 'many gentlemen whose revenues are but simple, can bring mighty things to pass, and that by usury'¹¹; but the final consequence was 'honest men beggared . . . hospitality hindered; charity extinguished'¹²—a fairly accurate description of the career of Shakespeare's Timon; and, very much as the Athenian senators unctuously presided over Timon's despoliation, so the great Lord Burghley allowed, if not abetted, the similar spoliation of 'Wild' Darrell¹³. As his ultimate catastrophe, Shakespeare might properly have pictured the complementary rise to power of some sharp old usurer, such as George Stoddard who destroyed whole families by compounding interest, by putting every obstacle in the way of repayment, by obliging all the relatives to endorse the bonds and finally sweeping in an enormous forfeiture for what was originally a trifling amount¹⁴. If usury then was responsible for this social

¹ T. Lodge, *Looking glasse for London*, London, 1617, B 3 ff.; and *Alarum* (1584), ed. Hunterman Club, 1883, I, p. 13.

² T. Dekker, *English Villanies*, London, 1651, sig. c 2.

³ See especially the ruin of Easy in *Michaelmas Term* (Middleton, *Works*, London, 1840, I, pp. 423 ff.).

⁴ See Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 17, quoting Powell, *Art of Thriving* (1630), p. 138.

⁵ See the present writer, *Usury in 'The Merchant of Venice.'* Cf. *The Drinking Academy* and Wilson's *Three Ladies of London*. See E. Koepfel, *Shak. Jhrb.*, XL, pp. xvi ff.

⁶ Bacon, *Essays, Of Usury and Of Expense*.

⁷ C. Viner, *General Abridgment*, Aldershot, [1758], xxxii, p. 291 f.

⁸ D. Pickering, *Statutes at Large*, London, 1763, 13 Eliz. Chap. 8.

⁹ Stonex, *Schelling Ann. Papers*, p. 269.

¹⁰ T[heomas] A[cheley], *The Massacre of Money*, London, 1602, Stanza 4.

¹¹ [P. Caesar], *A General Discourse Against the Damnable Sect of Usurers*, London, 1578 (ed. princ., 1569), p. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹³ Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 48 ff.

disintegration and the misery it entailed, one can easily see why Antonio and even Timon were so sympathetic to an Elizabethan audience, which saw itself, like them, in the clutches of griping creditors.

Such reversal of fortune among the ruling class could not but affect the stability of the state; for the government consisted of the titled aristocracy, who derived their 'glittering excellencie'¹ through ancestry² from God³; and the fall of government must follow the downfall of the nobles. The religious struggles on the Continent gave object lessons of social revolution; and England remembered the Wars of the Roses and, more recently, the risings of the northern earls. The state was the one protection of property and life, and its stability the *summum bonum* of society; and this stability rested, as Ulysses says in *Troilus*, on the maintenance of 'degree'⁴, that is the fixity of social rank; and usury, by raising the merchants above the nobles, was thus revolutionising society and endangering the state: like Timon, the Elizabethans felt that the world was upside down⁵. To them, indeed, the revolt of Alcibiades might well have seemed the logical effect of usury and a just and natural retribution for Timon's despoliation. Most of the writers against usury remark upon its ruin to the state. Usurers were thieves⁶ who would bring London to the fate of 'Sodom and Gomorra'⁷. Sanders⁸, Smith⁹, Fenton¹⁰ and others of the clergy¹¹ agreed with laymen such as Mosse¹² and Bodenham¹³; and many were the complaints against these *nouveaux* 'gentlemen of base broode'¹⁴, whom it created. In *Coriolanus*, written about the same time, usury is a main cause of social friction¹⁵; and, in *Timon of Athens*, Alcibiades' attacks on 'usury That makes the senate ugly'¹⁶ and on 'the usuring senate'¹⁷ supply obvious motivation for his

¹ [J. Bodenham], *Wits Commonwealt*, London, 1640, p. 102.

² J. Stephens, *Satyrical essayes*, London, 1615, pp. 35, 47, 71.

³ H. Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, London, 1622, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ *Troilus*, I, iii, 99.

⁵ *Timon*, IV, 1. Cf. N. Breton, *Pasquils Mad-cappe*, London, 1626. Of course the Puritan rebellion would have seemed to them the ultimate and shocking climax to all this.

⁶ P. Caesar, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁷ *Whartons Dreame*, London, 1578.

⁸ N. Sanders, *Briefe Treatise of Vsurie*, London, 1568, leaf 47 r.

⁹ Henry Smith (? 1550-91), *The Examination of Usury*, [? Boston], 1751. The title-page quotes from Calvin's *Epist. Usura*: 'An Usurer is not tolerable in a well established Common Weal.'

¹⁰ R. Fenton, *Treatise of Vsurie*, London, 1611, pp. 33 ff.

¹¹ See *The English Usurer. Or usury condemned by the most learned divines of the Church of England*, compiled by John Blaxton, Oxford, 1634; and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹² M. Mosse, *Arraignement of Vsurie*, London, 1595, p. 101 f.

¹³ [J. Bodenham], *Wits Commonwealt*, London, 1640, pp. 354 ff.

¹⁴ S. Rowlands, *Look to it* (1604), ed. Hunterian Club, 1872, VII, pp. 16, 35; Harrison, *Description*, ed. cit., Bk. II, Chap. v; T. Churchyard, *Mirror of Man*, London, 1594.

¹⁵ *Coriolanus*, I, 1, 84 *et passim*.

¹⁶ *Timon*, III, v, 99 f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, v, 111.

rebellion, and to the Elizabethans would clearly link his cause to Timon's. Thus Shakespeare, though he flew in the face of tradition in interpreting a popular story, did so in order to express the popular resentment against usurers; and tumult and proscription seemed a fitting outcome in a state that permitted usury to subvert the feudal and the Christian virtues.

Indeed, not only does the senate abjure liberality—the 'freedom' and the 'curteysie' that distinguished Chaucer's knight in time of peace—but they also rejected the principles of his 'honour' which governed his personal or patriotic combat; and the story of Alcibiades' friend whom the senate condemned for engaging in a private quarrel clearly illustrates this theme. Not only did the English government neglect old soldiers, but it frowned upon their martial standards and their very way of life. The duel, which in a brawling age was the soldier's one recourse to preserve his self-respect¹, was condemned as murder by Coke and Bacon and by a special Star Chamber decree of 1614². 'In hot blood,' the friend of Alcibiades, to defend his honour, had 'stepped into the law'; and Alcibiades' plea in his favour is hardly more than a setting forth of the chivalric ideals of honour and of valour:

He is a man, setting his fate aside,
Of comely virtues:
Nor did he soil the fact with cowardice—
An honour in him which buys out his fault—
But with a noble fury and fair spirit,
Seeing his reputation touch'd to death,
He did oppose his foe³.

The Athens of Timon is indeed a city where virtue has ceased to rule in high places, a city ready for the fate of 'Sodom and Gomorra.' The senators' entreaty of Timon to return is almost symbolical of their need for these ancient virtues; but, in the person of Timon, they have been driven from human society and finally leave the world, thus ushering in an Iron Age of retribution. Even this retribution is less than the terrible and universal vengeance that Timon himself had repeatedly demanded. The play, indeed, is Shakespeare's *Gulliver*, a fierce and sweeping indictment of the ideals and social ethics of the age, an indictment largely consonant with popular opinion of the time. In *Lear*, Shakespeare depicts the social chaos consequent upon the abdication of royal authority; in *Timon of Athens*, upon the economic ruin of the nobility.

¹ Kelso, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 ff.

² *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, London, 1858, p. 224. See also Rowlands, *Humors Looking Glasse* (1608), Hunterian Club, 1872, II, p. 7; *Worke for Cutlers* (1615), Hindley's *Miscellany*, London, 1872, II; and Brathwait, *Eng. Gent.*, London, 1640, p. 115.

³ *Timon*, III, v, 14 ff. Cf. the present writer, 'Honest Iago,' *P.M.L.A.*, XLVI, p. 724.

That Shakespeare had in mind the very conditions of his day and was not merely moralising in the abstract is evident not only in the intense bitterness of the lines but in numerous immediate and contemporary details. He supports the very virtues, liberality and valour, that rising capitalism was obliging society to abandon, and points directly towards the legal decisions against duels. Timon himself is a characteristic noble: his wealth is in 'land'¹; he is a soldier of no mean repute²; he even refers to his 'reign'³; as if he were a semi-independent prince, very different from the Timone of Boiardo whose father made the family fortune through usury. Indeed, Shakespeare's Timon comes of a great 'house'⁴. Like so many of the Elizabethan aristocracy, he is ruined with incredible speed by forfeitures and rapidly compounding interest⁵. The usurers and Timon's devouring friends are described as 'knaves'⁶ or 'slaves and peasants'⁷. These usurers will shortly become the 'gentlemen of base broode' against whom Rowlands was so bitter. Timon's final banquet to his friends suggests a little the regular Elizabethan custom of feasting one's creditors, though, by a fine irony, Timon was their creditor in this case. Why, above all, did Shakespeare make usury the crux of the play unless he intended his audience to interpret the Timon story in terms of this much-mooted problem? Indeed, the First Stranger, like an Attic chorus, seems to announce the subject of the drama when he cries out, at the end of his lament for Timon's ruin:

Men must learn now with pity to dispense,
For policy sits above conscience⁸.

The Elizabethan attitude towards usury is the key to *Timon of Athens*⁹: it gives the purpose to the play, which former scholars could not find; it explains the change in Timon, links to the former acts the final episode of Alcibiades' revenge, and so gives unity to character and to plot; it gives a reason for Shakespeare's change in attitude toward the Timon of tradition; and, by showing that he meant the play to be a commentary on current life, it explains his utter disregard of classical authenticity. And yet, in spite of this predominance of theme, *Timon of Athens* is not strictly a problem play: it is too intentionally *ex parte*, and so, like the Patient Griselda story, seems extravagant at times; and, moreover, its logic is not impeccable, for Shakespeare does not show, and perhaps could not

¹ *Timon*, II, ii, 152 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, V, i, 226.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 200 ff., II, ii, 10 ff. and 153.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, ii, 172.

⁹ Suggested by H. W. Farnam, *Shakespeare's Economics*, New Haven, 1931, p. 4 f.

² *Ibid.*, IV, iii, 95 and V, i, 163 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, 5 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, iv, 59.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 91 f.

have shown, that usury is the immediate cause of a revolt like Alcibiades'. The play, therefore, laments the problem but hardly gives it logical exposition, it is a sort of dramatic elegy on the ideals of chivalry that were succumbing in a capitalistic age. Like *Henry V*, it is an epic play in which the interest centres in one man: but, in *Henry*, we exult at the success of these ideals; in *Timon*, we bewail their fall through usury¹. *The Merchant of Venice* is even nearer it in theme; for it sets forth the ill effects of usury on trade; and nearest of all are the early scenes in *Coriolanus* where usury creates tumults in the Roman streets and shakes the very government.

For about a century, *Timon of Athens* has been ascribed to dual, or even multiple, authorship, partly on the basis of aesthetic and stylistic tests, partly because of inconsistencies of detail, and especially because of its apparent disunity of plan. Stylistic tests are dubious at best, for matters of taste are always debatable²; minor inconsistencies, misprints and such details are common in all the plays; and the present study would seem to prove a definite purpose and a unity of plan. Indeed, the parts ascribed to Shakespeare and the parts not so ascribed seem to supplement one another in developing the theme of usury³. Wright, upholding the common view that the play falls apart in the middle, ingeniously suggests to fill the gap a scene that would show close friendship between Timon and Alcibiades so that the latter might appear to have a personal motive for revenge; but, as Wright himself very candidly points out, Shakespeare could never have intended such a scene, 'else his Alcibiades, when he meets Timon in the woods, would know more of the latter's fortunes⁴.' Indeed, Shakespeare could never have intended it; for making the vengeance personal would have destroyed the broad social meaning of the theme, and made the play depict mere individual wrong.

Although the last century of scholarship has doubted Shakespeare's writing of large parts of *Timon of Athens*, the present study leads one rather to agree with Hazlitt and the other earlier critics who found in the play a 'unity' of 'design' that they attributed to Shakespeare's hand throughout; and scholarship perhaps might well review its present doubts,

¹ Weeter (*op. cit.*) would have the play refer to the romantic downfall of Essex; but it seems to have been written much too late; and Timon is despoiled by usurers, whereas Essex fell by political intrigue.

² There is only fair agreement as to the Shakespearean passages. Cf. Wright and Robertson, for instance; and Stapfer (*op. cit.*, p. 32 f.), who praises the *esprit gallois* of III, i and ii, which are usually called non-Shakespearean.

³ Fleay and Wright, for instance, take II, ii, 10 ff., the scene of the money-lenders, as Shakespeare's, and yet doubt the supplementary explanations of their ruin of Timon (e.g. III, iv and III, v, 99 f.).

⁴ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

bearing in mind a Jacobean Timon, a sort of liberal young Bassanio, who, without the moneyed backing of Antonio and Portia, experienced to his sorrow the hard economic facts of the Jacobean age¹.

JOHN W. DRAPER.

MORGANTOWN: WEST VIRGINIA.

¹ Most critics, apparently because of the faults that they find in the play, seem to imply that *Timon* was not a stage success, or even that it was never played at all: can this be safely assumed?

RONSARD'S POETIC GROWTH

I.

THE ODES OF 1550.

THOUGH Ronsard on the publication of his first volume of collected poems early in 1550¹ was hailed by his friends as the chief of French poets, this proud title was far from being accepted outside his immediate circle. It was naturally questioned by the admirers of Marot and of rival living poets, and, what was of more moment to Ronsard himself, it was not recognised by royal and other prospective patrons. He had to wait ten years before the four-volume edition of his *Works*² set the seal on his reputation. During these years he not only worked his way to recognition by the customary appeals for patronage and other recognised diplomatic methods, but he steadily grew in poetic stature. So then, as it is always interesting to trace the growth of a great poet, it may be well to follow Ronsard's development from his first beginnings to 1560, when he may be said to have reached maturity. For dates of composition and publication I shall rely with confidence on M. Laumonier, who, indeed, has greatly simplified my task in other respects³.

The volume of 1550 was not actually Ronsard's first appearance in public. Before this he had published an *Epithalame* for Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne de Navarre, the parents of Henri IV, who were married in October, 1548⁴; a poem on the entry of Henri II into Paris in October, 1549; and a small volume of eight leaves containing *L'Hymne de France*, *Fantaisie à sa dame* (inspired by Petrarch), and a sonnet. All these were published in 1549, but two years earlier an ode of Ronsard's addressed to Jacques Peletier had appeared in the latter's *Œuvres poétiques*. It is undated, but M. Laumonier conjectures with great probability that it was written at some time between March, 1543, when

¹ *Les Quatre premiers livres des Odes de Pierre de Ronsard, Vendomois. Ensemble son Bocage*. Paris, Cavellat, 1550. The privilege is dated January 10, 1549 (1550 N.S.).

² The printing was finished on December 2, three days before the accession of Charles IX.

³ *Ronsard poétique lyrique*, 1909; *Tableau chronologique des œuvres de Ronsard*, 1911, 2nd ed. 1923, Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. P. Laumonier for the Société des Textes Français modernes, vols. I-VI published 1914-30; *Œuvres complètes de Ronsard*, ed. P. Laumonier, 8 vols., 1914-19—text of 1584.

⁴ It was till recently supposed that the British Museum copy (C 39 c. 71) of this poem was unique, but now three other copies are known. See *Catalogue d'une collection unique des éditions originales de Ronsard*, ed. S. de Ricci, Maggs Brothers, 1925.

Ronsard met Peletier at Le Mans, and April, 1545, when he first saw Cassandre.

Let us now examine the volume of 1550 in detail. First, the arrangement of the poems, particularly of those in the First Book, is worth attention. In the forefront of the battle Ronsard has set his Pindaric odes, thirteen in number¹. They are headed by an ode to the King, Henri II, who had succeeded his father, François I, on March 31, 1547; and this is followed by odes to the Queen, to Mme Marguérite, the King's sister, and to the Cardinal Charles de Guise, not yet Cardinal of Lorraine. The ode to Mme Marguérite was probably composed in the second half of 1549, and the others in 1547 or 1548. After these evident bids for patronage we have an ode to celebrate the victory of François de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, over the troops of Charles V at Ceresole (French Cérises) on April 14, 1544. M. Laumonier, discussing its date, concludes that it was written in 1545 or 1546—the later date seems to me preferable—and that at any rate it is the earliest of the Pindaric odes. Second in point of date is probably the eighth, which celebrates the victory of Guy de Chabot, seigneur de Jarnac, in his famous duel with La Châtaigneraie on July 10, 1549; it was apparently composed soon after the event. The remaining seven are assigned by M. Laumonier to 1549, so that they are among the latest poems of the volume. The sixth and seventh are addressed to François de Carnavelet, *premier écuyer* to Henri II, a sort of Master of the Horse, one of whose duties was to teach the royal pages, of whom Ronsard had been one, to ride. These eight public odes, as they may be termed, are followed by eight (five Pindaric and three non-Pindaric) addressed to several of Ronsard's friends, all poets like himself. They include two to Joachim Du Bellay, two to Dorat, and one to Baif. The nineteenth is addressed to Pierre Paschal, who, though not a poet, was closely associated with the Brigade, while the last forms an *envoi* to the whole book, in which Ronsard boasts of his services to French poetry, associating with his glory his native Vendômois.

The other three books are arranged more or less at haphazard. But the first ode of both Books II and III is addressed to a prospective patron—of Book II to the King and of Book III to Charles de Pisseleu, Bishop of Condom—and Book IV, evidently with similar intent, opens with a reprint of the *Epithalame*. While the last ode of each of the two latter books is like that of the First Book, a statement of his services to poetry,

¹ It must be remembered that the two longest Pindaric odes were not published till later, the *Ode de la Paix* later in the year 1550 and the great ode to Michel de l'Hospital in 1552.

in that of the Second Book, evidently written before 1545, he only makes a modest reference to himself. But, in the last poem of the whole volume, he boldly says:

Tousjours tousjours, sans que jamais me meure,
Je volerai tout vif par l'univers,
Eternizant les champs où je demeure
De mon renom engressés et couvers.

The whole poem, which has only twenty lines, is partly a translation, partly a paraphrase of Horace's famous *envoi* to his Three Books of Odes; the opening line:

Plus dur que fer, j'ai fini mon ouvrage,

being a close rendering of

Exegi monumentum, aere perennius.

But Horace was forty-two when he made his proud boast, and Ronsard was only twenty-five and four months, almost the exact age of Keats at his death, of Keats who asked that his epitaph should be, 'Here lies one whose name was writ in water.' Moreover, there was little in Ronsard's volume, apart from promise, to justify his bold prophecy. It does not contain more than ten poems at the outside that have real merit. For it must be remembered that most of the recognised masterpieces, familiar to us as having a place in every anthology, were not written till after 1550¹, and that others were much altered in the edition of 1555. Yet Ronsard was a true prophet. After a long night there came a new dawn for his poetry, and there will be no more night. The volume of 1550 then, apart from its merits as poetry, is interesting for the light that it throws on Ronsard's conception of poetry, his attitude towards his predecessors, his choice of models, and the themes that inspired him. His conception of poetry was that of the *Pleiade*; generally, that is to say, of the whole school of poetry that acknowledged him as a leader. Their manifesto, written by Joachim Du Bellay, was published in March, 1549, ten months before Ronsard's *Odes*, and we may be sure that it not only represents Ronsard's ideas but was largely inspired by him. In fact the opening of chapter IV of the Second Book is a concise statement at once of his poetical creed and of his practice as exemplified in the *Odes*:

Ly doriques et rely premierement (ô Poete futur) fueillete de main nocturne et journalle les exemplaires grecz et latins: puis me laisse toutes ces vieilles poesies francoyses aux Jeuz Floraux de Thoulouze et au Puy de Rouan: comme rondeaux, ballades, vyrelaiz, chantz royaulx, chansons, et autres telles episseries....Chante moy ces odes, inconnues encor, de la Muse francoyse, d'un lue bien accordé au son de la lyre greque et romaine: et qu'il n'y ait vers, ou n'apparoisse quelque vestige de

¹ *Mignonne, allons voir, Quand je suis vingt ou trente mois, Pourquoi, chétif laboureur, Sur tout parfum j'aime la rose, Bel aubepin fleurissant, and at least ten more.*

rare et antique erudition. Et quand à ce, te fourniront de matiere les louanges des dieux et des hommes vertueux, le discours fatal des choses mondaines, la sollicitude des jeunes hommes, comme l'amour, les vins libres¹, et toute bonne chere. Sur toutes choses, prens garde que ce genre de poeme soit eloigné du vulgaire, enrichy et illustré de motz propres et epithetes non oysifz, orné de graves sentences, et varié de toutes manières de couleurs et ornements poetiques.

This stirring exhortation to write lofty and serious verse was the logical outcome of the theory of poetry held by Ronsard and his friends. They believed firmly in Plato's doctrine of poetical frenzy (*fureur poétique*) as expounded in the *Ion* and the *Phaedrus*². In a Pindaric ode to Du Bellay (I, ix; L. I, 148)³ Ronsard says, referring to the latter's *Vers lyriques*, which were published with his *Olive* in 1549:

Montrant par ton commencement
Que mesme fureur nous afolle,
Tous deus disciples d'une écolle
Où l'on forcene doucement.

Plato held that this gift of poetical frenzy, or, as we should say, inspiration, was bestowed on poets at their birth by Apollo, the god of the lyre, and the Muses, the goddesses of song and poetry. For in the older mythology the Muses did not have separate spheres of action allotted to them. Accordingly in one ode, Ronsard, inspired by Horace's *Descende caelo*, addresses Calliope, and in another *Cho*, while a third, *A sa lire* (I, xx; L. IV, 178), begins with:

Lire dorée, où Phebus seulement
Et les neuf seurs ont part également⁴,

and ends with another invocation of Clio:

Par toi je plai, et par toi je suis leu,
C'est toi qui fais que Ronsard soit éleu
Harpeur François, et quand on le rencontre
Qu'avec le doi par la rue on me montre⁵.

¹ Et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre (Hor. *A.P.* 85).

² *Ion* 553 D ff.; *Phaedrus* 245 A and 265 B. See H. Franchet, *Le Poète et son Œuvre d'après Ronsard*, 1923, pp. 9 ff. It is evident that Ronsard in 1541-3, when he wrote his ode *A son lut* (*Bocage*, II), was already well acquainted with the theory. As at that time he did not know Greek, he probably derived his knowledge, though not necessarily at first hand, from Ficino's Latin translation of Plato, of which Badus published editions in 1518, 1522, and 1533. The French translation of the *Ion* by Richard Blanc, of which only two copies are known, was not published till 1546.

³ The first reference to the poems is, by book and ode, to the edition in the *Textes Français modernes*, and the second, by volume and page, to the 8-vol. edition of 1914-19.

⁴ The first two stanzas are a free translation of Pindar, *Pyth.* I, 1-10:

Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἰσπλοκάμων
σύνδικον Μοῖσαν κτέανον . . .

André Chenier has freely translated the whole simile (*Poésies*, 1901, p. 401).

⁵ Totum muneris hoc tui est,
Quod monstror digito praetereuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae.

Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

(Hor. *Od.* IV, iii, 21-24.)

Ronsard states the theory of the *fureur poétique* very clearly in the hymn to Autumn, II. 12-16 (pub. 1563).

This paraphrase of Horace's *quod monstror digito*, though in later years it became literally true, was in 1550 only a literary reminiscence. But it is typical of the sublime confidence which Ronsard already had in himself and his poetry. In the very first ode that he wrote—in 1541–3, when he was between fifteen and seventeen¹—he is equally confident. He thanks Phoebus and his companions for having made him a poet at his birth. 'La poésie,' he says, 'est un feu consumant.' Poets are ministers of the gods; they are their sole interpreters. This idea frequently recurs in Ronsard. In one of the odes to Du Bellay (I, xvi; L. II, 169) he speaks of poets as 'profettes des dieux' and as 'les ministres plus parfaits de la deité profonde.' Of his own place among them and of his immortality he has no doubt. In an ode to his book (III, xii; L. VI, 13) he boasts that his verses will outlive time (*superieurs du tens*), and he calls on Renown to spread his name from the Atlantic ocean to the confines of heaven:

Et depuis l'isle erratique²,
Jusqu'au Breton éloigné.

Poets are not only immortal themselves, but they confer immortality on those whom they celebrate in their verse. Pindar and Horace are insistent on this, and Ronsard naturally follows them. The ode to Bertran Berger de Poitiers, a member of the Brigade, but whose poems have not come down to us (I, xv; L. II, 165), is a good example of his claim to exercise this privilege:

La mercerie que je porte,
Bertran, est bien d'une autre sorte
Que celle que l'usurier vand
Dedans ses boutiques avares
Ou les marchandises barbares³
Qui enflent l'orgueil du Levant.

.
Je suis le trafiqueur des Muses.

.
D'une main large je la donne
A qui me plait des amis⁴.

Ronsard makes a similar claim in the two odes addressed to François de Carnavalet (I, vi and vii; L. II, 107 and 113):

Le marbre ou l'airain vétu
D'un labour vif par l'enclume,
N'animent pas la vertu
Comme je fai par la plume⁵;

¹ *A son lute* (*Bocage*, ii; L. VI, 57). The poems in which Ronsard glorifies himself and his poetry are generally addressed to his lute or his lyre.

² Delos.

³ 1555 'Ou celle des Indes Barbares'.

⁴ The first three stanzas of the poem are suggested by Pindar, *Pyth.* II, 67–68 and *Isthm.*

II, 6 ff. The greater part of the rest is an imitation of Horace's *Né forte credas* (*Od.* IV, ix).

⁵ Imitated from Pindar, *Ol.* XI, 88–93.

and the epode of vi concludes with :

Les neuf divines Pucelles
Gardent la gloire chez elles,
Et mon luc qu'els ont fait estre
De leurs secrez le grand prestre,
Bruiant un chant solennel,
Epandra de sus ta face
Le dous sucre de sa grace,
Dont le gout semble eternal.

So also Ronsard promises immortality to Pierre Paschal, a member of the Brigade who had a reputation for Latin eloquence. He will sing of his friend's glory:

Qu'elle voltige sans fin
Dans la temple de Memoire.
Ne vois-tu comme elle volle
Guinée en l'air sus mes vers
Soufflés oultre l'univers
Par le vent de ma parole¹.

The campaign on behalf of the new school included an attack on the old. Du Bellay in the *Deffence* had, without mentioning any names, 'repeated some severe criticisms that he had heard' on four of the leading poets of the day, who can be easily recognised as Marot, Héroet, Saint-Gelais, and Scève. Ronsard, except in his mention of Marot in the first line of the ode on the victory of Cériseles, does not refer, even without naming them, to any individual, but he inveighs generally against the ignorance and the jealousy of the older poets. In the ode to Du Bellay (i, ix; L. ii, 148) he speaks of

... Cette jalouse ignorance,
Qui ose desja par la France
L'honneur de mes vers offenser,

and in the second strophe he presses the attack home:

Celui qui est endoctriné
Par le seul naturel bien né
Se hâte de ravir le pris:
Mais ces rimeurs qui ont appris
Avec travail, peines, et ruses,
Tousjours ils enfantent des vers
Tortus, et courans de travers
Parmi la carrière de Muses:
Eus égalés à nos chants beaux,
Ils sont semblables aus corbeaus
Lesquels desous l'ombre quaquetent
Contre deux aigles², qui aguetent

¹ i, xix; L. ii, 177. In 1553 the last line but two was altered for the better to 'Suivant l'aile de mes vers.'

² Ronsard and Du Bellay. The antistrophe is inspired by Pindar, *Ol.* ii, 87-88:

Κόρακες ὤς, ἀκραντα γηρύετον
Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιθα θεῖον.

(Portans la foudre du grand Roi)
 Le tens de ruer leurs tempestes
 Desus les miserables testes
 De ces criards palles d'éfroi.

A similar attack is the subject of a short ode entitled *A sa Muse* (II, xxi; L. VI, 113), which was suppressed in 1553 as a concession to the older school. The ignorance with which Ronsard, not altogether fairly, reproached his predecessors meant ignorance of the classics, especially of Greek. His favourite boast was that he had modelled his verse on Pindar and Horace. In the ode *A sa lire* he says:

Je pillai Thebe et saccagai la Pouille
 T'enrichissant de leur belle dépouille¹;

and in the second ode to his Muse (IV, xviii; L. II, 462) he claims immortality

Pour avoir joint les deux harpeurs divers
 Au doux babil de ma lire d'ivoire.

So in his preface he speaks of himself as 'm'acheminant par un sentier inconnu et monstrant le moien de suivre Pindar et Horace.'

It is generally agreed that his Pindaric odes are a failure. It could hardly have been otherwise. In the first place the conditions under which Pindar composed his odes of victory—their religious and national character, the association of the victor's family and city with myth and legend, the trained chorus, the accompaniment of music—all these, except the music, were wholly alien to Ronsard's age and country. Secondly, Pindar, with his genius for the lyrical treatment of legend and myth, with his lofty and surprising metaphors and his rapid transitions to plain statement or terse aphorism, with his subtle feeling for the effect not only of words themselves but for their position, with his consummate handling of metre, and above all with his superb architectural sense, which enables him to bring together all the diverse elements of his poem into a beautiful and well-proportioned whole—Pindar was no model that a young modern poet could hope to imitate with any success². Ronsard would have been wiser had he taken Horace's warning of *Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari* more to heart, or had he realised that he had before him in Horace's next ode but one an admirable model of an ode of victory by a poet who had neither Pindar's opportunities nor his unique genius³.

¹ Du Bellay uses the words *piller* and *dépouille* in the last chapter of the *Deffence*.

² For the general character of Pindar's odes see, besides the various editions with commentaries (Gildersleeve, Bury, Puech, etc.), A. Croiset, *La Poésie de Pindare*, 1880, and R. C. Jebb, *Essays and Addresses*, Cambridge, 1907, pp. 41–103.

³ Horace, *Odes*, IV, ii and iv.

It cannot even be said that Ronsard made the best use of such opportunities as he had. The legend of Apollo and the nymph Florence, which he borrowed for his ode to Catherine de' Medici, is lamely told, and can have had no interest for French readers. In the ode on the victory of Cérsoles, the only victory that he has occasion to celebrate, after boasting that he will produce a worthier panegyric than Marot's, he dismisses his subject in a few lines and fills the rest of his poem with praise of himself and his verse, a simile borrowed from Homer, and one of Pindar's favourite commonplaces:

Les hommes journaliers meurent,
Les dieux seulement demeurent
Exentés d'adversité.

In the Pindaric ode to Du Bellay, already referred to, the longest of the 1550 volume, Ronsard has again lost an opportunity, for he has made very little of his friend's family and of his two distinguished cousins, Guillaume, the soldier and statesman, and Jean, the Cardinal.

The fact is that Ronsard was far more interested in his own poetical career and in the improvement of French poetry than in national deeds of arms or in the exploits and ancestry of royal and noble personages. The only stanzas in all the Pindaric odes that really come from his heart are those in which he predicts the immortality of himself and his friends and in which he inveighs against the ignorance of their predecessors.

But though his attempt to imitate Pindar failed as a whole, he learnt much from him. In the first place he learnt the value of style, the power of language and metre to give dignity to poetry and to sustain it in its higher flights. But he also learnt some minor lessons. He learnt, for instance, the advantage of beginning a poem on a note that attracts attention. Pindar generally begins with an invocation, either of some city or of some deity, or, in one instance, of the 'golden lyre of Apollo and the violet-tressed Muses' (*Pyth.* 1). But sometimes he begins with a gnomic utterance expressed in the most simple language, as in the well-known 'Water is best' of the first Olympic ode, or in the openings of the fourth and sixth Nemean odes. Or sometimes he arrests attention by a striking simile, as in the sixth and seventh Olympic odes. Ronsard imitates all these methods.

As I have noted above, the ode *A sa lire* begins with a free translation of the opening of Pindar's first Pythian ode¹. Similarly the ode to the King (1, 1) begins with a happy rendering of the beautiful simile which

¹ See above, p. 35.

opens the seventh Olympic¹. In I, x we have an example of a gnomic utterance:

Le potier hait le potier,
Le feuvre le charpentier,
Le Poète tout ainsi²
Hait celui qui l'est ainsi.

And another in III, xxiii (L. II, 128):

Ne s'effroier de chose qui arive,
Ne s'en facher aussi,
Rend l'homme heureux et fait encor qu'il vive
Sans peur, ne sans souci³.

In his full and admirable survey of Ronsard's Pindaric odes M. Laumonier points out that the favourable influence which Pindar had on Ronsard 'made itself felt chiefly outside the Pindaric odes and after their publication, from the time when he ceased to copy his model... when in fine he wrote his *Hymns*, his *Poems* and his *Discourses*⁴.' With the first part of this remark I thoroughly agree, but is not Pindar's influence already present in the non-Pindaric odes of 1550, and that not merely in the technical detail of which I have given examples above, but in matters that are of the very essence of poetry? But I shall return to this later.

With Horace Ronsard was familiar earlier than with Pindar. The loss of a favourite copy of his poems moves him to imprecations against the thief (IV, iii; L. VI, 123) and in one of his earliest odes, evidently written before he was acquainted with Pindar, *Des roses plantées près un blé* (IV, xiii; L. VI, 127), he declares that he will follow

Le long vol des ailes d'Horace.

Some of the odes are imitated from Horace throughout. For instance the ode on the treaty of peace between François I and Henry VIII (1545) addressed to Maclou de la Haye (III, iv; L. VI, 111), which is really a drinking-song, is largely made up of two of Horace's similar odes (I, xxxvii and III, xix), and it ends with a rendering of *Dulce est desipere in loco*. Similarly the charming little ode to his page (II, xi; L. II, 200) is a very skilful mosaic from no less than four odes⁵. Another poem, an early one of the pre-Pindaric days (III, xviii; L. II, 79), represents an ode (I, vi), and the ode to Mercury (III, xxvi; L. VI, 125) is a paraphrase of Horace's to the same deity with a little help from Homer and Virgil. But these are only a few examples; readers of M. Laumonier's fully

¹ See *post*, p. 48, for the whole opening strophe.

² From Hesiod.

³ Imitated from Horace, *Ep.* I, vi, 1-5 (*Nil admirari*).

⁴ *Ronsard lyrique*, p. 337, and for the whole survey, pp. 296-345. My references are to the first edition. See also G. Cohen, *Ronsard, sa vie et son œuvre*, 1924, pp. 77-85.

⁵ See Laumonier, *op. cit.*, pp. 576-7.

annotated edition of the *Odes* of 1550 will find a reference to Horace on nearly every page.

One of the themes which Du Bellay had suggested in the *Deffence*¹ was 'le discours fatal des choses mondaines.' In accordance with this Ronsard finds material for his Muse in the great commonplaces of life, and here too draws his inspiration largely from Horace.

Quand la mort se courousse
Sans egard elle pousse
A bas un Empereur
De la même secousse
Qu'ell' fait un laboureur²,

and

Toutes choses mondaines
Qui vestent nerfs, et venes,
Egalle mort attend,
Soient povres, ou soient Princes,
Car, sur toutes provinces
Sa main large s'estends³,

are both directly inspired by

Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turres⁴,

and similar passages in Horace.

An equally favourite theme is that of *Carpe diem*, which poets of an Epicurean tendency treat as if it were a natural corollary to 'death is common to all.' It is the theme of at least two whole odes of Horace, *Quid bellicosus Cantaber* (II, xi) and *Otium divos* (II, xvi), and it was also a favourite with Ronsard. It inspires, as everyone knows, the famous ode to Cassandre:

Mignonne, allons voir si la rose,

and in the 1550 volume it appears in an earlier ode to the same mistress:

Incontinent nous mourrons, et Mercure
Nous convoira sous la vallée obscure,
Et au froid royaume odieux
A la belle clarté des Dieux⁵.

Donc ce pendant, que l'âge nous convie
De nous ébatre, égaions nostre vie:
Ne vois-tu le tens qui s'enfuit,
Et la vieillesse qui nous suit⁶.

¹ See above, p. 37.

² *Bocage*, xiii.

³ IV, vii; L. II, 319.

⁴ *Od.* I, iv, 13. For the general idea cp. Pindar, *Nem.* VII, epod. 1 and antistr. 2 ('Ἀλλὰ κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται κύμ' Ἀίδα).

⁵ Altered to:

Nous voilera d'une poussière obscure,
Et guidera nos tristes pas
Au froid royaume de là-bas.

⁶ IV, xiv; L. II, 327. In 1578 the title *A Cassandre* was omitted and in line 11 *Cassandre* was changed to *maistresse*. See for a full discussion of Ronsard's treatment of these two themes Laumonier, *op. cit.*, pp. 566-91.

The same 'discours fatal des choses mondaines' is, as M. Laumonier points out, precisely the subject of the ode to Antoine Chasteigner, from which I have already quoted the opening stanza¹. Here is another:

Comme le tens vont les choses mondaines
 Suivant son mouvement:
 Il est soudain, et les saisons soudaines
 Font leurs cours brevement.

Farther on are several lines (21-28, 33-36, and the conclusion) which like the first stanza are inspired by Horace, while lines 29-32 are imitated from Virgil's *Georgics*.

Very similar in character is the ode to Charles de Pisseleu, which stands at the head of the Third Book. This too takes a commonplace for its theme, the diversity of human affairs, and this too closely follows Horace, with a little help from Virgil's *Georgics*. The main source is Horace's first ode, *Maecenas atavis edite regibus*, but the first stanza, which is a version of the opening lines of the first satire, *Qui fit Maecenas*, does not agree with the rest, for it refers to the love of change in human nature and not to the diversity of human affairs.

About ten of the odes are addressed to Cassandre, for the most part written either in 1545, after his first meeting with her at Blois, or in 1546. One of them (iv, viii; L. vi, 125) is a paraphrase of Horace's ode to Chloë (i, xxiii), but Ronsard's chief source for his love-poems at this period is the Dutch neo-Latin poet, John Secundus, whose poems, comprising his well-known *Basia*, had appeared in 1541². Other sources are Catullus, Ovid, Ariosto, and Pontano, the best writer of Latin verse of the fifteenth century. As a whole these poems of kisses are not very successful, lacking, as they do, the passion of Catullus's *Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus* and Louise Labé's *Baise m'encor, rebaïse moy et baise*. The best known is *Ma petite columbelle* (ii, xxiv; L. ii, 211), but we know it in the greatly improved version of 1555. Superior to this in the original version is the ode which immediately follows it (ii, xxv; L. vi, 101)³, for in this Ronsard's love for Cassandre is blended with his love of the country. The former sentiment included an element of fancy, but the latter was wholly of the heart.

There are two odes in which an unknown and cruel Janne takes the place of Cassandre⁴. The first (iii, xiii; L. ii, 276) is in part a close imitation of Horace's *O crudelis adhuc* (iv, x) and in part a blending of

¹ See above, p. 41.

² He died in 1536 at the age of twenty-four. There are only 19 *Basia*.

³ Ronsard suppressed this ode in 1584.

⁴ The name Janne appears in a poem of the *Meslanges* of 1554 and in a sonnet of the *Continuation des Amours* (1555), and Ronsard substituted it for Cassandre in ii, xiii.

passages from two other of his odes. The second, *A Cupidon pour punir Janne cruelle* (III, XIX; L. II, 283), which owes, except for the first three stanzas, little to Horace, is with its tripping metre of six and five syllables alternatively of considerable charm. M. Cohen calls it *ravis-sante*.

Ronsard's love of the country was, as I have said, very genuine. It was, as is often the case, made up of two sentiments, a deep affection for his home and an innate love of nature. In this he resembles Lamartine, with whom he might have said, 'Je suis né parmi les pasteurs.' But his love of nature had not the spiritual quality of Lamartine's; it was a simple pleasure in the country that he knew so well—the woods, the river, the birds, the flowers. And he delighted in watching the ordinary occupations of the countryside—the men getting in the harvest, the cattle sheltering from the midday sun, the shepherd leading his sheep to water, and the vintage with its varied activities and its feasts and ceremonies. It is not surprising then that in this volume of 1550 the most successful poems on the whole are those in which he sings the praises of his native Vendômois.

The manor of Possonnière, where Ronsard was born, is a moderate-sized house, built by his father about 1515 in place of an older one¹. It stands not far from the south or left bank of the Loir, a clear, deep, slow-running river, from which it is separated by 'poplar-screened meadows.' It is backed by a range of low hills crowned by remnants of the forest of Gastine, which in Ronsard's day covered almost the whole of the Bas-Vendomois on the left bank of the Loir and stretched several leagues to the south in the direction of Tours. On the other side of the Loir and at about the same distance from it is another low range of hills. George Wyndham says that 'the scenery is elegiac rather than romantic²,' which accords on the whole with Ronsard's genius, but for Ronsard this country of his childhood held a large element of romance, which he has happily interpreted in his poems.

This then was the 'little corner of the earth,' which he says in the words of Horace 'will smile on him before all others' and which he describes with such loving affection in *Les louanges de Vendomois* (II, xvii; L. II, 205)—the *deux longs tertres*, one topped by the forest of Gastine, the other covered with vineyards which produce a noble wine, and between them the river Loir, *tard à la fonte*, fertilising the pastures

¹ It is in the western corner of Loir et Cher. For the manor house, before its restoration, see Laumonier, *Ronsard et sa province*, 1924, p. 81, and for its present appearance—it has been altered as little as possible—*ib.*, p. 65.

² *Ronsard et La Pléiade*, 1906.

with a rich alluvial deposit. And in another ode to the Vendômois (IV, iv; L. II, 312), written when he was intending to visit Italy, he says in a beautiful and moving stanza:

Adieu fameux rivages
De bel émail couvers,
Et vous antres sauvages¹
Délices de mes vers:
Et vous riches campagnes,
Où presque enfant je vi
Les neuf Muses campagnes
M'enseigner à l'envi.

Two of the odes are in praise of the Loir, but the one beginning *Source d'argent toute pleine* (IV, xv; L. VI, 128) is much the better of the two. It is in fact one of the best pieces in the volume. Of the two odes to the source of Bellerie, *O Déesse Bellerie*² (II, ix; L. II, 199) is the best known, but we know it in the version of 1555 in which the first stanza has been greatly improved and some improvements have also been made in the third and fourth stanzas. Another favourite, *A la forest de Gastine* (II, xxiii; L. II, 210), was almost completely re-written in 1555; in its original form it is of little merit. M. Laumonier rightly calls attention to the ode *De la venue de l'Esté* (III, x; L. II, 272), a good realistic picture of country pursuits on a hot day of summer. The execution, however, is unequal. Some of the stanzas are admirable, as for example the following:

Ce pendant leurs femmes sont prestes
D'assurer au haut de leurs testes
Des plats de bois, ou de baris,
Et fillant, marchent par la plaine
Pour aller apâter³ la peine
De leurs laborieux maris.

So are the two last stanzas, which describe how the cowherd, playing his pipes, takes the cattle to drink and brings them back to rest from the heat. These stanzas are perhaps inspired, as M. Laumonier suggests, by a passage from the *Georgics* (III, 329 ff.), but the actual language is Ronsard's own. Unfortunately the poem contains as many indifferent stanzas as good ones, and among them the two first.

The gem of the odes which sing the praises of the Vendômois, and indeed of the whole volume, is *De l'Election de son Sepulcre* (IV, v; L. II, 315), which, except for a few slight alterations, all for the better, and the omission of three stanzas, remained unchanged in 1555⁴.

¹ This refers to caves hollowed in the rock, some of which still serve as dwellings for the inhabitants.

² Altered to *O Fontaine Bellerie*.

³ 1555 *soulager*.

⁴ M. Lanson has analysed it in detail in the *Rev. Universitaire* of January, 1906, but I have not seen this.

Hitherto I have only mentioned one poem, *A son luit*, of the *Bocage*, the group of fourteen odes, which Ronsard relegated to the end of the volume as 'imparfaites, pour n'estre mesurées, ne propres à la lire,' that is to say odes in which there was some irregularity in the sequence of the rhymes. We saw that *A son luit* was his earliest poem, but several other poems of the *Bocage* (v to ix, xii and xiii) are not much later, and none, except the long and already-published *Avantentrée du Roi tres-chrestien à Paris*, is later than the beginning of 1548. The most interesting are the three addressed to Gaspar d'Auvergne, the author of a prose translation of Machiavelli's *Prince* (1553) (v, vi and viii), and xiii (*A un sien ami fâché de suivre la court*). The theme of v is *Aequam memento rebus in arduis Servare mentem* and *Permitte divis caetera* but it mingles Christian inspiration with its Horatian reminiscences. In the last stanza of vi we have a paraphrase of *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, while the theme of viii is the uncertainty of life:

Bien tost sous les ombres, Gaspar,
La mort nous guidera subite,
Ne sceptre ne triomphant char,
Ne font que l'homme resuscite.

Though Ronsard's volume is on the whole greater in promise than in performance, it is none the less a landmark in the history of French poetry. It marks the realisation of the manifesto put forth in the *Deffence*; it raises French poetry to a higher plane. Du Bellay indeed attempted himself to carry out his programme, but his *Olive* represents only one item of it and his *Vers lyriques* are on the whole, as their latest editor, M. Chamard, says, mediocre. They come from the same workshop as Ronsard's odes, but they are of inferior workmanship.

One of Du Bellay's counts against Marot and his followers was that their poetry was largely concerned with trivial themes. Now it is true that Marot wrote *cog-à-l'asnes*, *blasons*, *étrennes*, and other *épiceries*, but, apart from his *Psalms*, he also wrote grave poems such as the *Complainte d'un pastoureaux chrestien* or the *Déploration de Messire Florimond Robertet*, while his love-poems show greater tenderness and more real feeling than any of Ronsard's. We must then look deeper for the explanation of Ronsard's services to French poetry.

According to Wordsworth poetry is concerned with man, nature, and human life, or, putting it rather differently, with man in relation to nature and human life. Now, as regards the second relation, we have seen that Ronsard in his first volume does little more than repeat the thoughts of Pindar and Horace on the great commonplaces or themes of

life. But even this marks an advance beyond Marot, for it shows an interest in the universal as well as in the particular. It is an approach to a philosophy of life.

A more important difference between the two poets is in their treatment of nature. Marot sees nature through the eyes of other poets, Ronsard through his own. The descriptions of nature in Marot's eclogues on the death of Louise of Savoy and on the birth of the prince who was afterwards François II are largely inspired by Virgil. His account in the eclogue to the King of how as a boy he used to make snares and cages for birds and to look for the hiding-places of polecats and ermines and hedgehogs may be a record of personal experience, but it does not show any real feeling for nature.

Ronsard on the other hand, though he interweaves with them reminiscences of Horace and Virgil, relies chiefly on his own impressions in his descriptions of the country that he loved so well. And he does not merely describe it, but he makes it alive with the murmuring of streams, the rustling of woods, and the songs of birds, and he peoples it with shepherds and cowherds and vinedressers. Or, if he is in an imaginative mood, he introduces the gracious forms of classical mythology—Apollo pursuing a nymph along the bank of the Loir, Diana hunting in the forest of Gastine, Dryads dancing on the turf by the source of Bellerie.

Thus with his feeling on the one hand for nature and on the other for the universal in human life Ronsard has a wider range than Marot. But this only concerns the subject-matter; the greatest difference is in his poetic treatment. His flight is still unsteady, but he can soar into a region unknown to Marot. It is here that his debt to Pindar, of which I have spoken, comes in. He learnt from him the value of metaphor and simile¹, of concrete symbols and arresting epithets, of all in short that helps to call up a picture before the inward vision.

But poetry appeals to the imagination through the ear no less than through the eye, and Ronsard who loved music made himself a master of all that pertains to harmony and rhythm. When he published his first volume he had still much to learn, but he served his apprenticeship by experimenting in many metres. Here again M. Laumonier has covered the ground by tabulating all Ronsard's metres and noting those which he took over from his predecessors. In his summary of the results, he finds that Ronsard employs altogether 150 different metres, of which 34 come from Marot and about 15 from other sources. This agrees with Faguet's estimate, who says that he has roughly counted over

¹ Pindar, however, rarely uses a formal simile.

100. My equally rough calculation for the volume of 1550 alone is that it contains about 60 new metres and rather over 20 old ones. It is inevitable that among so many experiments there must be failures. These occur notably in the Pindaric odes, in nearly all of which Ronsard has made the mistake of attempting too long a stanza. Faguet, indeed, declares that whenever his stanza exceeds ten or twelve lines—he is evidently not thinking of sonnets—he fails completely. One reason of course is that in a long stanza it is difficult to preserve its unity, except by a too elaborate interlacing of rhymes. Even in a stanza of eight lines Ronsard sometimes fails to give this impression, as M. Laumonier points out with regard to *Sur la mort d'une haquenée* (II, x; L. VI, 92), in which the stanzas, though printed as huitains, are really made up of two quatrains. Some of the metres fail from over-elaboration, as for example those of III, xxiv (L. VI, 417) and III, xxi (L. II, 285). Sometimes the metre is too heavy for the theme, as in the drinking-song to Maclou de la Haye (III, xvii; L. II, 281). Sometimes on the other hand it is too tripping, as in the ode *A Cupidon pour punir Janne cruelle* (III, xix; L. II, 283), with its quatrain of six-syllable and four-syllable lines—a metre not of Ronsard's invention. More obviously unsuitable is the metre of the memorial ode for the diplomatist and scholar, Lazare de Baïf (III, xxii; L. VI, 126), which has a stanza of four trisyllables and two heptasyllables¹, a metre used by Des Périers in his *Queste d'Amitié*.

But there are many successes, and the test of success is that not only should sound and rhythm please the ear but the resulting harmony should be appropriate to the character of the poem. One of Ronsard's favourite stanzas was the sizain of octosyllables. It is the stanza of the famous but later *Mignonne, allons voir si la rose*, and in this first volume it appears in *La mercerie que je porte* and *Ja-ja les grans chaleurs s'émeuvent*, from both of which I have quoted above². It is used inversely, that is to say, with the masculine and feminine lines changing places, in I, xviii (L. II, 174) and III, viii (L. II, 270), the latter being one of Marot's best metres, that of Psalm xxiv. Another favourite is the quatrain of octosyllables, as in an ode to Charles de Pisseleu (II, xviii; L. VI, 101) and in one of the two to the source of Bellerie (III, vi; L. II, 268). In the early ode to René Macé, from which I have quoted a stanza³, the first line rhymes with the fourth and the second with the third as in *In Memoriam*⁴.

Two poems, to both of which I have previously referred, are in deca-

¹ 3 m 3 m 7 f 3 m² 3 m² 7 f.

² See above, p. 36 and p. 44.

³ See above, p. 37.

⁴ This metre was first used by Ben Jonson in English verse.

syllables, the second ode to Charles de Pisseleu, and the last of the Fourth Book, *Plus dur que fer*. In the latter the five quatrains are linked together by the final rhyme¹. There are about half-a-dozen poems in heptasyllables, mostly arranged in quatrains, but later Ronsard rejected them all except one. The exception is the first Pindaric ode, which opens with the translation of Pindar to which I have referred above. I will now quote the whole strophe as it is of great interest from the metrical point of view:

Comme un qui prend une coupe,
Seul honneur de son tresor,
Et donne à boire à la troupe
Du vin qui rit dedans l'or:
Ainsi versant la rousée,
Dont ma langue est arousée,
Sus la race de *Valois*,
En mon dous Nectar j'abreuve
Le plus grand Roi qui se preuve,
Soit en armes ou en lois.

Alter the heptasyllables into octosyllables and you have the classical stanza of French lyrical poetry as developed by Malherbe. A dizain with the same interchange of rhymes was also used by Margaret of Navarre, but her line was a hexasyllable².

Ronsard's rejection of so many of his heptasyllabic poems was apparently not due to any special dislike of lines with an odd number of syllables, for the beautiful and famous

Bel aubepin fleurissant
Verdissant

is composed of heptasyllables and trisyllables.

The line of six syllables is not a great favourite with Ronsard. In this volume he uses it in a sizain for two odes to Cassandre, of which one is *O pucelle plus tendre*³, and in a quatrain in *Les louanges de Vendomois*⁴, but the metre is so simple, though none the worse for that, that I need not quote examples. Both metres are used by Marot. So far I have only mentioned stanzas in which all the lines are of the same length. But Ronsard also employs with success stanzas of lines which vary in length, stanzas of ten and six syllables, of eight and three, and of six and four. The ode to Chasteigner is a good example of the stanza of ten and six: it has a gravity that exactly suits the theme. But I have already quoted two stanzas from it⁵.

In the less successful of the two odes addressed to the Loir⁶, the stanza has eight lines, of which the first two and the last two are octosyllables

¹ See above, p. 34.

² See my *Literature of the French Renaissance*, I, p. 119, where I have quoted a stanza.

³ See above, p. 42.

⁴ IV, vi; L. VI, 124.

and the four intermediate ones are hexasyllables. They are arranged as follows: ff m f² f² m m² m². I will quote the first stanza, which is decidedly better than the rest of the poem:

Loir, dont le cours heureux distille
 Au sein d'un pais si fertile,
 Fai bruire mon renom
 D'un grand son en tes rives,
 Qui se doivent voir vives
 Par l'honneur de mon nom.
 Ainsi Thetys te puisse aimer
 Plus que nul qui entre en sa mer.

More successful is a six-lined stanza of octosyllables and trisyllables:

Dieu te gard l'honneur du printens
 Qui étens
 Ses beaus tresors de sur la branche,
 Et qui decouvres au soleil
 Le vermeil
 De ta beauté naïve et franche¹.

The third combination, that of three lines of six syllables followed by one of four, is to be found in what I have called the gem of the volume:

Antres, et vous fontaines
 De ces roches hautaines
 Devallans contre bas
 D'un glissant pas:
 Et vous forests, et ondes
 Par ces prez vagabondes,
 Et vous rives, et bois,
 Oiez ma vois².

The words are neither rich nor rare, and the rest of the poem, which is fairly long, is equally simple, without metaphor or other imagery. But the metre and the words are, as Campion has it, 'coupled so lovingly,' that the poem has a haunting charm. Of our common measure, the quatrain of alternate eights and sixes, M. Laumonier only records one example, the well-known *A la forest de Gastine*, but, as I pointed out, it was so much altered and improved in 1555 as to become practically a new poem. The only stanza that was left unaltered is the last; so I will quote it:

En toi habite desormais
 Des Muses le college
 Et ton bois ne sente jamais
 La flamme sacrilege.

The rhythm of the third line is to my ear thoroughly bad³.

¹ *Des roses plantées près un blé* (iv, xiii; L. vi, 127). Why Ronsard suppressed this poem in 1578 I cannot conceive.

² *De l'Electon de son Sepulcre* (iv, v; L. ii, 315).

³ It would be interesting to compare Campion and Herrick with Ronsard as metrists. Both, like Ronsard, loved music; Campion composed the music for his poems; Herrick was a friend of musicians; of the two Campion experimented the more boldly and freely, but Herrick, as a true son of Ben, was the more perfect artist. Both, like Ronsard, were classical scholars; Herrick was often inspired by Catullus, Horace, or Anacreon.

Two of the odes are composed of alternate stanzas in different metres. Thus in the ode to Calliope a quatrain of decasyllables alternates with a sizain of hexasyllables. The metre is of great charm and is highly praised by M. Laumonier, and the first strophe with its two stanzas is really good:

Descen du ciel, Caliope, et repousse
Tous les ennuis de ce tien nourrisson,
Soit de ton luc, ou soit de ta vois douce,
Ou par le miel qui coule en ta chanson.

Par toi je respire,
C'est toi qui ma lire
Guides et conduis:
C'est toi ma princesse,
Qui me fais sans cesse
Fol comme je suis¹.

The other ode constructed on a double system is *Ma petite columbelle*, but, as I have pointed out, it is very inferior in the 1550 version to what it afterwards became. Ronsard's use of alexandrines belongs to a later stage of his career. There are only two instances of their use in this volume, in both of which it is also combined with hexasyllables. Neither is a success.

The judicious choice of a metre, whether it be the invention of a new one or the adoption of one already existing, is not the whole of the poet's task in versification. He must have a correct ear for the timbre of vowel and consonantal sounds, and he must know how to combine them so as to form an agreeable and appropriate harmony. He must also be able to regulate his rhythm by the judicious intermingling of long and short words, long words tending to quicken the rhythm and short ones to retard it.

It is clear that in all these matters Ronsard has still much to learn. He cannot yet sufficiently discriminate between good and bad metres; his command of language is not assured; he leaves roughnesses and cacophonies, which he removed later; in a word his execution is still uncertain. M. Vianey, who fully recognises the importance of the odes of 1550 and their many merits, says with truth that there is not a single piece in the volume, or indeed any piece before the famous *Ode à Cas-*

¹ II, ii; L. II, 185. So Congreve begins his first regular Pindaric ode with

Daughter of Memory, Immortal Muse, Calliope.

It is prefixed by an excellent little *Discourse on the Pindarique Ode*. He wrote a second regular Pindaric and had previously written two irregular ones. Gray's two Pindaric odes are also quite regular with strophe, antistrophe, and epode, but except these two and Ben Jonson, who led the way, I do not know of any other of our older poets, who have attempted them. Gray's *The Progress of Poesy* is a noble poem, but happily it does not attempt to imitate Pindar.

sandre (1553), which really merits the name of a masterpiece. Finally¹, there is the question of originality and imitation. But the theory of the *Pléiade* on this subject, which was proclaimed by Du Bellay in the *Deffence*, attacked by Sibilet, Des Autels, and Aneau, and defended, though with decreasing confidence, by Du Bellay in the second preface to his *Olive*, has been sufficiently discussed by modern critics—Faguet², M. Chamard³, M. Cohen⁴—and, as Faguet points out, it has never been better summed up than by La Fontaine in his *Épître à Huet*. The common sense of the matter would seem to be this, that imitation is compatible with originality when the imitator makes what he has borrowed his own, that is to say when he has impressed upon it his own personality. Judged by this test Ronsard has a valid claim to originality, for he has certainly impressed his personality upon his work, especially on the poems of his own countryside. But, after all, his first volume is memorable, not for originality, but because it is a practical recognition of what was wanting to French poetry to make it really great. If he, as was natural in a first attempt, fell short of his ideal, at any rate he pointed out the path by which greatness was to be achieved.

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¹ Joseph Vianey, *Les Odes de Ronsard* (in the series of *Les Grands Événements Littéraires*), 1932, p. 92. This article was planned before I saw the announcement of M. Vianey's book, and almost completed before I read it. May I apply to myself one sentence: 'Celui qui étudie aujourd'hui les Odes de Ronsard que peut-il faire, sinon glaner quelques épis laissés par les ouvriers qui ont si bien moissonné le champ?'

² *Seizième Siècle*, pp. 213-15.

³ *Joachim Du Bellay*, c. v.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 86-88.

ON SOME GERMAN AFFINITIES WITH THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

Germany, once the arena of dissent, now sheds the light of religion over other countries.
FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL.

THE historian, J. A. Froude, remarked in later life that the whole history of the Oxford Movement, if not of the English Church, would have been different if Newman had known German¹. The insinuation is, presumably, that in the German critical theology of the period the Oxford Reformers would have found the historical refutation of their catholicising doctrine and so have desisted from their purpose. Now, though Newman himself knew no German, others did. Indeed, the real progenitor of the Oxford Movement was the Rev. Hugh James Rose of Cambridge, when in 1825 he warned the English Church against the rationalising doctrines of German theology. According to Newman, this book first drew attention to the perils 'which lay in the biblical and theological speculations of Germany.'

At first sight, then, the Oxford Movement, far from having affinities with Germany, would seem to have been actually started in reaction to German influence.

But there is a wider aspect to the question which has not to my knowledge been sufficiently considered. When in July, 1833, John Keble preached his sermon on National Apostasy from the University pulpit of St Mary's, he was only bringing to a head what had been in preparation for a long time. It is, indeed, generally recognised that the Oxford Movement was but one manifestation of the larger Romantic Movement then sweeping over Europe². In France the reaction to the Revolution and its rationalistic principles was finding expression in *Le Génie du Christianisme* of Chateaubriand, in Saint Martin's mysticism, and in the theocratic doctrines of Joseph de Maistre and Bonald. The defeat of the French dreams of hegemony in Europe had everywhere roused the spirit of nationalism; in England, as in Germany, men were looking into their national origins and reviving their past history. Carlyle's *Past and*

¹ Cf. W. Hutton, *The Oxford Movement in The Cambridge History of English Literature*, XII, p. 254.

² Cf. the significant title *Northern Catholicism. Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements*, ed. by N. P. Williams and C. Harris, London, 1933. This book is concerned, however, with the results, rather than with the genesis, of the Movement. An admirable survey of German theology in its relations to England is provided by O. Pfleiderer, *The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant and its Progress in Great Britain since 1825*, London, 1909. W. Vollrath in his *Theologie der Gegenwart in Grossbritannien*, Gütersloh, 1928, brings the story down to modern times.

Present (1842) eventually summarised these tendencies. The success of the forgeries of Macpherson or Chatterton can only be explained by the susceptibility of the reading public to ancient traditions. The spirit of the past had infused a new fashion into architecture which had culminated in Pugin's *Contrasts* (1835), and was disseminated by Victorian Gothic with all its strange varieties¹. It was but natural that the greatest institution of the Middle Ages, the Church, should meet with sympathetic attention, and that the newer generation should revere what its fathers had cast aside as superstition. This more tolerant attitude resulted in the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. Two books published about this time are symptomatic of the new attitude to religion: Thomas More's *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of Religion*, London, 1832, and W. H. Digby's *Mores Catholici or Ages of Faith*, London, 1831-40².

Catholic ideas, Newman maintained, 'were in the air,' but it is permissible to be sceptical of these generalities and, if one probes deep enough, it is often possible to discern connecting links in the history of thought. It is my endeavour in the following pages to suggest, if not the influences of, at least the affinities with, the German Romantic Movement. The Catholic tendencies which show themselves in the Oxford Movement offer some remarkable parallels in that school of thought which is known in Germany as 'Die ältere Romantik,' and whose leaders were the brothers Schlegel, Tieck, Wackenroder, Novalis and Schleiermacher. These men were, in the main, responsible for breaking down the barriers which eighteenth-century Rationalism had raised between life, art and religion. They were the first to testify to the dangerous, if fascinating, fertilisation which the arts, philosophy, poetry and religion mutually exercise; the first to achieve the synthesis which looked upon all manifestations of life as 'eine progressive Universalpoesie.' And in bringing their light to bear upon the past, they rescued from oblivion not only the literary and artistic treasures of the Middle Ages, but looked back with longing to the time when the whole of Europe was composed of one united body, politic and ecclesiastic.

In 1797 appeared the *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* by W. H. Wackenroder, a little book big with suggestions for the future. In these naïve and fervent sketches music and painting, architecture and sculpture are glorified with holy reverence, and are all related to religious piety. It is not only a panegyric of German art, but of

¹ Cf. K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, London, 1928.

² The eleven volumes of this work are replete with quotations from Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis.

Christian art set in an idealised Middle Age. In the exaltation of the 'Divine Raphael' there is expressed the conviction that a picture must represent, and be felt as, a religious experience.

Thus did Wackenroder first proclaim that affinity which the artist must always experience with the outward symbol of religion. It was as yet but a confession of artistic faith, and it was reserved for Novalis to give his thoughts a more definitely dogmatic turn.

Friedrich von Hardenberg, better known as Novalis, had come from a pious Christian home in which the influence of the Moravian brotherhood was very pronounced. Apart from Schleiermacher, he was the only one of the Romanticists to have realised religion as an experience of the soul, when to Tieck and Schlegel it was still a concept of the intellect.

Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion* (1799) with their plea for the inwardness of the religious life, and their thesis that religion is a matter of individual feeling, inspired Novalis to compose his *Geistliche Lieder*. Few hymn writers have so successfully combined a genuine religious feeling with a mystic transubstantiation of the material world. For the first time in Protestant Germany the Blessed Virgin is restored to the place in the Church from which the Reformation had banished her. Not that these hymns are a confession of Catholicism: Novalis's religion is like his feeling for art, with which he constantly identifies it, the desire and ability of the individual to enter into, and participate in, the soul of the universe, of which the external phenomena of life are merely symbols.

It is obvious enough that this is anything but orthodox Christianity, and indeed, for Novalis as for Friedrich Schlegel at this period, Christianity was but a stage in the direction of a new and higher religion. It was with a view to setting this 'New Religion' in its proper historical perspective that in 1799 Novalis wrote his essay *Die Christenheit oder Europa*.

Wackenroder had rehabilitated the Middle Ages (it was actually the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) as a period of artistic splendour. Novalis was prompted to claim them as an ideal time of religious unity. 'Those splendid times,' Novalis begins, 'when Europe formed but one Christian land; when one Christianity dwelt throughout the civilised part of the world, when Rome became a second Jerusalem....'

With the Reformation Christianity was undone; material things gained the ascendancy; the taste for the arts suffered accordingly. What had been an attack on Catholicism became hatred of religion in general; the new way of thinking, the so-called philosophy of enlightenment, anathe-

matished imagination and sentiment. The result was a second Reformation, in which the religious dissolution begun by Luther resulted in complete irreligiosity or atheism. The French Revolution was the distant but logical conclusion of Protestantism¹.

Novalis concludes his panegyric with a spirited call to return to the faith of our fathers. But at the same time he longs for a purified form of the Catholic faith, 'which shall combine with the other two forms of Christianity to bless the world for ever. Shall not Protestantism at last cease and give place to a new and more enduring Church?'

Novalis was the first Protestant to admit that modern civilisation is derived, in the first instance, from the Catholic Church², whilst, at the same time, denying the validity of its present constitution. This idea was seized on with avidity by his Romantic friends: 'Christianity is here à l'ordre du jour,' wrote Dorothea Schlegel in 1799, but it was Christianity of an unorthodox, purely Romantic variety. Friedrich Schlegel dreamed of establishing a new religion, based, it is true, on Catholic doctrines, but incorporating elements from classical and oriental sources; and of this new religion Novalis was to be the Messiah. It was a grotesque conception of a rebellious intellect, which led eventually to disillusion and conversion. And so in 1826, when he first published his friend's essay, Friedrich Schlegel, who in the meantime had renounced his Romantic dreams to become a Catholic, omitted the tell-tale paragraph in which Novalis had pleaded for the foundation of a new Christianity over the grave of the Papacy and the ruins of Rome³. The essay thus appeared as a full vindication of Catholicism and caused much perturbation among the Protestants of Germany. It was naturally acclaimed as a triumph by the Catholic party, and in France Montalembert hailed Novalis in *L'Avenir* of 1831 (a paper with which the Oxford Reformers were familiar)

¹ Edmund Burke had maintained the connexion between Reformation, Rationalism and Revolution before Novalis, and had also sung the praises of the Middle Ages. But though he considered 'religion as the basis of civil society' he was no champion of theocracy. His *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (first translated into German in 1791) was for the German Romantics 'a supremely revolutionary book against the Revolution,' and its influence in Germany was considerable. Cf. A. Müller, *Die Auseinandersetzung der Romantik mit den Ideen der Revolution in Romantik-Forschungen*, and P. Kluckhohn, *Persönlichkeit und Gemeinschaft*, both in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, Buchreihe xvi and v, Halle, 1929 and 1925.

² According to Eichendorff in *Ueber die ethische und religiöse Bedeutung der neueren romantischen Poesie in Deutschland*, 1847 (reprinted in 1866 in vol. II of his *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands*).

³ The offending paragraphs run as follows: 'It (the old Catholic faith) is purified by the stream of time. In inward indivisible combination with the other two forms of Christianity, it will bless this earthly world for ever.

'Its accidental form is as good as annihilated. The old papacy lies in the grave, and Rome has a second time become a ruin. Shall Protestantism not at last cease and give place to a new and more enduring Church?' From Hastie's translation.

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as the Protestant voice 'pour chanter les gloires méconnues et l'avenir éternel du catholicisme¹.'

The religious sympathies of the Romanticists were primarily with the artistic aspects of religion and they used the occasion of a common visit to Dresden to make a special study of Catholic art. They looked on the Sistine Madonna of Raphael, with the naïve veneration of the 'Klosterbruder.' 'Can you understand a great picture...without for a moment believing what it represents?' This idea was elaborated by F. Schlegel on an artistic tour through France and the Netherlands in 1802-4. In Paris he saw the great collection of religious paintings made by Napoleon from the plunder of Italian galleries, and his appreciation of these treasures established a new norm of artistic creation. On his return to Cologne he helped his friends, the brothers Boisserée, to make the great collection of early masters which eventually went to form the nucleus of the Munich Pinakothek². Schlegel was the first to make that significant distinction between an early and a later manner in Raphael, which was to provide a battle-cry for later schools of artists. His evaluation of art on a religious rather than an artistic basis provided the theory for the practice of a group of young German painters in Rome.

The Nazarenes, under the leadership of Overbeck, like our own Pre-Raphaelites, rejected even the early manner of Raphael, and returned for inspiration to the Primitives. Religion, and religion only, was their guiding principle, and painting was for them a form of prayer. Through the *Italian Studies* (1827-31) of K. F. Rumohr and the work of his French disciple A. F. Rio entitled *La Poésie Chrétienne* (1836), these principles found an entry into England, to be finally crystallised into the first volume of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1843)³.

Wackenroder, with his *Herzensergiessungen*, had by no means been the first champion in Germany of Gothic architecture. Goethe before him had protested against eighteenth-century prejudice in Herder's *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst* in 1773; and the traveller Georg Forster had included an enthusiastic description of Cologne Cathedral in his *Ansichten vom*

¹ Cf. E. Spenlé, *Essai sur l'idéalisme romantique en Allemagne*, Paris, 1904, p. 26. It was similarly issued in English in the Catholic Series in 1844, translated by the Rev. John Dalton, a Roman priest and a well-known propagandist for Catholic truth. He it was who translated *A Little Book of the Love of God from the German of Count Stolberg*, London (1848). A complete edition of Novalis's essay (with the above paragraphs) did not appear until 1888, edited by W. Hastie of Edinburgh.

² Robert Wilberforce was much impressed during his travels with the Munich art gallery and Cologne Cathedral. Cf. T. Mozley, *Reminiscences*, London, 1822, i, p. 32.

³ Cf. C. von Klenze, *A Romantic View of Art in From Goethe to Hauptmann*, New York, 1926. It is based on his article *German Predecessors of Ruskin in Modern Philology*, 1906, iv, p. 207.

Niederrhein (1791). It was with this book as his guide that Friedrich Schlegel had paid his visit to France and, under its influence, there gradually dawned upon him the conviction that Notre Dame was the most important building in Paris. It was the beginning of a strong German movement to complete the great cathedral in Cologne, which was still unfinished after nearly six hundred years; a movement which enlisted in its support Goethe and the Prussian King. Subscribers and patrons were sought in foreign centres like Oxford, and Hurrell Froude gave thirty guineas for a set of drawings 'over which he went wild and infected not a few of his friends with mediæval architecture¹.'

It was under the shadow of Cologne Cathedral, 'the German Rome,' that Friedrich Schlegel was converted to Catholicism in 1808. His conversion, like Newman's in England, was accompanied by that of a number of prominent Romanticists²: of Joseph von Görres, the publicist; of Karl von Hardenberg, the brother of Novalis and son-in-law of that other ardent convert Count Friedrich zu Stolberg; of Adam Müller, the political philosopher; of Zacharias Werner, the unbalanced mystic poet; of Friedrich von Gentz, the conservative statesman, the friend and colleague of Metternich; of the Swiss lawyer-patriot, Karl Ludwig von Haller; and of Dorothea Schlegel who followed her husband's lead unquestioningly in this as in other matters.

Tieck was commonly believed to be a Catholic³; so was Novalis, and Goethe expected every moment to hear of his canonisation⁴. Schleiermacher alone preserved his balance and his faith and deplored the catholicising tendencies of his friends. Instead, he turned his back on the Romantic extravagances of his youth and returned to his theological studies. But after his experience with Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel his mode of thought could never again run in the dogmatic channels of Protestant theology. Religion is and remains for him an individual experience, a matter of feeling, God-consciousness.

The general state of mind in England at the close of the Napoleonic Wars was not dissimilar to that in Germany, for the sources which had fanned German Romanticism into flame were largely of English origin. Chiefly from its own resources, and yet owing something to German

¹ T. Mozley, *loc. cit.*, i, p. 32.

² Cf. B. von Wiese, *Novalis und die romantischen Konvertiten in Romantik-Forschungen*, Halle, 1929.

³ Tieck it was who formulated the epigram: 'A Protestant protests against everything that is good and especially against poetry.' From *Prinz Zerbino, Werke*, x, p. 275.

⁴ Cf. J. Falk, *Goethe aus näherem persönlichen Umgange dargestellt*, Leipzig, 1832, p. 100.

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encouragement, there had arisen the Romantic revival of English letters represented by Coleridge, Wordsworth, and the rest of the Lake poets. Nowhere are the moods and traditions of Romanticism more apparent than in the poetic and philosophic thought of S. T. Coleridge, whom Newman acknowledges as the 'very original thinker who instilled a higher philosophy into enquiring minds, and succeeded in interesting the age in the cause of the Catholic faith.' Carlyle roundly asserted that, without Coleridge, there would have been no Tractarian Movement.

Many books and dissertations have been written to prove the indebtedness of Coleridge's poetry and thought to German sources¹. Many others seek to refute the assertion, or at least hedge it round with qualifications and restrictions². One of his German biographers, most intent on proving influence, admits freely that, though he was a great eclectic, 'no one who consciously weighs his expressions will call him a plagiarist³.' The difficulty is, that Coleridge was congenitally unable to think systematically, or combine harmoniously into an original system the numerous and conflicting stimuli he had derived from his voracious reading.

When Coleridge went to Germany in 1798 it was with a view to writing a life of Lessing, and an account of the rise and present state of German literature: what he brought back was a very imperfect knowledge of German, thirty pounds' worth of books on German metaphysics, and the conviction that the Germans were pursuing a train of philosophic thought similar to his own. By inclination and training Coleridge was an idealist, and at Cambridge he was much attracted to the English Neo-Platonist divines of the seventeenth century. Yet though, as he maintains, they may have presented the problem to him, it was from Kant that he learned to formulate the distinction between Reason and Understanding which is the basis of his philosophy. It is only by the confusion of these faculties, he declares, 'that has arisen every heresy which has disquieted the Christian Church⁴.'

¹ Cf. J. L. Haney, *The German Influence on S. T. Coleridge*, Philadelphia, 1902, and especially C. Broicher, *Anglikanische Kirche und deutsche Philosophie in Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1910, CXLII, pp. 210 seq.

² Cf. J. H. Muirhead, *Coleridge as Philosopher*, London, 1930; C. Howard, *Coleridge's Idealism*, Boston, 1924.

³ Cf. A. Brandl, *S. T. Coleridge and the English Romantic School*, London, 1887, p. 391. Very similar non-committal conclusions are reached by the latest investigator in the field, E. Winkelmann, *Coleridge und die Kantische Philosophie (Palaestra, 184)*, Leipzig, 1933. Cf. p. 251: 'Weder sollte man versuchen, Coleridge als Kantianer zu stempeln, denn das ist er trotz aller Verehrung für Kant niemals gewesen, noch aber wird man mit Recht leugnen können, dass sich Coleridge an Kant und durch Kant philosophisch entwickelt und erst durch seinen Einfluss zur vollen Reife seiner weltanschaulichen Haltung durchgerungen hat.'

⁴ From *The Friend*, II, p. 164 note. Cf. R. Wellek, *Immanuel Kant in England 1793-1838*, Princeton, 1931, pp. 63 seq.

Although Coleridge openly professed Christianity, he was by no means an orthodox Anglican, and his published speculations drew from Newman the protest that 'they took a liberty which no Christian could tolerate.' For the religious opinions of Coleridge were akin to those of Schleiermacher. Christianity was not a theory, but a life; Schleiermacher would have said, a condition of devout feeling. Let us not believe in Christianity because of the miracles, but rather in the miracles because of Christianity. Coleridge is here close to Goethe who, in his *Faust* (766), had stated:

Das Wunder ist des Glaubens liebstes Kind.

And yet there is no doubt that Coleridge's speculations influenced Newman very deeply in the formulation of his own religious convictions, although in old age he affirmed that he had never read a word of either Coleridge or Kant.

Newman's *Grammar of Assent* and his *University Sermons* are deep in Coleridge's debt in their distinction between Reason and Understanding, and their conception of Reason as the organ of religious knowledge. The famous sermons of 1840 *On Implicit and Explicit Reason* and *The Theory of the Development of Religious Doctrine* owe much to Coleridge's teaching. Further, Newman's conception of the autonomy of conscience, of the will as centre of the personality, of sin as a self-originated catastrophe of the will, his definition of assertion; all this and more goes to show that Newman, though he and his Oriel friends may have disliked Coleridge as 'a misty thinker,' was not averse to borrowing and assimilating his ideas, and thereby indirectly proclaimed his dependence on the idealistic philosophy of Kant¹.

Not only Romantic philosophy but Romantic poetry went to the making of the Oxford Movement, as Newman himself acknowledges. In the *Apologia* he points especially to the influence of Sir Walter Scott in turning men's minds to the Middle Ages. Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth are declared, almost in the same breath, to have carried their readers forward in the same direction. Pusey, too, was fond of dwelling, both in his letters and conversation, on the indirect relation of Scott to the Movement, and had looked forward to meeting him in person on a proposed visit to Edinburgh in 1828². Scott was, of course, himself much influenced by German literature, notably by Goethe's *Götz*, although it may have had less to do with his development as a Romantic novelist than is usually supposed.

Of German literature at first hand, the Tractarians, except for Pusey,

¹ Cf. Brocher, *loc. cit.*, p. 461, and C. J. Blennerhassett, *John Henry Cardinal Newman*, Berlin, 1904, p. 95. ² H. P. Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, London, 1893, I, p. 254.

were ignorant. Keble and Newman knew no German, although Pusey did his best to urge the latter to learn some, and offered from Berlin to send him a parcel of books if he will but say 'yes¹.' Rose would seem to have been a German scholar and, besides German theology, possessed a smattering of German literature. He refers approvingly to Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* to the effect that 'the dryness of Protestant worship had estranged many persons from the predominant Church.' Hurrell Froude quotes from the same source Goethe's statement that 'Sacraments are the summit of religion².' Rose also entreats his readers to peruse a tale called *The Betrothing* by Tieck, and refers to the translator's preface (it was by Connop Thirlwall, and contains a long introduction to the literature of Germany). Like Thirlwall, Rose finds the mystic state then prevalent in Germany objectionable and capable of gross perversion.

With the publication in London in 1812 of Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*, the English possessed for the first time a reliable 'guide-book'—the word is Carlyle's—to German literature and thought. Here, under the influence of A. W. Schlegel, was depicted in rosy lights a Romantic Germany, in which the Middle Ages, Christianity, Gothic architecture and sound philosophy were opposed to the general irreligion and debased taste prevailing elsewhere in Europe.

From this time onwards there is a distinct improvement in the quality of the German fare offered to English readers, who learned with surprise that the rubbish which had hitherto passed as literature—the Kotzebues and Ifflands and strange tales of terror and wonder which Monk Lewis had made so popular—were but the sweepings of German letters. Goethe, it is true, still suffered from the suspicion of immorality and irreligion induced by *Werther* and *Faust*, but Schiller had become a prime favourite³. The spiritual Romanticism and Catholic background of his later tragedies and ballads had a strong appeal for the Oxford Reformers, and it is significant that Pusey set his fiancée to learn German from *Wilhelm Tell* and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*⁴.

¹ MS. letter to Miss Barker, end of May, 1828. I am much indebted to the courtesy of Dr Darwell Stone, of the Pusey House, Oxford, for access to, and permission to quote from, these letters.

² Book vii, *Memours of Goethe written by himself*, 2 vols., London, printed for H. Colburn, 1824. Rose's quotation does not quite tally, but reproduces the sense correctly.

³ Cf. F. Ewen, *The Prestige of Schiller in England*, New York, 1932.

⁴ The MS. letters of Miss Barker to E. B. P. from January to March, 1828, are filled with references to Schiller and her German lessons. Whilst still in Göttingen Pusey had borrowed from the University Library two volumes of Schiller's works. Cf. the *Ausleihjournal der Bibliothek* for 1825. I am indebted to an unpublished dissertation, *E. B. P. and Germany*, by Miss Martha Moller of Gottingen for this information.

Even more favourable was the reception accorded to the German Romanticists. Reference has already been made to the mystic impression created by one of Tieck's short stories. Tieck actually spent the spring and summer of 1817 in this country, where he consorted on intimate terms with H. C. Robinson, J. H. Green, the philosopher, Godwin and Coleridge¹. The rumour that he was a Catholic had spread to England and was supported by the tenor of his references to the Roman Church. Fouqué, Richter and, still more important, the critical works of the brothers Schlegel were equally well known in translation. The *History of Literature* by Friedrich Schlegel drew from the *Westminster* a warning to its readers against 'the latent poison' hidden in this work and in its 'Jesuitical' and political bearing². Finally, the general trend of German Romantic literature was crystallised by Carlyle in the four volumes of his *German Romance* (1826).

It was obviously the catholicising tone of this German material which appealed primarily to the Oxford Reformers: it was apparent, as we saw, in the Gothic enthusiasms of Hurrell Froude, and it colours the poetry of *The Christian Year*. Some of Keble's utterances might almost be taken from the *Hymns* of Novalis:

Ave Maria, thou whose name,
All but adoring love may claim.

But it is obviously a question of affinity rather than influence. On the other hand Keble's theories of literature may owe something more to German sources. In the Latin lectures which Keble delivered as Professor of Poetry from 1832 to 1841 he expresses views so similar to those of the German critics that it is difficult to rule out their influence entirely. He actually refers to 'that master of modern criticism whose opinions in such matters are, in his native Germany, justly revered as oracles, I mean Schlegel³.' When Keble distinguishes between primary and secondary poetry, he may go back to the latter, and beyond him, via Coleridge perhaps, to Schiller and his *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*⁴. In his insistence that poetry delights in irony, and is the handmaid of true piety, we have two thoughts which are in complete accord with the initial attitude of the brothers Schlegel.

That Keble felt compelled to lean on foreign criticism is apparent from

¹ Cf. E. H. Zeydel, *Ludwig Tieck in England*, Princeton, 1931.

² 1825, III, p. 321. Cf. V. Stockley, *German Literature as known in England 1750-1830*, London, 1929, p. 268.

³ Apparently A. W. Schlegel, cf. *Keble's Lectures on Poetry, 1832-41*, edited by E. K. Francis, Oxford, 1912, II, p. 63.

⁴ Cf. A. C. Dunstan, *The German Influence on Coleridge in Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 1922, XVII, p. 272.

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the letter he wrote to Sir John Coleridge, asking him for a good book concerning the meaning of poetry and painting, of music and of sculpture¹ To whom his correspondent referred him does not appear, but in German Romantic criticism he would have found that appreciation of the Madonna di San Sisto which reads like a declaration of Wackenroder: 'The mere total impression seems to teach us a lesson in man's true attitude to God.' Keble has the true Romanticist's disrespect for the genres established by Lessing in *Laokoon*: 'Sculptures,' he avers, 'are far closer akin to poetry than paintings are.' The close affinity of architecture with music, and the superior pleasure they inspire as 'non-imitative' arts, is a pronouncement reminiscent of the German Romanticist's joy in music as the 'Queen of the Arts,' and of Schelling when he defined architecture as 'frozen music.' And, of course, Gothic architecture is enthusiastically acclaimed as 'the most beautiful of all, and by far the most in harmony with the mysteries of religion.' But the resemblance of thought is only general, and it would be rash to assume immediate borrowing².

The Oxford Reformers were by no means ignorant of the artistic developments of German Romantic painting. Newman and Hurrell Froude, on their journey to the Mediterranean in 1833, had come into contact with the school of Nazarenes in Rome. It was Bunsen, the Prussian Minister, whose legation was a social and intellectual centre much frequented by English visitors³, who acted as a go-between. Froude writes appreciatively from Rome on March 16, 1833, of this school of painters, 'curious fellows, with a great deal of original enthusiasm, who have got it into their heads that the way to study Raphael is not to copy him but to study the works he studied, and are so intent on disassociating Christian and Classical art, that they think grace and beauty bought too dear, if they tend to disturb the mind by pagan associations⁴.'

From Bunsen, too, the visitors heard with interest the plans of the King, his master, for the restoration of the Episcopacy in Prussia. Later,

¹ *A Memoir of the Rev. John Keble*, Oxford and London, 1869, I, p. 209. Keble thought of 'Anglicising the substance' and of substituting modern examples for the classical ones, and Coleridge thought that if 'our own great poets' should fail 'the great Italian and German masters might be taken up.'

² It must not be forgotten that German aesthetics themselves owe much to English influence, that Webb, Shaftesbury, Young, Hurd, Mrs Montagu and Home were the precursors of Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller and the Schlegels, and that Keble may well be quoting from these English sources. Cf. L. M. Price, *The Reception of English Literature in Germany*, Berkeley, California, 1932, *passim*.

³ *Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, 1839-45, London, 1917, p. 143.

⁴ R. H. Froude, *Remains*, I, p. 390. It is worth noting that *The Christian Year* was issued in 1875 with illustrations from Overbeck. The 'English artist, a Mr S....' whom Froude mentions as his authority for the above account of the Nazarenes, is obviously Joseph Severn, the friend of Keats. Cf. W. Sharp, *Life and Letters of J. Severn*, London, 1892.

when Bunsen was Prussian Minister in London, he 'captured' Pusey and Wilberforce, who hoped that Episcopacy would 'flow into Prussia'; but, both Froude and Newman had been sceptical from the first. Froude saw the difficulty concerning the validity of the German orders: 'How can any of them be consecrated without being first ordained? Though, to be sure, it would be a great thing to have a true Church in Germany.' Newman was still more doubtful: 'What is the worth of Episcopacy without Orthodoxy?' he asked.

Pusey pursued the subject assiduously with the sympathy born of old associations, but with scarcely more success. Growing fears that the alliance would identify the English Church with German Protestantism and finally absorb it in the 'Mother of all Evangelical Confessions' urged him to dismiss the matter from his mind.

'Dr Pusey,' says Newman, 'became what he is from the Universities of Germany.' As a young Don at Oriel, Pusey, together with Newman and others, attended some lectures of Dr E. Lloyd, Regius Professor of Divinity and afterwards Bishop of Oxford. It was a suggestion of Lloyd's which sent Pusey to study German and the new German theology¹. It was a bold step, for, in the Oxford of those days, German theology in general, and German biblical criticism in particular, were viewed with great disfavour by English churchmen, and the 'mere knowledge of German subjected a divine to the same suspicion of heterodoxy which we know was attached some centuries back to a knowledge of Greek².' Pusey, however, took the risk, and, as he says, 'my life turned on that hint of Lloyd's.'

Pusey was first attracted by the Anglo-German tradition of Göttingen where he was matriculated on June 29, 1825. In August, he was able to report to Newman that he could understand German 'pretty well.' But the prevailing scepticism pained him, and he was glad to exchange Göttingen for Berlin and the deeper religious beliefs of Schleiermacher and Tholuck. Of Schleiermacher, who received him very kindly, Pusey always spoke with the greatest respect.

A second and longer visit to Germany in the following year, 1826, was undertaken (again at the suggestion of Dr Lloyd) with the express purpose of studying Hebrew and other Semitic languages. From Berlin he was directed to an eminent Orientalist, Professor Kosegarten of Greifswald; but after a short stay he was attracted to Bonn by the

¹ *Life*, I, p. 72.

² C. Thirwall in the introduction to *A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St Luke* by Schleiermacher, London, 1825.

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reputation of Professor Freytag, the first Arabist in Europe. For Bonn and its merits Pusey ever retained the warmest affection; and some years later when prospects of finding a house in Oxford seemed remote, and promotion uncertain, he proposed to his fiancée that they should settle down in the little Rhenish town 'which is much prettier, more learned, though perhaps not so proud as Oxford¹.'

Pusey returned to Germany at the end of the summer semester 1827, bringing back with him a whole library of German books. He had attained his two objects: an insight into the then state of German theology, and a very creditable knowledge of the Semitic languages. The former crystallised into his book on German Protestantism; the latter led to his election to the Chair of Hebrew in 1828.

Pusey's *Theology of Germany* was an answer, instigated by his German friends, as a reply to Rose's *Discourses on the state of the Protestant Religion in Germany*, Cambridge, 1825. The *Discourses* were intended as a warning to the English Church against the deplorable condition of indifference and unbelief, into which the Protestant Church of Germany had fallen, and which Rose ascribed to the lack of Episcopal control, and the absence of an authoritative Confession of Faith. The book aroused a storm of indignation in German Protestant circles when it was translated in 1826². Pusey received the full blast of the storm in Bonn, where his friends had been particularly vexed by Rose's language about their master Schleiermacher (although Schleiermacher himself defended the book) and he was urged by them to prepare a refutation. At first Pusey was reluctant, but eventually allowed himself to be persuaded. The result was *An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalistic Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany*, London, 1828.

On Pusey's own showing, the standpoint of his own book was not very different from that of Rose; he too had an eye on the condition of the English Church; and he feared equally that it was in danger of falling into Rationalism. He only differs from Rose in his better acquaintance with his material, and his greater scholarly training in dealing with it. His picture is obviously coloured by personal sympathies with his German friends³; he looks upon the state of irreligion in Germany as already past,

¹ MS. letter of February 17, 1828 in the Pusey House Library.

² *Der Zustand der protestantischen Religion in Deutschland; in vier Reden, gehalten an der Universität zu Cambridge*, von H. J. Rose, Leipzig, 1826.

³ Schleiermacher's influence is obvious when he declares (in a note to p. 51) that 'the original seat of religion is in the feeling, not in the understanding' and refers for corroboration to Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*.

and is sanguine of the future. In later years Pusey recanted and left definite instructions in his will that the book should not be reprinted among his collected works. It had earlier brought him under the suspicion of heterodoxy and was the cause of the Oxford Reformers holding at first somewhat aloof. The book caused a considerable stir, not only in England, but also in Germany, where it was almost immediately translated¹. It provoked a reply from Rose and for a time there was waged 'a German war' which was eventually ended by the opponents making common cause in the Oxford Movement.

Apart from its unattractive style and elaboration of method the *Theology of Germany* was a serious and reliable history of German religious and philosophical thought, which is not without its value even after a hundred years. For a young man of twenty-seven it was a remarkable achievement, of which we do not meet the like in English criticism until we come to the wider outlook of Thomas Carlyle².

Pusey possessed, as Thomas Arnold recognised, these qualifications too rare in England: 'the learning and independence of the Germans together with that spirit without which learning is naught.' Although in later years he may have outgrown some of the features of thought represented by this book, he never repudiated his sympathies with all that was best and deepest in German theology.

The further history of the Protestant Church in Germany only concerns the Oxford Movement through the attempts of Frederick William IV, 'der Romantiker auf dem Throne,' to establish relations with the English Church. With the active co-operation of his ambassador, Bunsen, the Prussian King evolved a grandiose scheme for uniting the Anglican and Lutheran Churches on the basis of Anglican Episcopacy. The project met with considerable favour in England³ and the Oxford Reformers, as we have seen, themselves toyed with the idea for a moment. Bunsen was more successful in promoting the establishment of a joint bishopric in Jerusalem, a move, which, as is well known, determined Newman's secession from the Church of England. Thus an almost casual suggestion

¹ *Das Aufkommen und Sinken des Rationalismus in Deutschland*, von C. H. F. Bialloblotzky u. M. F. Sander, Elberfeld, 1836.

² Pusey's survey is by no means devoid of literary interest. He was devoted to Spenser all his life, and the simple piety of Claudius was a source of constant joy. Herder and Lessing he valued mainly as theologians. He considers the former 'tended to defend Christianity for its loveliness rather than as the way to holiness,' and he deplores Lessing's 'too prominent indulgence of the taste for elegant literature.' Klopstock he appreciated more as the author of religious odes than of his 'far-famed epic.' Lessing and Herder are still well represented in his library at Oxford which also possesses the *Sammliche Werke* of Klopstock, Karlsruhe, 1825.

³ The project was apparently supported by 'The Colonial and Continental Church Society.'

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of Novalis for the reunion of the Churches was indirectly responsible for the making of history both in England and Germany¹.

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

LONDON.

¹ In my endeavour to set the Oxford Movement against a German background I am conscious of having somewhat destroyed the perspective. Moreover, it is only half the story for, though the German affinities—the term was chosen deliberately as being something less than influences—were the closest, yet the Movement, as is well known, was also European. F. Oakeley in his *Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement* (1865) emphasises its connexion, through Dr Lloyd, with the French emigrant clergy. Bishop Knox also suggests a much closer association with French Ultramontanism than is commonly admitted. Cf. E. A. Knox, *The Tractarian Movement*, London, 1933, pp. 35 *seq.* On the importance of the *émigrés* as carriers of ideas between France, Germany and England, cf. F. Baldensperger, *Le Mouvement des Idées dans l'Émigration française (1789–1815)*, 2 vols., Paris, 1924, especially vol. II, pp. 182 *seq.* I must leave the task of tracing these French relationships to more competent hands, but I suspect that here, too, we should, in the final instance, discover these same German sources. Lady Blennerhassett, for instance, without suggesting direct influence (the dates of publication preclude it) claims that the main idea of *Le Génie du Christianisme* is already contained in Novalis's *Die Christenheit oder Europa*. Cf. her Chateaubriand. *Romantik und die Restaurationsepoche in Frankreich*, Mainz 1903, pp. 45 *seq.*

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

TWO QUERIES ON 'TWELFTH NIGHT.'

I. I, iii, 92 ff.

An. What is *purquoy*? Do, or not do? I would I had bestowed that time in the tongues, that I haue in fencing dancing, and beare-bayting: O had I but followed the Arts.

In this passage 'the tongues' have been taken generally in the sense of foreign languages. But in the Arts curriculum, which Sir Andrew regrets he has not followed, 'the tongues' meant specifically Greek and Hebrew (F. Madan, *Oxford outside the Guide-books*, pp. 36-46). Does not Shakespeare wish to convey that Sir Toby's '*Pur-quoy*' is Greek or Hebrew to the foolish knight?

II. II, iii, 22 ff.

And. ...Insooth thou wast in very gracious fooling last night, when thou spok'st of *Pigrogromitus*, of the *Vapians* passing the Equinoctial of *Queubus*: 'twas very good yfaith....

Sir Andrew is here calling to his muddled mind jests made overnight by Feste. Could one of them have been based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, x, 243 ff. (the story of Pygmalion, who is styled 'Paphius heros' at v. 290), the other a piece of astrological fooling in which Feste spoke of the Paphian (the planet Venus) passing the equinoctial of Phoebus (the Sun)?

BRUCE DICKINS.

LEEDS.

A NOTE ON 'TROILUS,' II, 1298.

But Pandarus thought: 'it shal nat be so,
Yif that I may; this nyce opynyoun
Shal nat be holden fully yeres two.'

These lines occur in the course of that scene in which Pandarus tries to persuade Criseyde to bestow her love on Troilus. The poet tells us that 'pleynly hire entente' was to love him unknown and reward him with nothing but sight; it is in the immediately following stanza that Pandarus makes the above reflection. Why does he venture the statement that Criseyde shall not hold to her opinion for two full years? The line puzzled me for some time, for there is certainly nothing in the context that demands his saying two rather than one, three, four or any other number.

There are, it seems to me, at least three possible explanations. First of all Chaucer might have wanted simply a good round number and hence used 'yeres two' just as we employ the expression 'a couple of years.' Then too he might conceivably have been forced to use two for the sake of the rhyme. Or finally, there could have been some definite social practice or literary precedent enjoining a two-year period of widowhood. That something of this sort was actually the case seems the natural conclusion to be drawn from a definite pronouncement to this effect found in the *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus (ed. E. Trojel, Havniae, 1892, p. 310; cf. also p. 173). Here the seventh rule in the longer code reads as follows: 'Biennalis viduitas pro amante defuncto superstiti praescribitur amanti.' Whatever Chaucer's immediate source, if any, may have been, Pandarus' words seem to betray the poet's acquaintance with the custom here formulated. At any rate, this rule of Andreas helps to make the line a bit more comprehensible; Pandarus seems, after all, to have had a very definite reason for saying 'yeres two.'

THOMAS A. KIRBY.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

PRINTED BOOKS WITH GABRIEL HARVEY'S AUTOGRAPH OR MS. NOTES.

My note with the above heading (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxviii, p. 78) brought me a kind letter from Mr Wm. A. Jackson of the Grolier Club, New York, and much valuable further information which I publish by his permission. Some of it relates to my recent note, the rest to my edition of Harvey's *Marginalia*, 1913.

Corrections to 'Mod. Lang. Rev.,' xxviii, pp. 78-81.

1507. Euripides (Pittar copy) is now the property of a gentleman who prefers to be referred to as 'a Boston collector' when books in his possession are listed.

1562. Aristotle was in Singer (Samuel Weller Singer) Sale, August 3, 1858, Lot 115.

1572. Buchanan. *Ane Detectioun* (the Bateman-White copy) and

1613. Sidney. *Arcadia* (the Heber-White, bought of Pearson in 1894) are now in the possession of the Rosenbach Company.

Corrections to Gabriel Harvey's 'Marginalia,' pp. 80-6.

1555. Josias Simlerus (listed in Tregaskis's Cat. No. 911, November, 1925, Lot 93).

1566. L. Dolce. *Medea*, bound with Domenico, Farri, Venice, 1566, now in the Folger Library (Harvey's signature dated 1579). The titles

now in the Folger Library in Washington were communicated to me by M. Seymour de Ricci. There are probably others in that collection which I have not yet had an opportunity to examine. The W. A. White Library, such of it as was not bequeathed to Harvard or Princeton, retained by the family or subsequently sold, is now on deposit with the Rosenbach Company of New York and Philadelphia. Somewhere about half the total is now in their vaults.

The following books (see *Marginalia*, pp. 80, 86) are therefore now in the Rosenbach Company's possession:

1561. B. Castiglione (bought by Mr White in 1894).

1565. D. Erasmus (bought of Ellis by Mr White in 1909).

1572. W. Fulke (belonged to W. Herbert, the editor of Ames, then to Mr White).

1583. H. Howarde (the Heber, Bliss, Crawford White copy, no longer bound with Fraunce, 1588. The White copy of the *Lawiers Logike* was a Heber copy, but from the binding evidently not the copy once bound with the *Defensatiue*).

As are the following which once belonged to Sir Israel Gollancz:

1572. *Dionysius Periegetes*. 1573. *H. Lhuyd*. 1575. *Jerome Turler*. 1576. *The Post of the World*. 1576. *The Post for diuers parties of the World* (R. Rowland). 1576. *A brief treatise*.

Additional Titles.

1535. Boccatii, J. *Compendium Romanæ Historiæ*, 12mo. Argent., in S. W. Singer Sale (August 3, 1858, Lot 114), where it is said to have Harvey's signature and MS. notes.

1571. *Facetie, Motti, et Burle, di Diversi Signori et Personi Private*, Raccolte per M. Ludovico Domenichi, Venice, Andrea Muschio, pp. 321-460 + 2 ll., now H. C. Folger, bound with the next following.

1571. *Detti et Fatti Piacevoli, et Gravi; Di Diversi Principi, Filosofi, et Cortegiani*, Raccolti dal Guicciardini, Venice, Christ. de Zanetti, 138 ff., Signature dated 1580, now Folger (bought February, 1928, from Grafton and Co.).

1582. Edmund Campion. *A particular declaration or testimony of the undutifull and traiterous affections....* London, by C. Barker, 4^o. This book, described as having 'belonged to G. H.... with notes on title in H's autograph,' is now in the possession of Carl H. Pforzheimer of New York. It was sold as Lot 77 of the Shakespeare Library Sale, Pt. II (Anderson's, October 28, 1918, stock of Pearson and Co. of London). It has no signature and the scribbling on the title is not Harvey's.

1590. Spenser. *Fairie Queene*, lacks title, with 'MS. notes "believed to be Harvey's,"' see reproduction in Edward Almack's *Fine Old Bindings*, pp. 124-31. It is doubtful. (In my opinion certainly not Harvey's. G. C. M. S.)

Others will join with me in gratitude to Mr Jackson for his valuable information.

Postscript. Another work with Harvey's autograph and marginal notes was recently found in the British Museum by Mr Douglas Hamer of the University of Sheffield. It is

1527. *Textus de Sphæra Ioannis de Sacrobosco: introductoria additioe ...commentariôque ad utilitatem studentium philosophiæ Parisiensis Academiæ illustratus, cum compositione Annuli astronomici Boneti Latensis et Geometria Euclidis Megarensis.* Parisiis...apud Simonem Collinæum. Subtitles: 1. *Liber Annuli, Boneti de Latis Hebræi, Medici Provenzalis, liber.* 2. *Incipit Liber primus Geometriæ Euclidis, à Boetio in Latinum translatae.*

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

AUDRA: 'LES TRADUCTIONS FRANÇAISES DE POPE,' 1717-1825.

The following addenda are provided mainly by the special Anglo-French collection at University Library, Leeds:

1717, no. 2. Not found by M. Audra. *Essai | sur la | Critique; | Imité de l'Anglois | De Mr Pope. | [A crown.] | A Londres, | Par J. Delage, Et se Vend par P. Dunoier | Libraire, à l'Enseigne d'Erasmus, dans le Strand. | 1717. 4to. 19 pp.* A contemporary note in MS. adds 'Par Monsr. de Ropton.' (University Library, Leeds.)

1738. An unnoticed edition. *Essai | sur | l'Homme. | Par Monsieur | Pope. | Traduit | de l'Anglois en François. | Edition revue par le Traducteur. | The proper study of Mankind is Man. | L'Etude propre de l'Homme est l'Homme. | Seconde Edition. | [Ornament.] | Suivant la Copie de Londres | A Lausanne, | Chez Marc-Mich. Bousquet | & Compagnie. | M.DCCXXXVIII. Sm. 8vo, in twelves. Préface du traducteur, iii-xxvi; Silhouette's *Essai sur l'homme*, 1-78. (University Library, Leeds.)*

1742, no. 40. *La boucle de cheveux enlevée.* Barbier, *Dict. d. ouvr. anon.* I, p. 450, also gives the date 1743 (copying Quérard?) and adds a reference to *Bibl. rais.*, xxx, p. 437; but the title given in the review there is not dated.

1763, no. 99. *Epître d'Héloïse.* The translator is Louis Sébastien Mercier. Dr T. V. Benn in his bibliography of Mercier's works (Ph.D.

thesis, MS. Leeds) quotes *Alman. des muses*, 1774, pp. 300-1 and *Journal de Paris*, 9 juin, 1778, p. 639.

1774, no. 133. Not seen by M. Audra is: Épitre | d'Héloïse | à Abailard. | Imitée de Pope. | Par M. Mercier. | A Amsterdam, | Et se trouve à Paris, | Chez la veuve Duchesne, Libraire, | rue S. Jacques, au Temple du Goût. | M.DCC.LXXIV. Large 8vo, 22 pages and one plate. Verse translation. The following quotation from the 'Avertissement de l'éditeur' is of interest: 'Il y a environ dix ans que cette Épitre a été imprimée en Province, où l'auteur se trouvoit alors. Il négligea d'en faire passer des exemplaires à Paris: de sorte que Messieurs les Journalistes n'en rendirent aucun compte: cette Épitre fut donc peu connue.' There follows an extract from the original preface. (University Library, Leeds.)

1778, no. 140. According to the *Journal de Paris*, 6 déc. 1777 the work is 'en vente.'

1785, no. 154. *Mon bonnet de nuit*. It might be well to add Mercier's note: 'Cette traduction est tellement libre qu'on n'y retrouvera que le fonds du poëme: je l'ai modifié d'un bout à l'autre; car tel fut mon plaisir.'

1785. A new edition of the *Bibliothèque de campagne*, containing the *Rape of the Lock* translated into prose and verse, was issued at Brussels, 12 vols. small 8vo. Other editions are (1) Amsterdam et Paris, veuve Duchesne, 1767-79, 24 vols. 12mo (Biblioth. Ste-Genevieve); (2) Lyon (Genève), 1766, 24 vols. 12mo. (John Rylands Library.)

1793. An unnoticed edition. Essay | on | Man | By | A. Pope. | Essai | sur | l'Homme, | Avec des Notes de | Guillaume Warburton, | Traduit en François | Par | Le Marquis de St. Simon, | Avec quelques nouvelles Notes, | marquées S.S. | A Utrecht, | chez B. Wild et J. Altheer, | M.D.CCXCIII. 12mo, pp. xvi, 177. French (left-hand side) and English *vis-à-vis*. Includes the *Universal Prayer*. (University Library, Leeds.)

1794, an III. 'Traduction par Delille de l'Épitre au docteur Arbuthnot (Shut, shut the door...) lue par lui à la rentrée publique du Collège de France, 1er frimaire an III.' *Décade philosophique*, III (10 frim. an III), p. 400.

1795, an III. 'Traduction de l'Épitre de Pope. Au docteur Arbuthnot, par Delille.' *Décade philosophique*, 20 messidor an III, pp. 105-10; 30 messidor an III, pp. 165-9. Cf. Audra, no. 188.

1795. 'Deo optimo maximo. Au Dieu tout-puissant, infiniment bon.' Signed: Turgot. *Magazin encyclopédique*, II, pp. 410-11, 1795, with a note pp. 408-9. In verse. Cf. Audra, no. 176.

1795. 'Fragment d'une traduction de l'Épitre de Pope, au docteur

Arbuthnot. Portrait d'Addison.' Signed: Par Delille. *Magazin encyclopédique*, II, pp. 262-3, 1795. In verse. Cf. Audra, no. 177.

1795, an IV. 'Fragment d'un poème intitulé: Essai sur la vie humaine, imitation de Pope. Par Villetard, ex-secrétaire de la Légation française, à Gènes.' *Décade philosophique*, 20 brum. an IV, VII, pp. 296-7.

1798, an VI. 'Pope au tombeau d'Emma. Conte philosophique.' Signed: A.-L. Villetterque. *Journal de Paris*, 4 therm. an VI, pp. 1272-4.

1803, an XI. 'Pensée de Pope sur l'Homme. Traduite librement.' Signed: Guichard. Four lines in verse. *Décade philosophique*, XXXVIII, p. 501, 20 fruct. an XI.

1804, an XII. 'Épître à R. D. Ferlus, Imitée d'Horace à la manière de Pope.' Signed: C. A. Chaudrac, de plusieurs Sociétés littéraires. *Décade philosophique*, XLII, pp. 306-7, 20 therm. an XII.

1806. 'Pensées et maximes traduites de l'Anglais. Pope.' *Décade philosophique*, XLVIII, pp. 100-4, 11 jan 1806.

1808. 'Traduction de la Prière universelle de Pope.' Signed: Keri-valant. *Magazin encyclopédique*, 1808, II, pp. 381-2. In verse.

Mercier's *Tableau de Paris*, ch. 498, includes the translation in prose of lines 123-42 of the *Rape of the Lock*, canto I.

F. BECKWITH.

LEEDS.

ST EDMUND ON THE 'HOURS.'

It is interesting to have to record that Lambeth Palace Library contains a hitherto unsuspected work of a former Archbishop. This is the piece in MS. 522¹, that great collection of Anglo-Norman devotional works, beginning on f. 49 v^o and headed 'Ici comence une douce meditaciun des hures del jur².' The clue to the identity of this work is given by Dr James, who noticed an English quatrain in the *Meditaciun devant midi*³. This is the quatrain found in St Edmund's *Merure de seinte eglise*⁴. Comparison of the Lambeth Text and the Hours section of the *Merure*⁵ yielded the following results.

Although there is a very close correspondence between the two, the one is not directly copied from the other. The Lambeth Text, formerly

¹ Consulted by kind permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

² Described (as two items) by R. Reinsch, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, etc. B. LXIII, 1880, p. 53.

³ *A descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, M. R. James and Claude Jenkins, 1932, Part V, p. 716.

⁴ See Carleton Brown, *A Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, Oxford, 1920, Part II, p. 211; also *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, Oxford, 1932, pp. xvi, 1, 165-6.

⁵ H. W. Robbins, *St Edmund's Merure de Seinte Eglise*, Lewisburg, Pa., 1923.

assigned to the early fourteenth century, but given as thirteenth by Dr James, is of course only a copy. It is complete in itself and has escaped recognition through its independent opening and close. It confines itself to meditations on the Passion, whereas the *Merure* has a double set, one on the Passion, the other on the 'Season.' The obvious conclusion would be that the Lambeth Text is an abridgment, but an examination shows that it is something more. Its descriptions are considerably fuller, besides containing variants which might be (and in some cases obviously are) due to a scribe. There is no break of continuity anywhere in the text. One of the peculiar passages, an attack on women such as occurs nowhere in the *Merure*, might be considered an interpolation but for the fact that it breaks out into rhyme in the style of that work:

A¹ tel hore manda la feme pilate a sun segnur
ke il ne se entremeist rien de Jhesu, e ceo fu pur
l'enticement du diable ke par feme nos mst
primes en dampnacion
e par femme voleit desturber nostre redempcion
e tenir en pardurable pardicion.

Similarly there is a rhyme in the peculiar passage at the end:

En cel liu demora le cors Jhesu jeskes le jur
de sa resurection ke fu le tierz jur de sa mort
ke por noz pechez suffri
La sue grant merci.

St Edmund was fond of interspersing his work with prayers, and it is to be noticed that the Lambeth Text opens with a prayer:

[Rubric] Cest oreysun poez dire al comensement de checun hore.

Beau sire Jhesu Crist en l'onur de cele peine et cele hunte ke vos suffristes por nus, Donez me grace ke je puisse en pacience souffrir les mals ke jeo ai deservi en remissiun de mes pechez.

At the end of Matins is another:

[Rubric] Cest oreison porrez dire apres chescun hore.

Beau duz sire, Jhesu Crist, ke por seyntifier le curs de nostre vie, ke est par set vies signifie, en set hores du jur dure passium suffristes, pardonez a nus ce ke nus avum mespris par les set mortels pechez, e enrichisez noz quers en vostre seynte amour e confermez, e apres ceste vie noz almes sauvez. Amen.

The work is terminated by the following epilogue:

Por ceo ke nus offendum deu nostre pere tant sovent le jur par peche, le devum nus devotement chescun jur si cum avez oi la reisun, Loer, e glorifier, si cum fist david ke en le sauter escrit. Sepcies in die laudem dixi tibi, super iudicia iusticie tue. Deus propicius esto michi peccatori, et qui me plasmasti miserere mei. Amen.

If this text is a revision of the text of the *Merure*, everything seems to point to the reviser having been the writer of the *Merure*, in all probability,

¹ In these extracts, contractions have been expanded and *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* employed in the modern fashion.

therefore, St Edmund himself. There is, however, a more satisfactory explanation of the relationship between the two texts, for which Professor Robbins has paved the way. Supposing St Edmund occupied himself in his last few months at Pontigny in composing the *Meure* as his testament, using as his material the sermons and teaching of a lifetime, this little treatise on the Hours would be just the kind of thing to be absorbed in the larger work. If ever similar meditations on the Life of Christ only come to light, they would add considerable weight to this theory.

M. DOMINICA LEGGE.

OXFORD.

ANOTHER EARLY GERMAN ACCOUNT OF ST PATRICK'S PURGATORY.

In the *Mod. Lang. Rev.* for July, 1923, I reprinted a late fifteenth-century German account of St Patrick's Purgatory preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. By the courtesy of Dr Best, Librarian of the National Library, Dublin, I now reproduce another slender pamphlet formerly in the Lough Fea Collection.

The following printed note is pasted inside the cover:

Quomodo pervenire possumus in Purgatorium
S. Patricii in Hibernia.

Without sign. num. catch, place, name, or date, but printed about 1475.

This consists of two leaves only, and the copy is probably UNIQUE. The text is in German, and printed in a coarse Gothic type. The reverse of the second leaf is occupied by a most singular and rude woodcut, representing that celebrated purgatory where St. Patrick saw such wonderful sights.

The note is followed by the Lough Fea book-plate.

Like the Trinity College text, this version is bound with a fragment of a vellum MS. containing part of a psalm set to music; similarly, the two leaves have no watermark and are bound up in exactly the same way with covering leaves of later date, of which one (watermark F I H) precedes the text and twelve (no watermark) follow. The dialect is identical with that of the T.C.D. text, that is, it belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century and suggests a provenance within the area Würzburg, Bamberg, Augsburg, Ulm. The typography, as in the previous case, limits enquiry to Augsburg. The same woodcut, showing seven souls in states of torment appropriate to the seven major sins, appears in both texts, and both were printed from the same fount of type, which I assigned, in my previous article, on consideration of K. Burger's facsimiles¹, to either Peter Berger or Johann Schönsperger,

¹ *Monumenta Germaniae et Italiae Typographica*, Berlin, 1893-1913.

dating the T.C.D. text 'about 1489.' Applying a similar test to the National Library copy, I find the type identical with the specimen of Schönsperger's work reproduced in Vol. II (Plate XXXIV, 120) of the *Catalogue of Books printed in the fifteenth century now in the British Museum*, 1912. The editors' note on this specimen runs:

German text type, used from 1482 to 1488 (and in 1492 for a Calendar which is no doubt a reprint). At the outset this type possesses only a single form of each majuscule, but by October, 1482, alternative forms of A, D, I, M, S, Z have been added¹; in this condition it is indistinguishable from Anna Rugerin's (P. 1), Berger's (P. 2), and Dinckmut's (Ulm) (P. 1 bis) types of the same measurement. It is also very like Sorg 118 (P. 2). E filed down is occasionally found for C, and K (dentated) for R.

Schönsperger's first extant dated book is a German *Regimen sanitatis*, printed on 1 September, 1481; he continued printing into the 16th century. Schönsperger collaborated with Thomas Ruger in two books of the year 1481 and 1482, and probably printed books for Anna Rugerin, his widow.

*Wijē man in sant patricen
fegfewer mag kommen*

ES ist auch zewissen das man nyemand in
das genant fegfewer laßt=er hab daß ein
gunst von seinem bischof man sol es auch
niemand zû büß geben oder auff seczen daz er darey
5 gee Sunder wer dar ein will d' müß es im selbs auf
seczen zû einer büß von freyem willen=Es soll auch
kein bischof keinem leichtklichen erlauben dann es
seind gar vil hin ein gangen die mit leib vnd sel dar
jnnen beliben seind=dañ wo einer zweyßeln wolt an
10 dem glauben so wer er gancz verloren Ob aber ein/
er ye nit wolt ab lassen So mag es im der bischof er/
lauben vnnd sol im des ein brieff geben das er im es
erlaubt hab=wañ er daß kumpt in das closter dar
jnnen man in das fegfewer gat vnnd der prior den
15 brieff gelißt / so sol er es im auch vestenklich wyder/
raten vnd sol in ein andere büß heyssen empfahe vñ
thun Ob er aber ye vestenklichen dar auf beleibt so
füret in der prior in die kirchen dar innē müß er xv=
tag vasten vnd sich mit andechtigem gebet bereiten
20 Dar nach so singen die herren des selben closters ein
lobliche meß=vnd geben dē das heylig sacrament d'
in das fegfewer will=vnd besprengen in mit einem

¹ Alternative forms of S occur in both the T.C.D. and National Library texts, of D] in the former, and of I in the latter only.

wasser das sunderlich dar zû geweyhet ist vñ füren
 in dañ zû dē loch des fegfeuers vnnd do emfilcht er
 25 sich dañ in ir aller gebet= vnd die priester alle geben
 im den segen= vnd dañ bezeichet er sich mit dē zeichē
 des heyligen kreüz an dýe stirn vnnd schlewt al/
 so hin ein in das loch= vñ von stunden so beschleüst
 es der pryor= Vnnd an dem anderen tag vmb dýe

fol. 1 b. 30 zeit als er hin ein ist geschlossen= So kumpt d' prior
 vnd schleüßt das loch auf= vnd ist dann der mensch
 herwider kûmen / so füren sý in mit grossen frewden
 in die kirchen do muß er aber xv=tag vasten vñ got
 dancken vnd loben Ist er aber nit geleich auf die sel/
 35 ben zeit kômen so seind sý gewiß das er verlorē ist
 vnd nitt mer kumpt= vnd ir seind vil also dar jnnen
 beliben Drumb so hat der babst zû vnsern zeyten ge=
 botten das man nyemand mere dar ein lassen sol er
 hab dann gar grosse vrsach dar czû= Es ist kurzlich
 40 eý kartheuser zû thuckelhausen gewesen der bat got
 vnd das gemein capittel vnd den vatter von Car/
 tusia sie solten im dar ein erlaubē / man wolt es abē
 nit thûn= vnd gab im zû antwurt er solt dē kartheu=
 ser orden rechtt thûn vnnd solt den gar vleyßlichen
 45 halten so hett er fegfeuers genûg dar an= vnnd also
 torst er es nymmer begeren=

Second half of page blank.

fol. 2 a. Item man lißt wie eins mals wer ein reich=
 =er man der wolt gancz keinen glauben dar
 an haben was man im von der helle vñ vō
 50 dem fegfeier saget= vnd sprach alwegen die pfaffen
 hetten solich ding darumb erdacht das sie dýe lewt
 vñ gelt dz beschalektē= vñ wolt sich auch mit nich/
 ten von solcher seiner meinung weýsen lassen= Do
 füget es sich aber eines mals das in sein haußfrawe
 55 eins morgens tot fand ligen an dem beth vnd waz
 gancz schwarcz an allem seinem leib als ein kol= vñ
 het einen brieff in der hand do stünd also geschriben
 Ich hab gesehen das ein fegfewer ist= So weyß ich
 das ein helle ist dann ich muß leider ewiklichen dar

so jnnen beleiben vor wolt ich es nit gelaubē so hab ich
 es ȳecz erfarn darūb so seȳ ein ȳeklicher mensch in
 disen dingen fürsichtig vñ gelaubig das ist im not=

Second half of page blank.

fol. 2 b. *Same woodcut as in T.C.D. Press A. 7. 19.*

The source of the text, as far as line 36, is the third chapter of Henry of Saltrey's *De Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* (c. 1190). As the Trinity College text was drawn from Henry's first two chapters, the two together form a continuous narrative—another argument for assigning them to the same printer. The anecdotes about the Carthusian monk of Tüchelhausen (about 12 miles south of Würzburg) and the rich sceptic are local embellishments of the original story. I reprint the Latin text from Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* (1647), p. 274:

Est autem consuetudo, tam a S. Patricio, quam ab eius successoribus constituta, ut Purgatorium illud nullus introeat, nisi ab Episcopo, in cuius est Episcopatu, licentiam habeat, et qui propria voluntate illud intrare pro peccatis suis eligat; qui cum ad Episcopum venerit, et ei propositum suum manifestaverit, prius hortatur eum Episcopus, a tali proposito desistere, dicens quod multi illud introeunt, qui nunquam redierunt; si vero perseveraverit, introducit eum in Ecclesiam ut in ea quindecim diebus ieiuniis et orationibus vacet. Quibus peractis, convocat Prior in unum Clerum, manequē Missa celebrata, munitur poenitens sacra communione, et aqua ad idem officium benedicta aspergitur; sicque cum processione, et littaniis ad ostium Purgatorii demum ducitur. Prior autem iterum de infestatione daemonum, et multorum in eadem fossa perditione ostium ei coram omnibus aperiens, denuntiat: si vero constans in proposito fuerit, percepta ab omnibus sacerdotibus benedictione, et omnium se commendans orationibus, propriaque manu signum crucis fronti suae imprimens, ingreditur; moxque a Priore ostium obseratur, sicque processio ad Ecclesiam revertitur: quae, die altera, iterum mane de Ecclesia in fossam regreditur, ostiumque a Priore aperitur, et si homo reversus inventus fuerit, cum gaudio in Ecclesiam deducitur, in qua aliis quindecim diebus, vigiliis et orationibus intentus moratur; quod si eadem hora, die altera reversus non apparuerit, certissimi de eius perditione, ostio a Priore obserato universi recedunt.

G. WATERHOUSE.

BELFAST.

REVIEWS

Three Northumbrian Poems: Cædmon's Hymn, Bede's Death Song and The Leiden Riddle. Edited by A. H. SMITH, Ph.D. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1933. x+54 pp. 2s.

Deor. Edited by KEMP MALONE. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1933. x+38 pp. 1s. 6d.

The two little volumes form the first instalment of Methuen's Old English Library, edited by Dr A. H. Smith and Mr F. Norman. They are to be followed by editions of various other pieces, as *Waldere*, the *Wanderer* and *Seafarer*, selections from the *Parker Chronicle*, *Alfred's Orosius*. The aim of the series is to provide editions suitable for undergraduate use, in which are given perfectly reliable texts and a summary of the literature on them. The general principle is to keep the MS. reading so far as possible. Vowel-length is not indicated in the text, though it is in the glossary, and the symbols p (for w), 3 are adopted. The general principles are sound, and there is no doubt but that the series will fill a felt want. I fail to see, however, how the marking of vowel-length can be said to be 'definitely misleading for linguistic purposes.'

Dr Smith's volume contains Cædmon's *Hymn* (CH), Bede's *Death Song* (BDS) and the *Leiden Riddle* (LR). The grouping of the three in one volume needs no justification. There are also very good reasons why they should be made the object of full treatment. Important MSS. of CH and BDS have become available in the last few years. The MS. of LR has been subjected to fresh examination, in which ultra-violet light has been used. This has yielded important results, the most important being *nudlicae* in the last line, *hrutendu* and *scelfath* in l. 7. The introduction gives a summary of the results of research concerning the texts and also contains valuable fresh suggestions. A full textual apparatus and a complete glossary are provided. Altogether the book is a valuable contribution.

The short texts offer many difficult problems, which will doubtless long continue to occupy scholars. There are some points on which I take leave to differ from the editor, and some details in the book seem to me open to criticism.

The exposition does not seem to be always quite clear enough. The section on MSS. will be hard reading to many students. I think readers would do well to begin with the Bibliography. The latter is chronologically arranged, and it takes a long time to find an item in it, unless one knows the date of a book. It would have been an advantage if the editor had told readers in a few words that till 1904 only one MS. of the early version of CH was known, that in 1904 Wuest published two more, and that in 1928 Olga Dobiache-Rojdestvensky published a highly important fourth MS. of the text. It will take beginners some time to find out these facts with the present arrangement. It might also have been added that

the Leningrad MS. has been known from 1880, but that Plummer overlooked its existence. The editor's way of stating things is not always quite clear in other respects. I have tried in vain, for instance, to understand the force of 'this,' p. 3, l. 4.

The statistical figures on p. 26 do not seem quite correct. I make LR have 8 *æ* (Smith 7), and 4 *th*, 15 *ð* (Smith 5 and 14). This is a small point, but if figures are given at all, they should be correct. On p. 32 (smoothing) *aeriz(faerae)* is omitted. It is misleading to say that *herzan* has W. Germ. *z* (same page). The ending of the 3rd sg. pa. t. of weak verbs was surely *-ǣþ*, not *-æþ* (p. 34). *Hyzi-* in *hyziðoncum* does not represent the Prim. Germ. nom. in *-jaz*. It is in the stem form.

A few notes follow on the text and interpretation. In CH l. 3 *sue* does not mean 'as, even as,' but 'how,' as shown by Bede's translation *quomodo*. The editor makes a new sentence begin with CH l. 8 (*eci dryctin*) and says that Bede in his translation omitted the last two lines. He renders the lines 'the Eternal Lord...afterwards adorned the earth for men.' This makes the little poem rather jerky and spoils a good deal of its effect. In my opinion there can be no doubt that ll. 8 f. vary the two preceding lines. It is not altogether true that Bede omits ll. 8 f. The two words *frea allmectiz* occur in his version as *omnipotens*. The rest of the lines he omitted, because he was anxious only to give 'sensus,' not also 'ordo ipsorum verborum.' It is doubtful if O.E. *teon* was used in the sense 'adorn.' It occurs (with an instrumental) in the sense 'provide,' and a possible rendering is 'he provided the world with human beings.' But *teon* usually means 'make, create' (as in *worold teode*, Gn. Ex., Andr.) and this is the obvious meaning here. Curiously enough, on p. 13 the editor seems to accept Zupitza's statement that Bede renders *scop* and *tiadæ* by *creauit*, *midðunzeard* and *foldu* by *terram*.

In BDS l. 1 the abbreviated *the'* (*thae*) of the MSS. is held to represent *them*, which may well be correct, and *neidfærae* to contain O.E. *fær* 'sudden danger.' The editor here follows Förster. But O.E. *fær* had W. Germ. *ā* and should have appeared as *fer* in the text. The abnormal *æ* should at least have been discussed in the paragraph on W. Germ. *ā* (p. 28 f.). If *the'* stands for *them*, *neidfærae* evidently contains O.E. *fær* n. 'journey.' *Neidfær* 'unavoidable journey' is a better variant of *hiniong*, l. 3, than *neidfēr*. Metrically *-faerae* may, of course, as well have a short vowel as a long one. Cf. *deothdaege*, l. 5.

LR offers several cruces, the most difficult ones being found in ll. 6 and 13. *Hyziðoncum min*, l. 4, of which Trautmann said it is 'sinnlos,' the editor adopts without remark. I think the reading is correct, but a word in explanation of *min* might have been added.

L. 6 (*ni ðerih ðreatun ziðraec ðret me himmith*) is rendered by the editor: 'there is no thread in me which can resound through the onrush of troops' (that is, in battle), or 'through the violence of its blows' (in allusion to the passing of the thread backwards and forwards in the loom). The first alternative is improbable. Something connected with weaving must be referred to. The other alternative does not seem to me much more convincing. Incidentally I remark that the editor seems to

take *ðreatun* to be a mistake for *ðreata*, on which I agree. A *ðreat* must have been some part of the loom. I suggest that it was the name of one of the weights that kept the warp taut. *ðerih ðreata ȝiðracc* would then mean 'owing to the pressure of the weights.' O.E. *ðreat* means, among other things, 'force, oppression.' Its original meaning would be 'pressure,' whence would easily develop the concrete sense 'something that presses, weight.'

In l. 10 *ȝoelu* of the MS. is silently altered to *ȝolu*. The MS. reading should at least have been given in the notes.

Anoezun in l. 13 is an old crux. I do not believe it can be due to influence from O.H.G. *egisôn* or a misreading of *anoeza*, a doubtful form. If it is not to be emended simply to *anoezu*, the form to be expected, the *n* must be carried over to the next word (*nic* contracted from *ne ic* or a word corresponding to O.Sax. *nek* 'neither'). Double negation occurs in O.E. and O.Sax. Cf. *ne ik ȝio mannes ni ward wīs*, Heliand.

L. 14 is defective, the MS. being partly undecipherable here. A distinct gain is *niudhcae*, a new reading. The suggestion for the first half of the line (*ðeh ði numen siæ*) is not fully convincing, as the verse is not quite in order and the reading does not give an obviously correct sense.

The problems dealt with in Professor Malone's *Deor* are quite different from those in the first volume. No fresh MS. material has turned up and a renewed examination of the single MS. extant has yielded no new readings. It is in the interpretation, which offers many new and striking suggestions, and the analysis of the poem as a piece of literature, that the strength of the book lies. The introduction is mainly taken up by a discussion of the date of the poem, but in the course of it the editor finds an opportunity of dealing with all the various problems bound up with the text. In reality the poem receives very full treatment from various points of view. The discussion of the date ends in a *non liquet*, but the editor is inclined to think the probable time is c. 900. The very vague indications that are held to point to this are in reality not very convincing. The inverted word-order in l. 14 is held to be reminiscent of scaldic poetry, but the passage is unexplained. The supposed use of *wyrm* as a kind of 'heiti' for sword or ring is held to point to the tenth century. But it remains to be proved that *wurman*, l. 1, has this meaning.

This *wurman* is made the object of a lengthy discussion. The editor takes *wurman* to represent classical O.E. *wyrmum* 'worms, snakes,' and to be used here as a kind of 'heiti' for swords or rings. The explanation strikes me as somewhat far-fetched, and the facts adduced in its favour are hardly conclusive. It does not follow, because a Norseman could call a sword by the proper name *Naðr* or because in certain collocations a sword could be referred to in O.N. poetry as a snake, that an O.E. poet could use the word *wyrm* simply as a synonym of sword. Besides, even if we grant that he could so use it, the passage remains extremely difficult. The preposition *be* surely means 'from' (Weland suffered persecution or tribulation from *wurman*). The editor suggests that the meaning may here be rather 'alongside of, in the midst of,' and that the sense of the passage is that

Weland underwent persecution in the midst of the very weapons with serpentine tracings and the rings and other ornaments in serpentine form which he had made. I cannot help thinking that this makes the passage rather flat. If *wurman* stands for *wyrmum* and the word *wyrm* is meant, I suppose we must assume that there was a variant of the Weland story in which the hero had to spend some time in the snake-pit.

The editor suggests that *on legde swoncre seonobende* is a poetical way of referring to the hamstringing of Weland, rather than to the binding of the smith mentioned in the *Völundarkviða*, 12, 1-4. The O.N. text, he says, is corrupt in this place, and one cannot be sure of its exact meaning. The editor seems to forget *Völundarkviða*, 11, 5-8 (*vissi sér á höndum hofgar nauðir, en á fótum fiotur um spentan*). Here the binding of Weland is mentioned in unambiguous terms, and on p. 20 the editor accepts Niedner's suggestion that *nede*, *Deor* 5, corresponds to *nauðir* in *Völundarkviða*, 11, 6. It seems to me there can be no doubt that *Deor* 5-6 refer to the binding of Weland, with which his tribulations began. To lay supple sinew-bonds on a person seems a somewhat strange way of telling that he was hamstrung.

In l. 3 *zesiþþe* belongs to *zesiþþ* 'company,' not to *zesiþ*. Sorrow, longing and wintercold misery are not a man's companion, but his companions or company.

The *Mæðhild* passage is an old crux. The editor takes *monze* to be an unrecorded O.E. *monz* '(love-)commerce,' but it is difficult to see how such a word can be fitted into the context. Professor Malone looks upon *monze* as a dative of accompaniment and refers to his article in *Anglia*, LVII. I do not see how he analyses the sentence, and the same is true of some of the examples in the *Anglia* paper, as well as of the variant proposed by Dr Smith and Mr Norman. To me it looks as if *þæt Mæðhilde* were an expression analogous to *hyre sylfre þinz* in l. 9.

The *Peodric* passage is textually straightforward, but the interpretation is by no means easy. The editor takes *peodric* to be the Frank, not the Ostrogoth, *Mæringa burg* to be the *burg* of the Visigoths, used here in a disparaging sense or as a piece of sarcasm, and the thirty years to refer to a period of exile. This is ingenious. Yet I cannot help thinking that it is rather strange to say of an exile that he possessed (*ahte*) *Mæringa burg*, and the analogy of l. 22, where *ahte* must mean 'held as a usurper,' suggests that *ahte* has the same meaning here too. If so, the poet means that *Peodric* ruled for thirty years (as a usurper) over *Mæringa burg*. *Peodric* the Ostrogoth may have been looked upon as a usurper with just as much reason as *Eormenric*.

Two points may be noted in the section on metre. Richter suggested that in *wintercealde wræce*, l. 4a, *winter* must have been monosyllabic, a sign of an early date. Against this the editor brings forward *restað incit her*, Gen. 2880 b, as evidence that an unstressed syllable was admissible after the first stress of an E-verse. He overlooks the fact that Holthausen carries *her* over to the next line. Again Richter adduces l. 8 b as proof that *Deor* was written after the dropping of *-u* after a long syllable. He gives the verse in the form *ne wæs hyre broþra deaþ*. The editor rightly

points out that the words *ne wæs* belong to the preceding half-line, but does not see that this does not affect the argument. In either case the line is of the B type, and the last word cannot have been *deapu* in the original text.

Professor Malone's volume, like his earlier work, is characterised by an independent outlook and fresh and interesting suggestions. It is a stimulating book.

EILERT EKWALL.

LUND.

Die Altenglische Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches (sog. Poenitentiale Pseudo-Ecgberti). Herausgegeben von JOSEF RAITH. (*Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*, XIII. Band.) Hamburg: Henry Grand. 1933. xl+85 pp. RM. 14.

Somewhere about the year 830, Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, urged one of his suffragans, Halitgar, Bishop of Cambrai, to produce a penitential based on the Fathers and the Canons and so help to overcome the confusion caused by the existence of a large number of faulty penitentials which, in the words of the Council of Paris, led to priests imposing 'upon those confessing, a measure of penance determined otherwise than the canonical laws decree.' Halitgar produced a Latin penitential based partly upon the Fathers and the Canons and partly upon the so-called *Poenitentiale Romanum*. The present work is an edition of an Old English translation, or rather version, of Halitgar which, on the authority of one of the MSS. (c.c.c.c. 190), was long attributed to Ecgbert, Archbishop of York 732-66. Wasserschleben (see *Introd.* p. xxvi) in 1851 pointed out the relationship between this penitential and Halitgar's, thus ruling out Ecgbert's authorship of, at any rate, the first three books. The fourth book is based partly on the *Pseudo-Cummean* penitential (second half of the ninth century) and partly on the *Pseudo-Roman* penitential (first half of the ninth century). It is clear, then, that very little, if any, of the work can be claimed as Ecgbert's.

These penitentials were collections of penances for various classes of offences and served as guides to the priest. According to the generally accepted opinion, they arose in the Celtic Church, so passing to the Anglo-Saxons and the Continent in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries (P. Fournier, *Étude sur les pénitentiels* in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, ix, p. 102). It is worthy of note in the present instance, that both Cambrai and Rheims contained monasteries which are known to have been frequented by Irish monks and scholars during these centuries.

This penitential, as we should expect, throws light on the cultural life of Old English times. The references to witchcraft, for instance, in Book iv are interesting. Homicide by witchcraft is dealt with (iv, 12) and the reference to *invultuatio* (iv, 13), or the piercing of an image or effigy representing the person who is to be injured or killed, is probably the earliest English mention of this form of magic. Love potions, too, are

denounced (iv, 14), and the penance prescribed for a layman is to fast for six months on Wednesdays and Fridays. The Wednesday fast, though not unknown on the Continent, flourished chiefly in the Celtic Church. Another interesting contemporary superstition referred to is the method of curing a sick child by passing it through the earth at the cross-roads (iv, 16).

Raith's edition of the penitential contains all the essentials. Lack of space has obviously prevented a fuller treatment of the penitential literature and its problems and anything more than a bare reference to the points of cultural interest. Though the work has been published before, a critical text was needed, if for no other reason than to draw attention afresh to the subject of penitential literature, which has been somewhat neglected in this country.

Most of the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα have found their way into Bosworth-Toller. A few seem to have been missed, such as *mishealdnes*, neglect (iii, 2); *unriht-willa*, evil intention (iv, 7, 8); *stacung*, piercing (iv, 13); *oferstan*, escape (iv, 23); *cumædre*, commater (Anhang 1).

A few misprints have been noted. Instead of the present text read as follows: p. 7, l. 35, *tuas* prior; p. 34, l. 24, *revertuntur*; p. 43, l. 35, *adsunt*; p. 53, l. 3, *wiccecræfte*; p. 55, l. 2, *purh*; p. 65, l. 1, *husl*; p. 67, l. 12, *lecge*; p. 72, l. 28, *fratris*.

And finally, the impecunious scholar's wail. Why must he pay £1 for something just a little more than a pamphlet, especially when he feels that he can hardly do without it?

BERTRAM COLGRAVE.

DURHAM.

The Siege of Jerusalem. Edited from the MS. Laud Misc. 656 with variants from all other extant MSS., by E. KÖLBING and MABEL DAY. (Early English Text Society, O.S. No. 188.) London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1932. xxxii+134 pp. 15s.

'This edition of the *Siege of Jerusalem* was begun by Professor E. Kölbing, for whom the text, with the variant readings, was set up in 1898, when pp. 1-32 were printed off. It has now been completed by Dr Mabel Day, who has revised the text and provided an Introduction, Notes and Glossary.'

Of this alliterative poem there are seven fifteenth-century MSS., whereof the early XV Laud Misc. 656 was printed by Steffler at Emden in 1891, and is here printed again. MS. Lambeth 491 according to James and Jenkins, *Catal. Lambeth Palace MSS.*, p. 681, was evidently made for private use and is soiled and thumbed. Many leaves are torn and edges cut off. It contains the M.E. prose *Brut*, an (?) unprinted version of Arthur at the Tarn Wathelan, a poem on hunting, and several religious and moral verses. The poem was originally divided into quatrains, as Kaluza observed in *Eng. Stud.*, xvi, pp. 169-80, and this division survives more or less fully in three of the MSS.

From a study of alliteration and phonology Dr Day deduces that the original dialect was probably North-west Midland. I would support this

conclusion by pointing out the probable geological and topographical implications of *v.* 620: 'with grete stones of gret and of gray marble': apparently by one from a Carboniferous district such as that on the West Yorkshire and Lancashire border.

There are about 93 Scandinavian loan-words, but none of particular rarity or interest, except the *biker* mentioned later on.

Dr Day refers us to von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, for a general and detailed study of the mediæval legends of the Siege of Jerusalem, and the Vernicle; she herself gives us all that is immediately relevant to the work she edits. She then turns to the sources of the poem: viz. *Vindicta Salvatoris* (part of which is printed in Appendix II from MS. Harl. 495); Higden's *Polychronicon* (part printed in App. III); and *Legenda Aurea*. The connexion of *S.J.* with (1) *Titus and Vespasian* is next considered; the latter is perhaps borrowed from the former: (2) the alliterative *Troy Book*; from which *S.J.* seems to borrow; differences of metre and alliteration make it unlikely that *T.B.* and *S.J.* are by the same person. Since *T.B.* is probably after 1385, and the earliest *T. & V.* MS. is c. 1400, *S.J.* falls between these dates.

Dr Day has written useful notes, some of which are important: e.g. those on 32 *biker*; 163 *pruely* = 'plainly,' etc. (cf. *Gaw. and Gr. Kt.* 902?); 181 *beyne*; 344 *come* < O.E. *cōme* (?), cf. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-words in M.E.* pp. 11² and 295, who suggests that it is formed on the pattern of O.W. Scand. *kváma* or possibly connected with O. Swed. *koma*. The form, rhyming with *hōme*, occurs in *v.* 17679 of the *Laud Troy Book* (E.E.T.S.):

361 *houe*: the readings of ACDE are strongly in favour of the text:

567 *rispen*: cf. MS. *Peniarth* 53 ff., 103 ff. (of a drunken man) 'rapsyng by the wall':

745. Dr Day is right, I think, upon the *grate*; see Laking, *European Armour and Arms*, I, 169, 177, 188; II, 70, 134, 193; III, 86; and Calvert, *Spanish Armour* (1907), plates 15, 15 A, 15 B, 15 C:

836 *archirs*: 976 *houshed*: is this, as Dr Day suggests, < O.E. *hýscan*; or = M.E. *ho(u)nished* and cf. *Southern Passion* 1458?

The full glossary gives several words not recorded at all, or not from so early a document, in the *N.E.D.*

Dr Day is to be congratulated on finishing well a work well begun by Dr Kölbing; and on having made better known a lively and interesting poem and furnished it with the necessary apparatus.

CYRIL BRETT.

CARDIFF.

The Macaronic Hymn Tradition in Medieval English Literature. By WILLIAM O. WEHRLE. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America. 1933. xxxvii+186 pp. \$ 1.

This dissertation giving us the first comprehensive survey of English macaronic poetry breaks much new ground, for with the exception of

J. A. Morgan's *Macaronic Poetry*, 1872, no individual attempt has been made to study this subject in all its numerous aspects. Mr Wehrle wisely does not attempt so great a task, concentrating rather upon what he believes to be the more important side of the vernacular tradition. He refuses to be tied down to the Folengo definition of macaronic poetry, in which he is entirely justified, seeing that the buffoonery of the generally accepted macaronic poem is entirely absent from the older specimens, which ought surely to offer material for the right definition of a term even if it happened to be coined at a later period. 'The mingling of two or more languages in one poem' is therefore Mr Wehrle's starting-point.

After a brief but critical account of the numerous scattered references to the subject during the last seventy years, the author passes on to treat of the six macaronic passages in Old English poetry. His most suggestive point is the parallel he draws between the last eleven lines of *The Phoenix* and the early Irish hymn of St Colman in which the macaronic element is entirely devotional in use and liturgical in origin. For the rest, the rigid adherence to the Anglo-Saxon alliterative versification in the Latin passages is particularly worthy of notice. Mr Wehrle does not attempt to classify these passages according to type, but points out that here are evidently the early patterns, formed consistently from current liturgical hymns, since the fourteenth-century forms perpetuate many of the earlier characteristics.

The absence of macaronic poetry in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is not surprising, but to find merely five examples from the thirteenth is disappointing. Of these, three are Anglo-Norman, the most interesting being an Anglo-Norman drinking-song with tags from a Latin sequence in *Sarum*. The remaining poems are religious. That Mr Wehrle should generalise and in the five works discover four distinct types will shake the confidence of the cautious reader, and only when he discovers that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these very types reappear in a stereotyped form, will it be restored. In the twelve surviving examples from the fourteenth century there are noticeable developments. A trilingual period is followed by the gradual eclipse of Anglo-Norman and new types come into being. The small number of examples which have come down to us from these earlier periods cannot be an adequate representation of what must have been written. At the same time it is fortunate that enough has survived to illustrate the various themes and formal types that were used.

Mr Wehrle has an easier task in dealing with the fifteenth-century examples, but he shows ingenuity in his classifications and keeps the main lines of development clear amid the comparatively large number of works with which he has to deal. The final chapter treats of the macaronic poetry of Lydgate and Ryman (the bulk of whose surviving work has macaronic characteristics). Despite the scantiness of his material in the early periods, Mr Wehrle is able to prove his thesis. His work is thoroughly documented and a valuable bibliography is appended, but his book might have been condensed without serious loss by the omission of a good deal of unnecessary elaboration. The volume is, however, an important

contribution to a much neglected subject, and the gathering together of the earliest texts should be of help to the student.

J. P. OAKDEN.

ST ANDREWS.

Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans. By CHARLES J. SISSON, MARK ECCLES and DEBORAH JONES. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. xii+527 pp. 28s.

This is a refreshing book; five monographs, all full of new facts, fully documented, well set out, and yet good lively reading. Professor Sisson begins with 'Thomas Lodge and his Family,' opening with the father, Sir Thomas, grocer and alderman of the City of London, who vastly distinguished himself by going bankrupt in his year of office as Lord Mayor. Thence he traces the adventures of the sons, through their many lawsuits, until the line is broken in Thomas, poet and physician, ending his life in poverty and obscurity in 1623. In a final chapter he gives a sketch of Lodge the man, showing how much of his work, even in *Rosalind*, is founded in the bitter personal experiences of a man who was unscrupulous, improvident and opinionate. Mr Eccles follows with the exciting case of Barnabe Barnes, son of a Bishop of Durham. Barnabe, who appears in Nashe's work as a consummate ass, distinguished himself as a sonneteer, first with *Parthenope and Parthenophil*, which moved even Marston to protest at its very odd sentiments, and then with a *Century of Divine Sonnets* of considerable religious feeling. Mr Eccles is, however, mainly interested in Barnes's less successful efforts, a few months later, as a poisoner, when with the aid of mercury sublimite and a 'limonde,' he endeavoured to dispose of John Browne, Recorder of Berwick, for which he appeared before the Star Chamber, but saved his ears by breaking prison. Mr Eccles is also responsible for the first authoritative biography of Sir George Buc, Master of the Revels, to whom students of Elizabethan stage owe so much, but who unfortunately, after many troubles, died lunatic. Miss Deborah Jones contributes many new discoveries concerning the family of Lodowick Bryskett; and in 'John Lyly at St Bartholomew's' works out the amusing details of a furious squabble in 1605 about a clothes line, which led to violence and the Star Chamber, amongst the defendants being Beatrice, wife of John Lyly. It establishes the residence of the Lylys just before John's death, and is very illuminating on the amenities of life (particularly on wash day) in middle-class households.

No short summary can do justice to the detailed research and skilful presentation of these five monographs. In small ways some details may be criticised. There would have been advantage in separate publication; the sections have little in common, except period, and they vary considerably in importance. Professor Sisson's section on Lodge, and Mr Eccles's on Buc, are major contributions to national biography. It is surprising to find in such a work that Lytton Strachey's romance *Elizabeth and Essex* is cited four times as authority for historical details;

and the two modern sketch plans might with advantage have been drawn by a professional draughtsman.

The volume is one of the most important in its own kind to appear for many years, and, if it has its deserts, should produce important results. It shows, in general, the need for scholars and historians of a Dictionary of Elizabethan Biography; and it illustrates the value of team work in research. There is still a vast mass of untouched material in the Public Record Office which can only be examined by those who have undergone the laborious training necessary for this specialised kind of research. Individual diggers, in search of loot, may make lucky finds, but the best results can only come from scientific excavation. If scholars are to benefit from these stores, research must be organised, and actively encouraged. It is unlikely, and indeed not very necessary, that anyone will come forward with a large endowment; but academic bodies, especially in London, could encourage it by awarding higher degrees for those who are prepared to devote time to systematic examination and competent calendaring of records under expert supervision. Such calendars would be a far more useful contribution to learning than the laborious theses which are now demanded of candidates for higher degrees.

Not the least of the many merits of these studies is that the writers have not been content merely to set out facts. They have remembered (as scholars too often forget) that books are meant to be read, and that Elizabethan men of letters are often much more amusing than their works.

G. B. HARRISON.

LONDON.

The Christian Hero. By RICHARD STEELE. Edited by RAE BLANCHARD. Oxford University Press. 1932. xxxii+101 pp. 6s.

Steele's *Christian Hero*, first published in 1701, had gone through nine editions by the time of his death in 1729, and it remained a popular work throughout the eighteenth century. It has now been reprinted with an introduction and bibliography. Readers who come to it from the *Tatlers* and *Spectators* will probably find it heavy and awkward going, and indeed there is little here to prepare one for the ease and charm of Steele's later writings. But Dr Blanchard in his introduction makes out a good case for his reprint, and he sketches in the intellectual background of Steele's argument with real knowledge. His mind was in a muddle when he wrote *The Christian Hero*, and Dr Blanchard shows clearly what was muddling it.

As the editor of a text he is not quite so satisfactory. Using the third edition (1710) as his basis, he produces what is almost a facsimile reprint; and having occasion to substitute the correct reading 'Obligations' for the 'Obligtioans' of 1710 he duly notes the misprint. But when on subsequent pages he cites as misprints such quite normal eighteenth-century spellings as 'Tasts,' 'Engin,' 'Chimæra's,' or such expressions

as 'any ways' and 'do's,' and substitutes the modern equivalents in his text, he is not showing much familiarity with the printed page of the early eighteenth century. 'Tasts' and 'Engin' were certainly giving way to 'Tastes' and 'Engine' about 1700, but the *New English Dictionary* has examples dated 1700 and 1708 of the two former spellings. On several occasions, too, an editorial note would have been helpful. A reader coming across such obsolete words as 'shogg'd' and 'fonded' will get no help from this editor, though he will find both words quoted in the *N.E.D.* with a reference in each case to the relevant passage in *The Christian Hero*. It is only fair to add, however, that the text, with the exceptions noted, appears to be an accurate reprint; such faults as it contains are not those of carelessness.

J. R. SUTHERLAND.

LONDON.

Joseph Warton's Essay on Pope. A history of the five editions. By WILLIAM DARNALL MACCLINTOCK. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. xii+74 pp. 11s. 6d.

The study of the history of four editions of a well-known book, all printed in the lifetime of the author, and of a fifth published six years after his death, is always of great interest to bibliographers, but Professor MacClintock claims that his book is more than a mere bibliographical study.

In the first place, it exhibits the general change in critical consciousness from 'Classical' to 'romantic' canons in the middle of the eighteenth century. Secondly, such a study is profitable very particularly as reflecting this change in the matter of contemporary literary reputations....He [Warton] helped establish anew the facts that both the critical and creative work of a period show the same general tendencies, that good work is praised, though often hesitatingly, by contemporaries, and that the domination of Pope was sharply questioned both in poetry and criticism within ten years after his death. The analysis of Warton's successive editions shows, thirdly, how rapidly and in what details the work of Gray, Collins, Mason, and other 'romantic' poets was winning its way, creating new standards of literary judgment, and modifying the absolute standards of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. And finally it shows, though not so clearly as the contemporary work of Thomas Warton, Jr., the appearance at this time of the new historical and relative criticism which soon became central in romantic theory.

When Vol. I of the *Essay* appeared in 1756 it created almost a sensation in challenging the supremacy of Pope, whose reputation was still high; but when the Romantic Movement declined the *Essay* began to lose influence and was almost forgotten until Saintsbury published his *History of Criticism* in 1904. This may have been more through a loss of interest in the poetry of Pope, than from faults of his critic.

Professor MacClintock begins his book with a chapter on the 'Origin, significance, reception' of the *Essay*. He thinks that its more immediate inspiration may be found in Warton's relation with Joseph Spence (1699-1768) and that the two critics were pursuing the same lines of thought. Warburton's editions of Pope which appeared in 1743 and 1752 urged Warton, he continues, 'to produce in his *Essay*, a book of strictly literary

comment, as well as to express his conviction, formed earlier, that Pope was not one of our greatest poets.'

On the question of the delay in the publication of the second volume until 1782 Professor MacClintock cites Chalmers, who 'suggests that Warton was partly afraid of Warburton and partly deferential toward him and was only waiting for Warburton's death to continue his second volume.' As late as 1915 Gosse wrote that the *Essay* 'was so shocking to the prejudices of the hour that it was received with universal disfavor, and twenty-six years passed before the author had the moral courage to pursue it to a conclusion.'

Professor MacClintock believes that this theory of Warton's fearing Warburton's wrath is only partly true and that the issue in 1762 of a second revised and strengthened edition of Vol. I, which contained his most radical assertions, and of a third edition in 1772, shows that for two decades Warton was not 'afraid' of offending the Bishop. Professor MacClintock writes that 'the reasons for delay must be found in his (Warton's) absorption in school work, in his natural sluggishness, and especially in his lack of interest in the poems of Pope to be treated in this volume.'

A section on 'Reviews of the *Essay*' gives extracts from the leading reviews of both volumes, including Johnson's criticism of Vol. I which Professor MacClintock describes as 'a cramped, mild, and rather cold approval by Johnson, with several distinct "digs" that could not have been pleasing to Warton. But so large a space given to the book, and even grudging praise from the great Johnson, were distinct gains for Warton's venture.'

The second chapter, 'A History of the five editions,' gives an extremely interesting account of the way in which they were produced. The second volume was published early in 1782 with the statement by Warton in the Advertisement that two hundred pages of the volume had been printed 'above twenty years ago.' Later in the year the book was entirely reset and both volumes were published in a uniform size.

It is by Chapter Three, 'Summary of the changes made in the five editions,' that the reader will decide if the author has proved his contention as to the growth of Warton's taste and judgment. He claims that 'the successive revisions show that he grew rapidly; they show also that he took full cognizance of contemporary happenings in the literary world—a matter of great importance in tracing the growth of eighteenth-century criticism.'

The most amazing page in the *Essay* is that at the end of the dedication where Warton gives a classification of English poets, making four groups and including in Class I, 'Sublime and pathetic poets,' Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Otway and Lee. The inclusion of the two last must surely have prejudiced readers against the *Essay*.

In the second edition, it is true, these two names are not included even in group four, while several other changes are made, but Warton still does not 'determine' in which of these classes Pope deserves to be placed,' as his name is not found anywhere in the second list.

Other important changes in Warton's taste are the dropping of personal references to himself and his brother Thomas, his growing enthusiasm for Milton, and his admiration for the new romantic work of Gray, Collins, Thompson, West, Akenside and Young.

Professor MacClintock's book gives ten facsimiles of the title-pages of the various editions of the two volumes of the *Essay*, full references in the notes at the foot of each page, also biographical and bibliographical notes at the end of the book.

Whatever he may think of Warton's opinion of Pope's poetry, the reader must admire the completeness of Professor MacClintock's work.

FRANK ISAAC.

LONDON.

Johnsonian Gleanings. By ALEYN LYELL READE. *Part VI. The Doctor's Life 1735-1740.* Privately printed for the author by Percy Lund, Humphries and Co., Ltd. 1933. xi + 224 pp. 25s.

Mr Reade must by this time be weary of such epithets as 'patient,' 'indefatigable,' 'laborious,' as applied to him and his *Johnsonian Gleanings*. It is superfluous to add that he has again deserved them. Further, the period covered by the latest instalment of *Gleanings* is one of very considerable interest, including, as it does, 'the amazing marriage' to Mrs Porter, the pedagogic experiment at Edial, the move to London and the early Grub Street days. Johnson's wife came of an ancient Leicestershire family, the Jervises, who were 'free from all taint of trade.' Elizabeth was married first to Harry Porter, second son of Henry Porter, the Birmingham mercer, whose death is commemorated on the oldest monument in Edgbaston church. By her first marriage Mrs Porter had three children, two of whom, Lucy and Joseph, were on good terms with Johnson in later years. These elementary facts do not, of course, give any proper indication of the extent of Mr Reade's researches into the genealogies of the Jervis, Darell and Porter families and while the 'detailed histories' of these families are to be reserved for Part VII of the *Gleanings*, Mr Reade gives sufficient material in this volume to justify his claim that 'genealogy here provides us with no mere accumulation of dry bones, but with a presentment of a rich pattern of interesting human relationships.' Even Mr Reade cannot yet tell us why the marriage ceremony was performed at Derby rather than at Birmingham, though he suggests the possibility of a friendship between Johnson and William Lockett, the vicar of St Werburgh's. On the subject of the bride's personal appearance, Mr Reade is careful to quote Mrs Piozzi and William Shaw as well as Garrick and Anna Seward, and the portrait which still hangs in Mr Pennant's house at Bodfari remains the comeliest memorial of the 'lady of great sensibility and worth' whom Johnson married. In the definitive identification of Edial Hall, a farmhouse a few miles west of Lichfield, with the building in which Johnson kept his school, Mr Reade acknowledges the thoroughness of the research conducted by Mr Laithwaite of Lichfield Grammar School and concludes

that the house was not materially altered until 1809. Mr Reade further identifies the relative for whom Johnson drew up a list of books for study as Samuel Ford, his cousin, who matriculated at Oxford in March 1736. As everyone knows, Johnson did not prosper as a schoolmaster. In March 1737 he adventured to London with Garrick, and Mr Reade is able to demonstrate not only that Johnson's brother Nathaniel died just about the time of their departure, but also that Garrick lost his father a week later—a fact hitherto unknown to Garrick's biographers. In dealing with Johnson's early London days, Mr Reade rejects the sentimental view of Johnson's 'early familiarity with all the miseries of destitution.' 'It should have been quite possible,' he maintains, 'for a young man starting his career at that time to live decently in rooms on thirty pounds a year,' and the famous *impransus* signature 'simply states a condition without suggesting a cause.' Mr Reade's attitude in this matter would have commended itself to the late George Saintsbury. The great strength of Mr Reade's work lies in the sparing use which he makes of conjecture. Facts, carefully documented facts, together with arguments which may reasonably be based upon them, are the sum and substance of his narrative. It is a pity, perhaps, that phrases such as 'flushness,' 'swank,' 'order of the boot,' are occasionally allowed to mar its dignity.

S. C. ROBERTS.

CAMBRIDGE.

The Gloomy Egoist: moods and themes of melancholy from Gray to Keats.

By ELEANOR M. SICKELS. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1932. x + 456 pp. 30s.

The various simples of which romantic melancholy was compounded are the theme of this book. Thoughts on death, thoughts on *tedium vitæ*, on unhappy love, and unhappy genius, these were the chief means to make the gruel thick and slab, and Miss Sickels describes them with a minuteness which almost at times engenders a new species of melancholy. Nevertheless, artificial melancholy is known to have been such a potent inspiration in eighteenth-century romanticism that no one ought to quarrel with a writer who makes a systematic study of its sources and character. Naturally a good deal of what is said or cited in the scrutiny has been familiar to students for a generation, but there is no harm in gathering the material together in one portly volume.

I am not sure that Miss Sickels's well-meant categories help much. Certainly there is a difference between, say, the melancholy of Bowles's sonnets, which affected Coleridge so much, and the cruder melancholy of Blair's *Grave* or Young's *Night Thoughts*, which looks as like the Mediæval sin of *accidie* as anything can well be. And there is a distinction between the rather jolly melancholy of Shenstone's pastorals and the luxurious rumination of Gray's *Elegy*. The romantic *Weltschmerz* of Byron and Shelley, again, seems quite unrelated to the pessimism of Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*. But to give them separate treat-

ment makes these modes and manifestations look more isolated than they were and also, may I say, more important. As for ruins, moonlight, urns and sepulchres, these are the mere stage properties of the kind.

Further I am not sure that Miss Sickels has noticed that a manly pessimism is not necessarily melancholy. *The Vanity of Human Wishes* is, I maintain, not melancholy, as Gray's *Elegy* certainly is. It is a matter of art, not philosophy, here. That there is a strain of melancholy in poetical dissertations like Pope's *Essay on Man* nobody will deny, but the vigorous setting forth of the commonplaces of that poem rescue it from the category of mere melancholy, and as a matter of fact, Pope's temper was too aggressive for melancholy though he achieved a splendid melancholy in the *Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard*. By drawing her net rather too wide, Miss Sickels has managed to bring almost every noteworthy poem of the age into the gloomy category, although, I admit, she generally points out differences of tone and temper.

I think our author might have given more than three or four pages to the discussion of eighteenth-century 'spleen,' that moral influenza which seems to have closely resembled the mysterious sin of *accidie*. She refers us indeed to Professor Amy Reed's *Background of Gray's Elegy*, and there is of course a German thesis on the subject (Florine Kalkuhler, *Die Natur des Spleens*, etc.), but her subject invited independent treatment.

Perhaps the main interest of Miss Sickels's book is to show the gradations by which eighteenth-century spleen changed to romantic melancholy. I think she has acquitted herself well here, though I rather doubt her theory that religious terrorism of the seventeenth century was transmuted into the romantic terrorism of the late eighteenth century. There may be a connexion. In books like Hogg's *Suicide's Grave* and in the Scotch novel of the period generally, we have a blend of the two. Byron certainly had an inherited strain of the former, but I am not sure of the thesis as a whole.

To air all my doubts and grievances, I should also have liked the author to have suggested connexions or contrasts with Mediæval moods of melancholy. The blasphemy of *tedium vitæ* hardly appears in the earlier age, but melancholy proceeding from the shortness of life and the uncertainty of fortune meets us at every turn. But perhaps Miss Sickels judged that she had enough in hand without dragging in the Middle Ages!

I should be sorry if these remarks gave the impression that I have not enjoyed this work. I have, and even the occasional lapses of style should not blind the reader to the admirable curiosity of the matter and the freshness of the presentation.

GEORGE KITCHIN.

EDINBURGH.

Jane Austen's Letters to her sister Cassandra and others. Collected and edited by R. W. CHAPMAN. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1932. xlv+266 pp. and Notes on Letters 1-68; xxx+243 pp., Notes on Letters 69-148 and Indexes. 42s.

Volume the First. By JANE AUSTEN. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1933. ix+140 pp. 5s. (Special edition, with two facsimiles, 10s. 6d.)

For some years admirers of Jane Austen had been looking impatiently for Dr Chapman's promised edition of her *Letters*, for both Lord Brabourne's edition and the *Life and Letters* by W. and R. A. Austen-Leigh have long been out of print, and neither is complete. Yet the expectations raised high by repeated postponements have not been disappointed. These two volumes are as nearly perfect as such an edition can be. Dr Chapman has ransacked all available sources and, except in the case of some thirty of which the originals cannot now be traced¹, he has seen the autograph or a recent and trustworthy copy of every letter he prints; he includes seven hitherto unpublished, and many which had been published only in part he gives in full. He has added notes in explanation of ambiguous allusions and references no longer familiar, and the very elaborate indexes, even though, as he says, they 'cannot be read,' are a delight to use and a continual temptation. And, as if this were not full enough measure, he gives a facsimile of one letter and numerous plans and illustrations from contemporary sources. Special mention must be made of Anna Lefroy's sketches of Steventon and Chawton, and the very charming drawing by Cassandra which Dr Chapman has chosen for the frontispiece of Vol. I in preference to the portraits already known, even though the identity of the sitter is not established beyond a peradventure. Yet here a question arises. Dr Chapman states (p. xxxv) that this drawing is signed 'C.E.A. 1794'; in the reproduction—in both the copies I have seen—the date looks more like 1804, and has been so read by several people independently. Can this be a fault of the reproduction, or has Dr Chapman been caught nodding?

Dr Chapman's Introduction leaves little to be said in praise of the *Letters* or in their defence against readers who look for what they have no reason to expect. The letters, like most letters, were written to convey news of family and friends, not to comment on European politics or contemporary literature; but the writer of the novels is there in the humour, the attention to detail, the feeling for the right phrase, the skill in giving character even in a few words. And if Jane is sometimes 'forced to be abusive for want of subject' (p. 186), the abuse is playful and never spiteful. Mrs H. Digweed perhaps suffers undeservedly on one occasion: Miss Batho points out that by 'the opening of the House & the striking up of the Fiddles!' (p. 293) she must have 'meant' to refer to the *Rejected Address* parodying George Crabbe, though Jane at the moment failed to take the allusion. But Jane probably knew that as a rule Mrs Digweed's allusions were far to seek. And who shall say what

¹ Four more have since been located in American collections; Dr Chapman has published collations of two (Letters 58 and 72). See *Times Literary Supplement*, July 13 and 20, 1933.

unrecorded family jokes lie behind phrases which have struck some modern readers as cynical?

Dr Chapman's latest discovery, the long and interesting letter to Martha Lloyd (74.1), confirms his impression—reluctantly admitted—that Cassandra was not the correspondent who best evoked her sister's powers. We may share his regret, for most of the extant letters are to Cassandra; but we need hardly be surprised. The two sisters were so much to each other that whatever one wrote would be welcome to the other. Yet it is possible that we have not enough letters to others than Cassandra to make a fair comparison. Those to her nieces, Fanny Knight and Anna Austen, are mostly on subjects which specially roused her interest, and they and other friends may have preserved the best of Jane's letters as Cassandra preserved those of least general interest. However that may be, the extant letters are full of interest for all who wish to know the England of the beginning of last century, as well as for those who wish to know Jane Austen. As Dr Chapman has found, the places and the people of the *Letters* are as real to us to-day as the places and the people of the novels: 'the miracle of communication is the same.'

It is worth noting that many who have complained of the lack of special interest in the *Letters* have missed a good deal that is there. The specific references to the novels, the theories of novel-writing expressed in the letters to Anna Austen, have received attention, but there are other passages which throw light, albeit indirectly, on Miss Austen the novelist. No one familiar with the letters to Fanny Knight could accept the oft-repeated but groundless suggestion that Jane Austen approved of marriages of convenience—'Anything is to be preferred or endured rather than marrying without Affection' (p. 410). Another passage may help to explain her long period of literary inactivity—'Composition seems to me Impossible, with a head full of Joints of Mutton & doses of rhubarb' (p. 466); the years at Bath and Southampton may well have been fuller of such domestic cares. And what is to be made of her attitude to 'good Mrs. West'? 'I think I *can* be stout against any thing written by Mrs. West' (p. 405). Is it not that Mrs West, intent on lashing the vices rather than laughing at the follies of the age, turned what promised to be successful comedy into mediocre tragedy, mistaking the direction in which her talent lay and so offending Jane Austen's keen artistic sense?

It is curious also, in this source-mongering age, that no one apparently has noticed the postscript to the first of the letters to Fanny Knight (p. 412)—a postscript suppressed by Lord Brabourne, but published in the facsimile edited by Dr Chapman in 1924. 'Your trying to excite your own feelings by a visit to his room amused me excessively.—The dirty Shaving Rag was exquisite!—Such a circumstance ought to be in print. Much too good to be lost.' This was written in November, 1814, when *Emma* was on the stocks. Is it fanciful to think that the circumstance *did* get into print, a dirty piece of court plaister and the end of an old pencil taking the place of the Shaving Rag? It is not to be

imagined, of course, that Harriet Smith's character as a whole is based on that of Fanny Knight; if the connexion be allowed, the incident serves further to illustrate Jane's power of combining traits from different people. As Mr Hubback has shown, even when the main traits are recognisable, her characters are never mere pen portraits: 'I am too proud of my gentlemen to admit that they were only Mr A. or Colonel B.'¹

Of Dr Chapman's care as an editor it is difficult to speak too highly. I have re-collated 14 letters—45 pages—and found no differences of reading more serious than the failure to reproduce the spellings *mignonette* (p. 182) and *dissimilarity* (p. 340), and the omission of 'Kent' from the address of Letter 106 and of the endorsement '26th July' on Letter 68. In a series such as this—149 letters extending over a period of twenty years, full of references to forgotten people and things—it was clearly impossible for any one editor to exhaust all possible sources of elucidation; yet the subsequent gleanings, interesting as some of them are, are very small compared to the harvest of Dr Chapman's researches. The Indexes of 'Jane Austen's Family' and 'Other Persons' alone contain references to well over a thousand people, yet I have noted only one omission: Edward Lefroy is not indexed, though it was he, and not Edward Austen, who called at Chawton Cottage with Ben Lefroy on September 5, 1816 (p. 465); the identification is made in the *Life and Letters* (p. 375) and is borne out by the context.

Volume the First—a volume of juvenilia only recently traced and now in the possession of the Bodleian—will be warmly welcomed by all who have delighted in *Love and Freindship*; the exuberant fun and light-hearted yet just ridicule in these little tales, many of them unfinished, make them a joy to read for their own sake, even apart from the interest they possess for students of Jane Austen. Immaturities there are, but Jane's reputation is much too firmly established for such immaturities to detract from it in any way: rather they add to it, for the extravagances in these early works enable us to estimate more truly the force of her later self-restraint. The beginning of this restraint can perhaps be traced in *Volume the First* itself, in the cutting down of Mary Stanhope's demand for jewels (p. 119)—though the final list is extravagant enough—and in the erasing of the *Fragment written to inculcate the practise of Virtue* (pp. 131-2), which she may have thought treated a serious subject too lightly. Yet what strikes us most in these tales, as in those of *Love and Freindship*, is not their immaturity but their maturity; they show a sense of humour, a width of reading and powers of observation, judgment and expression which are amazing even in a girl of seventeen, and many of them must have been written much earlier. One wishes that it were possible to determine the exact chronology. Jane Austen, we know, was writing stories before she was twelve, but it is not clear that any of the extant fragments date from those early years. The title *Volume the First* apparently is not meant to indicate priority of composition, for the date appended to *Love and Freindship* itself is earlier than any that can be

¹ *Memoir*, ch. x (ed. 1871, p. 148). See also J. H. Hubback, 'Pen Portraits in Jane Austen's Novels,' *Cornhill Magazine*, July, 1928.

established for this collection: yet the dates may refer to the copying rather than to the composition. But, whether written at the age of twelve or seventeen, these tales are unmistakably the work of Jane Austen the novelist, and as such we welcome them, and ask for more.

Gratitude, they say, is a lively sense of favours to come. We are most grateful to Dr Chapman for his noble edition of the *Letters*, and for *Volume the First*. But is not *Volume the Third* still unpublished?

H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

GUSTAV GRÖBER. *Geschichte der Mittelfranzösischen Literatur*. I. *Vers- und Prosadichtung des 14. Jahrhunderts, Drama des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. Zweite Auflage. Bearbeitet von Stephan Hofer. (*Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, 3/1.) Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter. 1932. vii+305 pp. 13 M.

This is a revised version of certain portions of the original *Grundriss*, which will be a welcome and necessary addition to the libraries of all students interested in French literature in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is divided up according to subject matter, not according to provinces, and is consequently much less *décousu* than the old *Grundriss*.

All the bibliographical matter has been brought up to date by references to all the important publications of the last thirty years. There are, of course, small lacunae here and there; as, for example, in the notes to p. 100, no reference is made to the parts of a more complete version of the *Dit de Florence de Rome* published in *Romania*, LIV (1928), pp. 468-73 (*Notes sur le MS. Grenoble 871*). On p. 148 the author (*Verfasser*) of the *Livre du Roi Modus* is said to be Denis d'Hormes. But an important article by M. Tilander published in the *Mélanges Jeanroy* (Paris, Droz, 1928), pp. 611-26, shows that the author must have been Henri de Ferrières. Incidentally, in the same book of 'Mélanges,' Dr Hofer would have found a note on Oton de Granson (p. 403) and another fifteenth-century farce (p. 603) to add to his list. Dr Hofer does not seem to have consulted the various 'Mélanges' and 'Festschriften,' which sometimes contain valuable information and which are, to the average student, less well known than the reviews and journals. Perhaps one day someone will take on the curious task of making a general index for the ever-increasing collection of 'Festschriften,' 'Miscellanies' and 'Mélanges.'

To the notes on Gerson (pp. 272-4) one might add M. Antoine Thomas' little book on *Jean de Gerson et l'éducation des dauphins de France* (Paris, Droz, 1930).

The numbers of specialists in Middle French literature are gradually increasing. Dr Hofer has done a great deal to help to make their task lighter. We are eagerly looking forward to the publication of his second volume.

BIRMINGHAM.

THOMAS WALTON.

PIERRE TRAHARD. *Les Maîtres de la Sensibilité française au XVIIIe Siècle* (1715-89). Tome II and Tome III. Paris: Boivin. 1932. 336 and 319 pp.¹ 30 fr. each.

In these two volumes M. Trahard continues his analysis of feeling in eighteenth-century French literature, passing to its chief exponents, Diderot and Rousseau. Brief chapters are devoted to Nivelle de la Chaussée, Vauvenargues and Duclos in Vol. II and to Julie de Lespinasse in Vol. III. Nivelle de la Chaussée is shown to be more a literary landmark than a figure of real importance in the history of 'la sensibilité.' M. Trahard pitilessly reveals the insincerity and the sentimentality of his work. His dramas fail to move us because 'l'œuvre n'est pas en harmonie avec l'homme.' In Vauvenargues we salute the philosopher who, believing in the ennobling power of passion, claims for it pre-eminence over cold reason, thus reversing the values of the seventeenth-century moralists. For him our passions are an integral part of our being, to be controlled, not suppressed, and to be used to build up a richer and more harmonious personality.

Diderot, however, is, with Rousseau, the greatest exponent of feeling in the eighteenth century, and to him M. Trahard has devoted three-quarters of his second volume. Beginning with a searching analysis of Diderot's temperament—his heredity, his physique, his cultural background—he brings out the particular quality of his 'sensibilité' and helps us to understand his complex attitude towards it. Diderot took a scientific interest in 'sensibilité,' and particularly in its physiological origins and manifestations. He admitted that it was a weakness which placed its victims at a disadvantage in their relationships with men of reason, yet he so enjoyed the sensations it provoked that he preferred to cultivate it. His feeling was genuine though not deep. Julie de Lespinasse called it 'une sensibilité à fleur de peau.' His originality lay largely in the universality of his sympathy; whereas the artificial 'sensibilité' of the period was confined to a limited circle of human relationships, Diderot widened its scope to embrace nature and all forms of art. In many ways he foreshadowed the great Romanticists—Lamartine, Hugo, Chateaubriand—but he differed from them essentially in his lack of religious feeling.

M. Trahard proceeds to analyse various aspects of Diderot's sensibility. In his love affairs it is not easy to determine the respective claims of sensuality and sentiment. Analysis of his attitude to Nature reveals scientific interest, the artist's love of the picturesque, emotion (attached chiefly to his homeland and childhood's haunts), delight in storms and, in the absence of religious emotion, a pantheistic conception which brings him near to some of the Romantics. M. Trahard emphasises the generosity of the spirit which infuses his work in general. While defending the *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville*, *Les Bijoux Indiscrets* and *L'Oiseau Blanc* against the accusation of gratuitous licentiousness, and pointing out their contribution to the total of Diderot's serious thought,

¹ For Tome I see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July, 1932, xxvii, 3, pp. 347-50.

M. Trahard stresses the difference between these works and Diderot's novels from 1860 on, and attributes the change to the influence of Richardson. He shows the place of 'sensibilité' in Diderot's dramatic theory and in his less effectual drama. It is interesting that Diderot should admit his own failure, in that he insists that 'sensibilité' is not the quality of a great genius. The great artist must dominate his feelings. M. Trahard's chapters on Diderot's art criticism and on his work in music are of particular interest; opposing Brunetière and other critics, he makes a spirited and convincing defence of Diderot's judgment in matters aesthetic. In spite of minor inaccuracies, these chapters constitute a valuable contribution to the study of Diderot, bringing out a neglected side of his personality and offering the suggestion that in his 'sensibilité' lies that unifying principle which Faguet and others have denied to his work.

Rousseau's sensibility is, again, for M. Trahard, the underlying inspiration which unifies the whole of his work. His immense importance is now universally admitted, but, while his influence is considered by one school of thought as pernicious, it is regarded by another as salutary, and his doctrines as a new gospel. Many judicious critics, such as Lord Morley, and more recently M. Mornet, have been inclined to the view that Rousseau is a very great and original thinker *in spite of* his morbid sensibility. M. Trahard scarcely admits any pathological quality in Rousseau's genius, and considers his abnormal sensibility and the exaltation of his self-provoked trance-like *rêveries* (see III, pp. 210-22) as being among the essentials of his greatness. Of the *Dialogues*, which M. Seillière calls 'pathologiques' and of which Lord Morley declared that they 'could not possibly have been written by a man in his right mind,' M. Trahard says: 'œuvre puissante et sombre, où notre imbécillité bornée ne veut voir que folie.' M. Trahard's opinions are largely based on Bergson and Freud. It is quite true that Rousseau's auto-analysis in his *Confessions* foreshadows the methods and theories of Freud, and equally certain that psycho-analysis helps to explain much of his behaviour; but is it not letting one's judgment be warped by enthusiasm for the new idols to say: 'Freud montre que Rousseau n'est pas un malade, mais qu'il est un simple névrosé,' and again: 'Rousseau est sain'? Surely a 'névrosé' is a 'malade'—one who can be treated, possibly cured, but one whose pathological condition cannot be denied. Besides, Rousseau's mental state was, partly at least, conditioned by very real physical suffering. The doctors who have analysed his case are not wrong in considering him as a 'malade.'

M. Trahard limits Rousseau's political responsibility (III, p. 82 sq.), pointing out that he is 'timide dans les applications' and that the use of force is repugnant to him; he can, therefore, be considered as the inspirer of various experiments in government, but not held responsible for any excesses in carrying them out. M. Trahard is never dispassionate in his criticism, and his appeal is emotional. This is particularly noticeable in his attacks on Rousseau's opponents. 'La plupart des critiques, les *pièdes au feu et la bourse en lieu sûr*, haussent les épaules, le traitent de maniaque

et d'halluciné' (III, p. 49). Rousseau's enemies are 'des moralistes en chambre,' whom he quite gratuitously assumes to have led sheltered lives; they are actuated by 'hypocrisie pudibonde' and 'imbécillité bornée'; their studies are 'mal intentionnées et partiales.' They represent 'l'égoïsme, le mensonge, la lâcheté, l'hypocrisie et la méchanceté,' while Rousseau stands for 'la modération et la tolérance, la justice et la vérité' (p. 253). The bias is admittedly political. Rousseau's opponents are largely 'monarchistes, catholiques, conservateurs' (p. 254). 'Sa descendance, ce ne sont pas les pharisiens, les serviteurs de la force et de l'argent, des intérêts particuliers et des puissances établies; sa descendance, c'est moins Robespierre et Proudhon, Tolstoï, Karl Marx ou Lénine, que la masse, sans cesse grandissante, hélas! de ceux qui travaillent et qui souffrent.' The appeal is put on an emotional and sentimental plane, which is perhaps not inappropriate in dealing with the author of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. The wise student will compare M. Trahard's eloquent defence of Rousseau with the arraignments of the sterner moralists such as M. Seillière, and will weigh the evidence on both sides before passing judgment.

As in the first volume, there are some inaccuracies of detail. Who, for instance, is 'la Marianne de Prévost' (III, p. 260)? More serious, however, is the persistent misrepresentation of Lanson's views on 'sensibilité' throughout the chapter on Nivelle de la Chaussée. Setting out, apparently, from the entirely erroneous impression that Lanson, in his monograph on that author, is the avowed enemy of 'sensibilité' in all its forms, he picks out and strings together, regardless of context, such words and phrases as seem to support his theory. M. Lanson, however, makes it quite clear that his strictures apply, not to 'sensibilité' in general, but to 'la singulière sensibilité de ce siècle sceptique et corrompu,' which he carefully defines (pp. 225-6). Thereafter he constantly reminds us, either by the use of italics, or by phrases such as the following: 'cette forme fastueuse et factice qu'elle prend en ce siècle' (p. 232), 'ce produit singulier auquel on applique dans un sens très spécial le nom de sensibilité' (p. 233), that he is dealing with a peculiar and perverted manifestation of 'la sensibilité' and that he is no enemy of normal sensibility. Nor is it true that he abandons La Chaussée and generalises in launching his 'réquisitoire'; the phrases quoted by M. Trahard (p. 25) are culled from pages as various as 237, 243, 256, 292 of Lanson's monograph, and all apply directly to the perverted 'sensibilité' defined above, and, primarily, to La Chaussée. Yet M. Trahard himself expressly affirms elsewhere (III, p. 256): 'On n'a pas le droit de séparer une page de ce qui la précède et de ce qui la suit.' It is a pity that unreliability in representing the work of others should mar, however slightly, a work which is admirable in its freshness of outlook, its courage and its sincerity.

M. E. I. ROBERTSON.

MANCHESTER.

MARCEL MORAUD. *Le Romantisme français en Angleterre de 1814 à 1848. Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 90.) Paris: Champion. 1933. 479 pp. 60 fr.

JOHN SELLARDS. *Dans le Sillage du Romantisme: Charles Didier (1805-1864). (Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 89.) Paris: Champion. 1933. xi+249 pp. 40 fr.

RENÉ BRAY. *Chronologie du Romantisme (1804-1830)*. Paris: Boivin. 1932. vii+238 pp. 15 fr.

It would be difficult to overestimate the achievement of MM. Baldensperger and Hazard, their colleagues, and their disciples in the field of comparative literature. The international aspects of intellectual life have been explored in an increasing number of valuable studies published not only in the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, but in other series as well. These studies naturally vary in scope and in treatment, but each of them, from the slightest monograph on a forgotten author to the most monumental survey of international relationships, plays its part in the gradual building up of a comprehensive history of literature in its widest and fullest sense. It is to be hoped that literature will be studied less and less from a narrowly national point of view, and that international understanding will benefit thereby.

The task which M. Moraud has undertaken is an important and by no means an easy one. It involves the examination of a vast quantity of periodical literature, and the assessment of judgments based on prejudices that are often difficult to determine. Further stumbling-blocks are the lack of consistency in the outlook of the British journals and the anonymity of the articles; M. Moraud is visibly more at ease when he knows his author and can place him socially and politically.

The outstanding conclusion which emerges from these researches is a depressing one: throughout the period examined, literary judgments are dominated by political and moral considerations. It is humiliating to have to admit our own suggestibility when waves of mass feeling dictate another nation's popularity or unpopularity amongst us. Surely a movement which owed as much to English influence as did French Romanticism, and which constituted a reaction against that classical tradition which England had long deplored, might have been considered on its own merits. M. Moraud shows, however, that any evidence of increased sympathy and understanding was almost always due to some improvement in international relations, and not to appreciation of new publications. National prejudice, too, having early decided that the French were a superficial, frivolous, excitable and improper race, persisted in finding in their literature the faults it was only too ready to seek, and, from 1832 to 1836 in particular, there was a general refusal to consider the merits of outstanding works simply because they were not suited for the schoolroom bookshelf. M. Moraud does, however, remind us that French opinion was not much less blind and prejudiced than our own; there, too, political considerations intervened, and we find Nisard and other *ultras*, wilfully blind to the growing beauties of Hugo's verse

in the volumes which followed *Les Orientales*, deploring each successive publication as a further fall from grace, and prophesying his 'mort littéraire.' Some of these French critics played no small part in misleading British opinion.

A very grave flaw in M. Moraud's work is its inaccuracy. However sound his literary judgment may be, his results are vitiated by the unsoundness of their foundations. Many of the minor errors may be misprints, but the ultimate responsibility for these rests with the author. Misspellings, incorrect references, misleading punctuation, misuse of italics, mistranslations and misrepresentations of the English originals are deplorably frequent. It is sometimes difficult to identify the translated quotations in the original English text. Although inverted commas are used, the 'quotation' is frequently a summarised paraphrase of the original; too often the meaning is not that conveyed by the English text. Only a few examples can be given here, but they are typical. On p. 162 M. Moraud says: 'Non sans raison, la revue radicale avait fait remarquer que les points de vue de ses deux rivales ne variaient guère dans le fond, "l'une et l'autre s'adressant au même public et recherchant les mêmes suffrages."' On the contrary, the *Westminster Review* had attempted to account for the 'great diversity in their tone and character' and offered the explanation that they differed 'in their being addressed to different sections of the aristocracy, the one to the section of the ministerialists, the other to the section of the oppositionists.' On p. 196 he quotes as follows from the *Edinburgh Review*: '...un de Polignac dont la "folie et l'incroyable présomption n'étaient égalées que par son étonnante capacité."' The original ran: 'the prince Polignac...towering over all in folly and presumption...and yet shining in the full vigour of an incapacity wholly without example in any European minister....' On p. 331 he quotes thus from the *Westminster Review*: 'Si un roman ou un poème contient une idée...', while the English journal had used italics to bring out the full force of 'is possessed by an idea.' What is worse, some of M. Moraud's arguments are based on such misrepresentations. There is on p. 96, purporting to be a quotation from *Blackwood*, a 'ce point établi...', which provokes from M. Moraud a protest in parentheses, and which exists nowhere save in M. Moraud's imagination.

It is regrettable that M. Moraud did not quote in English, providing, where necessary, the French equivalent in footnotes. He might then have avoided such unfortunate blunders as *La Belle Fête de Mai* for *The Fair of May Fair*. Such is, however, his zeal for translation that he renders into French the English titles given to translations of French novels and plays; *Notre Dame de Paris* becomes thus *Le Bossu de Notre Dame*, *Hernani* is *Le Gage ou l'Honneur Castilien*, *Henri III et sa Cour* is *Katherine de Clèves*. If he had not translated (p. 316) the list of English novels which he gives as representative of the poverty of English fiction, he might have avoided several errors, including the attribution of *Pin Money* to Disraeli. The influence of the English homonym is apparent in M. Moraud's use of words such as *caractéristiques* (in its substantival function), *agonie*, *dramatistes*, *occasionnels*, *conventionalité*; there are

certain peculiarities of syntax in his writing, and tricks of style such as the constant use of *jusque vers...* (it occurs as often as four times on one page!) and of *notre* (*notre Littérature, notre Romantisme, etc.*). There is, moreover, much in the subject matter that is open to question. Even if the idea that Walter Scott 'évitait avec soin les grandes figures historiques' (p. 363) was originally suggested to him by the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (see p. 186), M. Moraud need not adopt it without testing its truth. What of Louis XI, Elizabeth and Leicester, Mary Queen of Scots, and James I, to mention only a few of the more outstanding cases? Perhaps we are unduly censorious, but surely what is worth doing is worth doing well.

Mr Sellards' monograph on Charles Didier is a useful contribution to comparative literature. Didier is, as Mr Sellards says, 'sinon un auteur important, du moins un personnage intéressant et curieux.' A young Genevan with literary aspirations, he arrived in Paris in 1830 and was drawn into the Romantic vortex. He became a protégé of Victor Hugo, a friend of Sainte-Beuve, one of George Sand's sequence of lovers, the bosom friend of Lamennais, and he lost them all in turn. Sainte-Beuve he learned to despise as 'un homme faible qui a sans cesse besoin d'un dominateur,...sans bonté, sans grandeur, d'un parfait égoïsme,...faux et méchant.' His *liaison* with George Sand shattered his life. Lamennais turned into the most implacable of foes. On these and other famous figures of the time his diary throws new and interesting light. He knew well, at various periods of his life, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Pierre Leroux, Nodier, Béranger, Guizot, Sandeau, Musset, Balzac, Liszt, Bettina von Arnim, Jérôme Bonaparte. As a writer he was a failure, though his political essays on Italy, Sicily, Morocco and other countries were appreciated at the time. Mr Sellards might have called his book 'The Story of a Disappointed Man.' In the end Didier took his own life. Yet he was evidently a gracious and popular figure in the public life of his time, and it is interesting to note that George Sand herself attributed his failure to the fact that he was 'un homme de génie, non pas sans talent, mais d'un talent très inférieur à son génie.' Mr Sellards has treated his subject well, making no exaggerated claims for Didier, but bringing out the interesting features of his personality and his career.

M. Bray's unpretentious manual achieves all that it sets out to accomplish, and more. M. Bray disclaims originality, announces no fresh discoveries, contents himself with setting forth clearly and impartially the various phases of the Romantic struggle. The book is intended to be of practical assistance to students in correcting 'le compartimentage des manuels' and bringing the period into perspective. It is ably written and only lacks an Index to make it invaluable to students of the period.

M. E. I. ROBERTSON.

Francesco Berni, poeta della Scapigliatura del Rinascimento. By ANDREA SORRENTINO. Florence: Sansoni. 1933. 259 pp. 18 lire.

The facts of Berni's life have long ago been carefully assembled by Virgili, and Professor Sorrentino, who acknowledges his indebtedness to the earlier scholar, makes few, if valuable, factual contributions to our information about the poet of Lamporecchio. His object is different, for he aims at giving a definitive evaluation of Berni as a poet. In order to do so, he first draws a dismal portrait of Berni as a man; he later analyses all the poems that Berni wrote, one by one, having previously grouped them according to certain aesthetic criteria, and dissects them into their component parts, criticising their subjects, their inspiration and their diction; having thus composed about the half of his book, he takes a step backward and looks at Berni, first from the angle of sixteenth-century history and secondly from that of sixteenth-century life. Only at this stage does he feel ready to deal with Berni's art, and, as an afterthought, he adds a survey of works that may be said to have influenced Berni or to have been influenced by him. This seems a long way round to reach a conclusion that is little more than an amplification of what De Sanctis wrote long ago; and I cannot resist the impression that this book would have gained by a greater concision, for Sorrentino would probably have looked deeper into the problems he has raised and have refrained from juggling with formulae of De Sanctis and from repetitions and contradictions which are traceable in his work. When analysing Berni's poems, the author lays stress upon unity of inspiration, only those poems being considered by him fully successful that satisfy the test of unity. It seems, therefore, legitimate to ask whether this book has achieved unity in its turn; and the answer, I fancy, must be a negative one.

Berni, we are told in the first chapter, lacked the power of serious thought and the capacity of feeling (p. 24); he was indifferent in religious matters; and, when he chanced to put good before evil, he was moved by instinct, not by moral conviction; even his recoil from the usual manners of the courts and from servile flattery was not due, we are told, to a feeling of personal dignity, but to caprice and laziness. He was so aloof from moral values that he lapsed into cynicism without noticing it, and lackadaisically slipped into obscenity. Laughter was to him an end in itself; and he gives only fragmentary representations of reality, faithfully portraying the fragments of daily life with which he was familiar. It is a distressing picture of moral emptiness. Berni is shown to be just the sort of man to fit into the Italian society of the sixteenth century as De Sanctis conceived it to have been; a man, one would imagine, far too lacking in energy to turn his instinctive laughter into poetry. The reader is not surprised, therefore, at Sorrentino's strictures on the shorter poems and at the unfavourable view which is taken by him of several among the *capitoli* (though some sections of them receive praise). Most of the *lodi-burle* also call forth a flow of severe reprobation, for, as Sorrentino says, 'si è davanti a un contenuto negatore...singolari argomenti questi, originali nel loro valore negativo, che esigono riflessione e sconcertano' (p. 61). But when he reaches the *capitolo in lode dei ghiozzi*,

he acknowledges that 'il componimento è vivo, perché attinge l'ispirazione fresca dalla campagna e si muove organico da capo a fondo...misura e freschezza conservan sempre anche l'espressione, che, sobria, riproduce nettamente i fatti e le cose. Leggendo si è vicini alla natura, alla vita, ai costumi' (p. 66); and one wonders what more could be asked of a poet. It is surprising that Sorrentino analyses the *capitolo in lode delle pesche* without fully realising that it is, from the first to the last line, a continuous play of coarse double meaning. Characteristic is Sorrentino's standpoint towards the *capitolo in lode della primicia*: he is shocked by the importance that a game of cards seems to be given, if only in jest, and he concludes his remarks with a solemn indictment of the epoch: 'E questo capitolo circolava nella Roma medicea per le mani di coloro che nella loro spensieratezza si disponevano ad essere i maggiori responsabili delle brutture del sacco.' The shade of Savonarola may rejoice, but these are ominous words to read at a time when every form of infantile amusement is the subject of serious treatises, and when books on bridge are issued by the most reputed publishing firms. No less stern is Sorrentino towards the *capitoli in lode della peste*: 'Altro è lo scherzo quando v'è da ridere, altro è lo scherzo quando v'è da orrorire. Male!' (p. 81). And the *Praise of Folly* which just then was becoming familiar to the Italians? 'Male!' but Sorrentino does not stint his praise to these poems. 'È così felice il travestimento di cose serie in facete, che si gusta quasi il piacere di assistere a un guazzabuglio di naturalismo, di stoicismo, di scetticismo e di ottimismo accozzati allegramente dalla voluta incoscienza di uno che è verace *Epicuri de grege porcus*' (p. 84). 'L'unità di argomento, cui dà vigore la continuità del brio, si mantiene anche nella esecuzione artistica' (p. 88).

In the chapter on the satires the opening words seem to be pitched in an unexpected tone, for Berni is considered as the central figure of his period; all the rhymes which used to be attached to the statue of Pasquino 'vengono superate dalla voce della satira potentissima del nostro poeta. Di essa il nerbo profondo si scopre radicato negli strati della storia, della letteratura, del pensiero religioso, in uno dei momenti più ricordevoli dell'umana civiltà' (p. 99). So great a praise for a man who is described as so undeserving? Later on, of a sonnet, it is said: 'è un tessuto di finezze psicologiche e di acume ironico e satirico, riesce storicamente vivo e parlante' (p. 115). Better still; the doom of Rome was foretold by Berni in a 'monito virile di chi vedeva il triste fato avanzarsi attraverso la commedia romana' (p. 117); the attack on Aretino is described as 'un capolavoro della letteratura maledica' (p. 123). Still farther from the moral nonentity of the first chapter seems the poet who wrote 'parole...commosse ed animose' about the sack of Rome (p. 131). The man, who has been said to lack every form of religious sentiment, is shown as concerned with the corruption of the church (p. 145). Later on, in a chapter in which very apposite remarks are made about the position of poets and artists at the Renaissance courts, Berni is firmly stated to have been 'una netta e precisa eccezione' (p. 153) among his servile colleagues. Several pages are spent in stressing, perhaps

unduly, the importance of Petrarchism during the sixteenth century and in urging Berni's claim as the first conscious opponent of Petrarchism as well as of Aristotelism; so that, in the end, it is asserted that it was through the negative criticism of Berni and his followers, though apparently only concerned with laughter and jokes, that a new school of criticism was gradually developed.

At this stage readers may well feel puzzled; for the uncompromising indictment of the beginning has not prepared them for the important part which, despite reticences and qualifications, is assigned to Berni in several connexions; and they may look at the concluding chapter for some explanation which does not seem to be forthcoming. Professor Sorrentino is at his best, a very good best, in discussing the merits of particular poems, but, when he means to give a synthesis, he wraps his thought in semi-philosophical verbiage. He solemnly declares: 'Francesco Berni è il poeta del riso. Francesco Berni ride. Perché ride, di che ride, come ride Francesco Berni?' (p. 180), and he never is reminded of 'Ariosto the poet of harmony,' and of other such definitions of dubious advantage. Berni laughs at idle and silly things as if he were an empty-headed young Wooster; but, Sorrentino warns us, he was not empty-headed, for, as was shown by the analysis of his poems, he is often close to life, precisely because the life of his period was hollow and meaningless. The blame is thus shifted from the poet to the society in which he lived, and Berni becomes its faithful representative. De Sanctis has called him 'il poeta del carnevale italiano'; Sorrentino is at pains to elaborate this formula which he approves: 'Rispecchiando l' ozio della coscienza contemporanea...la poesia del Berni rappresenta un contenuto appunto per il suo non contenuto' (p. 184). 'Il riso è l' atteggiamento psicologico ed estetico col quale il poeta guarda il suo mondo...e non resta allo stato di riflessione sterile e astratta. Cioè il miglior riso bernesco, permeando la rappresentazione fantastica, diviene parte integrale dell' arte, cui dà il tono e la tempra' (p. 185). And thus one among the most lucid poets that I know of is interpreted by formulae which seem unnecessarily complicated and in a language that may be puzzling to the readers; we are told: 'Il Pistoia, il Burchiello, il Pucci...hanno e non hanno legami spirituali col Berni' (p. 206); and: 'Egli è il poeta della giornata, a cui l' occasionalità dell' ispirazione riesce *felice e non felice*.' This kind of phrasing is characteristic and postulates an inner discord. Sorrentino thinks that Berni was a despicable man; that the society of his age was rotten to the core; and he would logically wish to conclude that Berni's poetry is worthless; but he is far too discerning a critic to join some of his predecessors in this conclusion, and, while seeking a way out of his difficulty, he cannot avoid involving himself in contradictions.

This book seems valuable to me, and I should otherwise not have written at such length about it, precisely because Sorrentino has brought out, as no one better, the aesthetic merit of Berni's poetry and shown that there is real art in it, and not only a gift of apposite facility. But the author seems to strain at theoretical and moral shackles of his own making. He has probably gone too far in his devotion to De Sanctis.

he acknowledges that 'il componimento è vivo, perché attinge l'ispirazione fresca dalla campagna e si muove organico da capo a fondo...misura e freschezza conservan sempre anche l'espressione, che, solida, riproduce nettamente i fatti e le cose. Leggendo si è vicini alla natura, alla vita, ai costumi' (p. 66); and one wonders what more could be asked of a poet. It is surprising that Sorrentino analyses the *capitolo in lode delle pesche* without fully realising that it is, from the first to the last line, a continuous play of coarse double meaning. Characteristic is Sorrentino's standpoint towards the *capitolo in lode della primicia*: he is shocked by the importance that a game of cards seems to be given, if only in jest, and he concludes his remarks with a solemn indictment of the epoch: 'E questo capitolo circolava nella Roma medicea per le mani di coloro che nella loro spensieratezza si disponevano ad essere i maggiori responsabili delle brutture del sacco.' The shade of Savonarola may rejoice, but these are ominous words to read at a time when every form of infantile amusement is the subject of serious treatises, and when books on bridge are issued by the most reputed publishing firms. No less stern is Sorrentino towards the *capitoli in lode della peste*: 'Altro è lo scherzo quando v'è da ridere, altro è lo scherzo quando v'è da orrorire. Male!' (p. 81). And the *Praise of Folly* which just then was becoming familiar to the Italians? 'Male!' but Sorrentino does not stint his praise to these poems. 'È così felice il travestimento di cose serie in facete, che si gusta quasi il piacere di assistere a un guazzabuglio di naturalismo, di stoicismo, di scetticismo e di ottimismo accozzati allegramente dalla voluta incoscienza di uno che è verace *Epicuri de grege porcus*' (p. 84). 'L'unità di argomento, cui dà vigore la continuità del brio, si mantiene anche nella esecuzione artistica' (p. 88).

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acquaintance with the English poet in Leipzig days to the more critical attitude of the later Weimar period. But he passes over all too quickly that exuberant time in Strassburg when Goethe and his fellow Stürmer und Dränger lived in a world derived directly from Shakespeare. It was the period when, as never before or after, Goethe fell completely under the spell of the English dramatist, a spell which he only cast off with *Gotz* and *Egmont*. As Professor Fairley has shown recently, Shakespeare meant nothing to Goethe, the creative artist, after this early outburst of enthusiasm, because his genius was essentially dramatic whereas Goethe could only express himself in a lyrical way. 'Ich tat wohl, dass ich ihn mir vom Halse schaffte' is his definite conviction that Shakespeare had outworn his usefulness for him. In the sequel his interest was mainly critical as in *Wilhelm Meister* or in *Shakespeare und kein Ende*, although he never ceased to revere him as a creative genius. The parallels which Dr Boyd draws between Shakespeare and Goethe's later plays are neither close nor important and, moreover, have already been set out at some length by Böhtlingk¹. Dr Boyd makes a more interesting point when he proves by the emendations to the *Romeo and Juliet* translation how greatly Goethe's knowledge of the language had improved since the broken English of Leipzig student days.

Next in importance were the relations to Byron, and here the late Professor Robertson had practically exhausted the subject in his volume in the Publications of the English Goethe Society (1925). In the case of Sir Walter Scott and Carlyle the influence was all the other way, but it is a mistake to exaggerate the importance of *Götz* in the formation of the Waverley Novels. As Professor Grierson has pointed out in his introduction to a recent volume of centenary essays *Götz* 'counted for nothing in Scott's later work².' Carlyle's relations to Goethe are less subject to discussion, for in their correspondence we possess an accurate record of their personal relationship. It may be mentioned in this respect that Goethe's letter acknowledging the birthday wishes of his 'fifteen English friends' has been lately presented to the British Museum through the generosity of Mr Leonard Mackall. And it is worth noting that Carlyle's translation of *Faust* progressed beyond the prose Helena scenes of the *New Edinburgh Review* and that in 1822 a verse fragment entitled *Faust's Curse* was actually printed in Ottilie von Goethe's *Chaos*³.

It is impossible to discuss in detail the very large number of English authors to whom Goethe owed so much and which have been listed and commented on by Dr Boyd: Sterne and Richardson and Goldsmith. We all know how *The Vicar of Wakefield* stood in retrospect as an analogy to the Sesenheim household. But it is not the case, as Dr Boyd alleges, that 'each individual member of the Brion family had a corresponding character in the novel.' Friederike's third sister did not fit into the scheme, and so he left her out of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. It is a sufficient

¹ A. Böhtlingk, *Shakespeare und unsere Klassiker*. Bd. II: *Goethe und Shakespeare*, Leipzig, 1909.

² Sir Walter Scott *To-Day*, London, 1932, p. xi.

³ Cf. L. Mackall, *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. n. Sprachen*, cxii, 1904, p. 388.

comment on the limitations of Dr Boyd's method of presenting the subject that Ossian who, as we learn, 'became almost as important for the development of the young poet as Shakespeare,' should have but four pages devoted to his influence to Shakespeare's 79; that Shaftesbury is only quoted as being the affinity to Wieland, whereas in reality he was perhaps the most potent of all the English influences on German critical thought of the eighteenth century¹; that Marlowe may possibly have meant more for Goethe's *Faust* than the curt notice in his diary would lead us to suspect². It is apparent that the space devoted to an English author in Goethe's writings is by no means always commensurate with the importance he occupies in his literary development. In this respect the scholar will refer to the wider and better documented volume of Mr L. M. Price; but to the seeker for immediate and tabulated information on any given point of Goethe's English reading Dr Boyd has provided a useful handbook. It is rarely that the enquirer will be disappointed for an answer³.

Mr Ewen sets himself the more grateful task of pursuing the fortunes of Schiller in England from the first mention by Henry Mackenzie in 1788 to the centenary of his birth in 1859. He traces four phases in English critical opinion: the conception of the untutored rebel against society induced by *The Robbers* made way through better knowledge to that of 'le noble Schiller' of Madame de Staël (re-affirmed by Carlyle); it developed into a saintly Schiller imagined by Bulwer Lytton, and resulted finally in the juster estimate of Lewis and his contemporaries of the centenary year as 'the next great German poet after Goethe.'

Mr Ewen successfully maintains his claim to present the reaction of the English to the German poet and has thus accomplished a task immeasurably greater and more difficult than T. Rea⁴ who was mainly concerned with translations into English, *qua* translations, rather than with their effects. A comparison of the two books, Rea's and Ewen's, affords good evidence of the progress of comparative literature during the last twenty years and of the new approach in which 'Geist' is of greater import than 'Stoff.' A glance at the respective bibliographies reveals even more eloquently the intense activity which has prevailed in this field since the War: Rea can barely cover two pages with 'works consulted' compared to Mr Ewen's nineteen. Indeed, the wealth of references makes the English scholar somewhat envious of the rich resources of American libraries which could not be matched even by the British Museum.

Although Mr Ewen's work is based on all the available material it is not merely a compilation but incorporates original research. On Hazlitt and

¹ Cf. O. Walzel, *Das Prometheus-Symbol von Shaftesbury zu Goethe*, München, 1923.

² Cf. O. Heller, *Faust and Faustus: A Study of Goethe's Relations to Marlowe*, St Louis, 1931.

³ Among the lesser English writers I miss a reference to Ritter Lawrence, the author of the erotic utopian novel *The Empire of the Nairs* which was a favourite book in Weimar in the late twenties. For further information on the English visitors to Weimar we have now a valuable study by H. Landgraf, 'Goethe und seine ausländischen Besucher,' in *Den Freunden Goethes im Auslande*, München, 1932.

⁴ *Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England*, London, 1906.

Schiller he has much to say that is new and we shall look forward to the special study which he promises on this subject. He also breaks new ground in his discussion of the literature of travel, and has drawn information from other recondite sources. He usually avoids the temptation of finding influence where it is so often the question of parallel thought, although he does suggest a correspondence (on very tenuous grounds it appears to the reviewer) between Schiller and Shelley. And he seems to accept too readily the evidence for borrowings which Coleridge consistently denied. It is a much disputed point, but Howard¹ has at least shown the possibility of Coleridge reaching very similar conclusions concerning the distinction between reason and the understanding, independently of Kant, from the Cambridge Neo-Platonists. And it may well be that a common source, Shaftesbury, accounts for the affinities which undoubtedly exist between Coleridge and both Schiller and A. W. Schlegel². The conception of the 'harmonious man' which Schiller crystallised as 'Die Schöne Seele' is after all but a re-statement of Shaftesbury's from the Greeks; and Schiller's *Hymn to Joy* goes back beyond Hagedorn to the same English sources². On the whole, however, Mr Ewen is singularly free from the over-statements which are so tempting to make, and so difficult to substantiate, in studies of comparative literature. His book, with its excellent index and bibliography, will long remain an authoritative source of Anglo-German literary relations.

The volume issued by the Deutsche Akademie in Munich consists of two essays on similar topics of international relations. The most important by Hugo Landgraf entitled 'Goethe und seine ausländischen Besucher' affords a useful summary of the active interest that the great world took in little Weimar in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Travellers flocked from far and near to pay homage to 'the illustrious Goethe' and some, like the Gores, the Hares, or Soret, even came to stay. The English (and especially the Irish) were always assured of a warm welcome from 'der grossbritannische Konsul' as she styled herself, Ottilie von Goethe. The ephemeral *Chaos* bears lively witness to the literary triflings of that international circle³. Amongst the most distinguished English visitors were the future King William IV (still known to his friends in 1828 as 'Silly Billy'), the sons of the Duke of Wellington, and the indefatigable Bishop of Derry, Earl of Bristol, whose name is still associated with luxurious hotels in most of the capitals of Europe. More interesting to the literary historian is the presence of W. M. Thackeray, Lord Leveson Gower (the first translator of *Faust*) and Ritter Lawrence⁴, concerning whom Herr Landgraf provides much new information. Although we are mainly concerned with British visitors the other nations of Europe and America were equally well represented in Weimar.

¹ C. Howard, *Coleridge's Idealism*, Boston, 1924.

² Cf. L. M. Price's chapter on 'Shaftesbury' in *The Reception of English Literature in Germany*, Berkeley, 1932.

³ Cf. the article by T. D. Jones, 'English Contributors to Ottilie von Goethe's *Chaos*,' in *P.E.G.S.* 1933, N.S., vol. ix, p. 68.

⁴ See note 3, p. 108 above.

The second essay by Franz Thierfelder, 'Die Goethe-Welt-Feier 1932,' supplements the work of A. Bergmann, *Das Welt-Echo des Goethejahres*, Weimar, 1932. It similarly attempts to chronicle the numerous celebrations which took place the world over in honour of the Goethe Centenary, from Abyssinia to Brazil, and from Russia to Japan. To judge from the references to Great Britain it is not entirely complete, or always accurate. As the world tribute to Germany's greatest poet it is at the same time a proof of the revival of sympathy and understanding for Germany which the War had done so much to destroy. But it is interesting to speculate whether, after the events of the last few months, the Goethe celebrations would have met with the same universal response in 1933 as they did in 1932!

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

LONDON.

The Orkney Norn. By HUGH MARWICK. Oxford: University Press. 1929. li + 232 pp. 21s.

This book inevitably invites comparison with Jakobsen's *Etymologisk Ordbog over det Norrøne Sprog på Shetland* which recently appeared in its English form, and with the *Færøsk-Dansk Ordbog* by M. A. Jacobsen and Chr. Matras. It is the first time that justice has been done to the old speech of the Orkneys. Dr Marwick's work thus rounds off the trilogy, and although he himself warns the reader against any comparison with Jakobsen's monumental volumes, the two are worth comparing. Dr Marwick has been much more modest in his aim and scope than Jakobsen, who made it his object to include in his dictionary every scrap of linguistic evidence relating to the Shetlands he had collected. In the preface to his *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect* (1866) Edmonston confessed that there were but few Orkney words in his collection. His work contains little etymological material and that of doubtful value. Dr Marwick modestly calls his book a glossary too, but it is a good deal more than that. Jakobsen collected some 10,000 words from the Shetlands: in the present book some 3000 terms are annotated. Edmonston listed about 350 Orkney words; many of those he quotes from the Shetlands are (or were) current in the Orkneys too. The Earls of Orkney were important figures in the history of Northern Scotland and the Isles. The Orkneys, far more than the Shetlands, were the centre for some of the most important Norse undertakings of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. It is a curious fact that before this no writer has had the enterprise or the knowledge to do justice to the Orkney speech. Dr Marwick is primarily an archæologist, but in the present work he has put his linguistic knowledge and his intimate acquaintance with the language of his native isles to admirable use. He claims no more for his book than the title of a pioneer work, but it will be some time yet before it is superseded—and then perhaps only, and most fittingly, by a larger study from his own pen.

O. K. SCHRAM.

LIVERPOOL

SHORT NOTICES

The Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature, edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by Dr Mary Serjeantson and Professor Leslie Broughton (vol. xii. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes. 1931. 372 pp. 7s. 6d.), continues to meet all reasonable, and indeed some unreasonable demands of those interested. The net of the joint editors is thrown wide, as may well be seen in the List of Abbreviations, which by no means covers the field of reference. I observe an increase in the representation of Spanish periodicals. There can be no doubt that the editors owe much to the zeal of the foreign collaborators whom they have enlisted. Our debt to the editors themselves remains incalculable, and the Association may be proud of so complete and accurate a record. The record continues to expand. As compared with the 222 pages of the 1930 volume, 1931 has 272 pages, and 4182 items as compared with 3627. Only the editors know what this means in terms of card-index, cross-references, and indexing. The index occasionally fails. Dr Gerda Hutteman's thesis on Yeats, for example, goes unindexed in 1931 as in 1930, while in both years Yeats is indexed as the subject of her work. I imagine that under 4045 'Gerta' is a misprint for 'Gerda.' I find the continuous record of reviews of books previously published a very helpful feature of the bibliography. Altogether, it is an invaluable annual present from scholars to their colleagues.

C. J. S.

Dr Mary Serjeantson has joined Dr Boas as co-editor of the latest volume of *The Year's Work in English Studies* (Oxford University Press. 1933. 342 pp. 10s. 6d.), a survey which the English Association has presented to scholarship for the last twelve years and which is becoming increasingly indispensable as it becomes more and more impossible for the individual scholar to cope with the annual output of work himself. *The Year's Work* seems to miss nothing. Indeed, it might be suggested that an item here and there is hardly worth recording for the attention of scholarship. I have some doubt whether an essay of Mr Julian Huxley, *What Dare I Think?* has any bearing upon English studies, or whether Mr Lunklater's *Ben Jonson and King James* is not ill at ease among its neighbours here. It is regrettable, on the other hand, that a number of books, some of importance, 'proved unobtainable' (pp. 167, 265 etc.). The valuable collaboration of Professor Grierson and Dr Clark, Professor Abercrombie, and Miss Daunt has been lost, but their place has been ably filled by Professor Martin and Dr Harrison, Professor Evans, and Mrs Martin Clarke respectively. The most notable contributor to the year's work for 1931 is perhaps R. W. Chambers, with the second edition of his *Introduction to Beowulf* and his share in the collected *English Works of Sir Thomas More*, the *Book of London English*, and the important article on *The Text of 'Piers Plowman'* which appeared in this journal. Other outstanding works are W. W. Greg's *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses*, Miss Darbishire's *Manuscript of Milton's 'Paradise Lost'*, J. W. Hebel's edition of Drayton, J. de L. Ferguson's

Letters of Robert Burns, W. W. Lawrence's *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies*, William Grant's *Scottish National Dictionary*, Sir William Craigie's *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, and *The Place-Names of Devon* by J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton. Truly a notable year, both in literary and in philological work. In the Index I notice the absence of Ludovic Lloyd. The entry under Owen, Edward, should be 158, not 58. On p. 341, F. T. Wood and Frederick Wood are, in fact, the same person. C. J. S.

In *Tragic Relief* (London: H. Milford. 1932. 233 pp. 10s. 6d.) Mr P. K. Guha has sought to solve the paradox of tragic drama, 'namely, its production of a high æsthetic pleasure, in spite of its having to deal with the pain and suffering of life.' While he agrees that 'the primary function of tragedy is to paint the pain of life and not to palliate it,' he restricts his study to the element of 'relief,' that is 'the artistic palliation of the pain inherent in its theme.' The result of this method of approach is that one receives, in spite of Mr Guha's disclaimer, the impression that for him tragedy is practically all relief.

Mr Guha begins by quoting passages from Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Hume, Hegel and Aristotle to show that these philosophers recognised relief to be 'the most essential element of tragic drama.' He proceeds to consider the relief provided by the distinguished personality of the hero, by the conflict, internal and external, and by such 'mechanical devices' as the introduction of comic episodes, the supernatural, and lofty lyrical flights. In these chapters he is on familiar ground both in his arguments and in the illustrations quoted in support from ancient and modern tragedy. Finally he endeavours to show that the majority of Jacobean and Caroline dramas of revenge and horror fall short of the level of true tragedy simply because they fail to observe the fundamental principles of relief.

Mr Guha's basic theory, for which he pleads persuasively, is that 'the secret of the pleasure of tragedy consists in the production of a dual impression, by virtue of its being a double-chambered play. . . All great and effective tragedies are composed of a visible chamber of dark acts and events and an unseen but luminous world of complex human impulses, mysterious forces of fate, and the magical charm of lyric poetry.' The pain of tragedy, inherent in the portrayal of these dark acts and events, is relieved by the mitigating forces of this unseen world. But surely, it must be objected, the presence of the second chamber brings pain as well as relief; for unless the sordid facts which underlie any tragedy are universalised and the characters rendered sympathetic by the attribution of more than merely murderous instincts, we feel no pain, and no relief is therefore necessary. Most of us can read our daily newspapers with equanimity. Mr Guha has debated an interesting question, and one can compliment him on his acute discussion of the elements from which relief does undoubtedly arise; but he has not given a complete answer, and the paradox with which he commences remains a paradox at the end.

F. E. B.

The essay of Dr Otto Parwulski on *Victor Gelu* (Halle. 1930. 166 pp.), which appears as vol. xiv of the *Romanische Arbeiten* published under the direction of Professor Karl Voretzsch, is a useful if somewhat prolix account of the life and poetry of a minor regional poet whose verses, written in the dialect of Marseille and first published in 1840, have long since been forgotten. Gelu's most typical *chansons*, dealing with the life of the lower classes of his native town among whom he was born and bred, reflect his sympathy for the poor and the oppressed, in sharp contrast with the somewhat bourgeois attitude of the majority of the *Félibres*. This explains why he deliberately stood aloof from the *Félibrige* movement and why he could not bring himself to say a good word even of Mistral. Much inferior to that of the *Félibres* in general, Gelu's verse as a whole is very mediocre stuff, and it is very doubtful whether he was worth all the pains which the author of the present monograph appears to have bestowed upon him, the more so as Dr Parwulski does not add anything really essential, except perhaps the chapter on the dialect of Marseille, to what can be found in the study of F. Hauser (*Victor Gelu et son œuvre*, Marseille, 1891) or in that of P. Risson (*La vie et l'œuvre de Gelu, poète marseillais*, Paris, 1900). L. E. K.

Dr René Wellek has broken fresh ground in the field of Anglo-German relations with his excellent study *Immanuel Kant in England, 1793-1838* (Princeton: University Press; London: H. Milford. 1931. 317 pp. 15s.). It is surprising indeed that an investigation of this kind has not before now tempted the writers of dissertations. The theme falls properly outside the scope of this *Review*, but its literary aspects are considerable; the steadily growing appreciation of Kant at the beginning of last century had many reverberations on the general attitude of England to German literature. Dr Wellek need hardly in his preface have apologised for his English; it is superior to many doctoral dissertations whose authors are without the excuse that English is not their mother-tongue. To some extent supplementary to this volume is the dissertation of Dr Else Wertscher, *Englisch Wege zu Kant* (*Hefte zur Englandkunde*, iv. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 86 pp. 3 M.). But Fräulein Wertscher is concerned solely with the philosophical preparation for Kant in English thought. Her conclusion that 'man die englische Philosophie recht eigentlich als Vorbereitung für den Kritizismus ansprechen' hardly tells us anything new; but she has certainly brought to clearer focus the dependence of Kant on Hume. J. G. R.

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With the collaboration of Dr MARY S. SERJEANTSON (English).

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THE EPIGRAMS OF HENRY PEACHAM AND
HENRY PARROT

THE earliest English epigrams were those of John Heywood, the interlude writer, but the genre did not become fashionable until the end of Elizabeth's reign. Between the years 1606 and 1626, in the hey-day of the epigram fashion, six collections were published under the initials H.P. and one under the initials W.P.¹ The majority may be safely assigned to Henry Parrot, a somewhat nebulous personage known to posterity only through these publications, but several have, by one bibliographer or another, been ascribed to Henry Peacham (author of *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622)). The association of Peacham's name with this 'witty' pursuit may seem strange to those accustomed to think of him as a serious prose writer, but in the earlier stages of his career, when he was doing his best to win patronage at court, he composed several complimentary occasional poems², made a collection of 'Emblems³, and published as late as 1620 under his full name a collection of epigrams entitled *Thalia's Banquet*. From time to time critics have pointed out similarities between verses known to be Peacham's and pieces published under the initials H.P., but (partly because of the rarity of the books, two of which are now accessible only in the United States) no direct attack has been made on the problem, and errors, ambiguities, and contradictions abound in even the latest catalogues. *The Britwell Handlist* (1933) ascribes to Henry Parrot '*The more the merrier, by H.P. gent. 1608*,' a book which may be conclusively proved to be by Henry Peacham, and one which for biographical reasons is a far from unimportant member of the canon of his works.

The bibliographical evidence which bears on the problem can be briefly tabulated as follows:

- (1) *The Mows-Trap* (1606) (British Museum C. 21. c. 49).

Entered anonymously in the Stationers' Register (see Arber Transcript, III, 331).

Latin tags on title-page '*MORDENTEM MORDEO*,' and '*Vni si possim, posse placere sat est*.'

¹ The short titles of the seven books are as follows: *The Mows-Trap* (1606), *The More the Merrier* (1608), *Epigrams* (1608), *Laques Ridiculosi* (1613), *The Mastive* (1615), *The Gossips Greeting* (1620), *Cures for the Itch* (1626).

² E.g. *The Period of Mourning* (1613), and *Prince Henrie Revived* (1615).

³ Published as *Minerva Britannia* (1612).

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Dedication (A3) signed H.P., and containing the phrase 'semel insaniuimus omnes.'

Epilogue (F3) a stanza in English beginning: 'Thus haue I waded through a worthlesse taske....'

(2) *The More the Merrier* (1608) by H.P. Gent. (Henry E. Huntington Library).

Entered anonymously in the Stationers' Register (Arber, III, 373).

Dedication (A2) and Epistle to the Reader (A3) signed H.P.

(3) *Epigrams* (1608) by H.P. (Brit. Mus. C. 42. b. 13).

There is no mention in the Stationers' Register under an appropriate date of a bare *Epigrams*, but there is an *Epigrams or Humors Lottrye* by H.P. entered to the same publisher, John Helme, in 1608, which, as suggested in the *Short Title Catalogue*, is almost certainly the same (Arber, III, 374).

Latin tag on title-page 'Mortui non mordent.'

Introductory verses (A2) in Latin beginning: 'Diues Arabs aurum, gemmas dat laetior orbis....' and in English beginning: 'If my ill-tuned Rimes content the wise....'

Epilogue (H 4 v) English stanza beginning: 'Thus haue I waded through a worthlesse taske....' and Latin couplet beginning: 'Abijcis ista ferus? moritur mea Musa dolendo....'

(4) *Laquei Ridiculosi, or Springes for Woodcockes* (1613).

One issue (Bodleian Malone 438) has on the title-page 'By H.P.,' and the motto 'Bis insaniuimus omnes' (Q 6 v).

Another issue (Brit. Mus. 11626. a. 36) has the words 'Caueat Emptor' on the title-page and 'Semel insaniuimus omnes' (Q 6 v).

Entered in the Stationers' Register as *Stultorum Laquei. or Spryngesse for Woodcockes. Caueat emptor, Bis insaninimus* (sic) *omnes* (Arber, III, 484).

Latin Preface signed Hen: Parrot, with the motto 'Vni, si possim posse placere, sat est' (*2).

English Preface signed H.P. (*5).

Introductory verses in Latin beginning: 'Diues Arabs...etc.' (*4), and in English beginning: 'If my ill-tuned Rimes...etc.' (*7).

Epilogue (Q 7) English stanza: 'Thus haue I waded...etc.,' and Latin quatrain including the couplet: 'Abijcis ista ferus?...'

(5) *The Mastive, or Young-Whelpe of the Olde-Dogge* (1615) (Brit. Mus. 239. i. 24).

Entered anonymously in the Stationers' Register as *The Mastiue Dogge* (Arber, III, 569).

- Latin tag on title-page '*Mordeo Mordentem.*'
 Preface (A3) signed H.P.
 (6) *The Gossips Greeting* (1620) (Henry E. Huntington Library).
 Entered as by Henry Parratt in the Stationers' Register (Arber, III, 676).
 Three prefatory addresses (A3, A 4 v, B2) all signed W.P.
 (7) *Cures for the Itch. Characters. Epigrams. Epitaphs* (1626) by H.P. (Bodleian Art, 8vo, D. 15).

Identified by the editors of the *Short Title Catalogue* with a book entered in the Stationers' Register in 1626 to the same publisher, Thomas Jones, as *Wittes Storehouse of Inuencons in 3 bookes* by Henry Parratt. *Cures for the Itch* is actually divided into three parts, and 'Wittes Storehouse' would not be an inappropriate title, but there appears to be no real evidence for accepting this identification as final (see Arber, IV, 159).

An attempt will be made in the following discussion to prove that Henry Peacham wrote *The More the Merrier* (1608), and that Henry Parrot was certainly the author of *The Mous-Trap* (1606), *Epigrams* (1608), and *Laquei Ridiculosi* (1613), and probably of *The Mastive* (1615), *The Gossips Greeting* (1620), and *Cures for the Itch* (1626).

The signature 'Hen: Parrot' to the preface to *Laquei Ridiculosi* (the only extant example of the use of the name in this connexion, apart from the two appearances of 'Henry Parratt' in the Stationers' Register) may be taken as proof of Parrot's authorship. This book therefore provides the touchstone. A comparison of it with *The Mous-Trap* and *Epigrams* reveals a series of parallels proving all three to be from the same hand. Besides the numerous similarities in editorial apparatus (mottos, prefatory verses, and epilogues) noted above, no less than seventy-five of its two hundred and fifteen items had appeared both in 1606 and 1608, while eight others were reprinted from 1606, and sixty-nine others from 1608.

The ascription of *The Mastive* to Parrot rests on less definite evidence; the motto '*mordeo mordentem*' had appeared on the title-page of *The Mous-Trap* and bears some resemblance to the '*mortui non mordent*' of *Epigrams*, and the verses follow the same tradition as those in the group discussed above¹. *The Gossips Greeting* presents a further difficulty, for, although the book is plainly attributed to 'Henry Parratt' in the Stationers' Register, the three prefatory addresses (which are in precisely the same manner as the main body of the text) are signed not 'H.P.'

¹ Edward Rimbault states (in *Notes and Queries*, I, 1, p. 413) that one of the epigrams in *The Mastive* also appears in Peacham's *Minerva Britannia*; this error (copied by Bohn in his 1864 ed. of Lowndes' *Bibliographers' Manual*) was probably due to confusion between *The Mastive* and *The More the Merrier* (vide *infra*, p. 132).

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but 'W.P.' Parrot's connexion with *Cures for the Itch* depends chiefly on the validity of its identification with the book entered in Stationers' Register as '*Wittes Storehouse....By Henry Parratt.*' While it cannot be claimed that Parrot's authorship of the three books in this second group has been indisputably established, it may at least be assumed that Peacham had no hand in them. Their general tone and range approximate closely to that of Parrot's known works, and there is, on the other hand, a marked contrast between Peacham's prose style and the sing-song rhythms of the prose 'Characters' forming the first section of *Cures for the Itch*.

Six of the seven collections having been more or less convincingly assigned to Henry Parrot, only *The More the Merrier* remains for consideration. Several passages in this book provide striking parallels to works incontestably composed by Peacham¹. The most conclusive of these is one involving a reference to the author's birthplace:

Who would not sweare the Towne that gaue me birth
Her *Genius* had infus'de of harmles mirth,
Where first deused were at idle times,
Sir *Thomas Moores*, old *Heywoods*, and my rimes².
I thinke the place that gaue me first my birth,
The *genius* had of epigram and mirth,
There famous *Moore* did his *Vtopia* wright,
And thence came *Heywoods* Epigrams to light,
And then this breath I drew, wherewith (our owne)
These shaken leaues about the world are blowne³.

...merrie *John Heywood*, who wrote his Epigrammes, as also Sir *Thomas More* his *Vtopia*, in the parish wherein I was borne; where either of them dwelt, and had faire possessions.

Marginal note: *Northmimmes* in *Herfordshire* neere to *S. Albanes*⁴.

There are three further resemblances between *The More the Merrier* and *Thalia's Banquet*.

- (a) *Seuerus* hauing ouer-look't my rimes,
With rugged brow, and couglt a dozen times,
This fellow, saith, hath sure a prettie wit,
Great pitie thus he hath imployed it⁵.
Old *Corax* putting on glassen eine,
Bids *Trudge* his man to reach this booke of mine;
And by the fire in his wicker chaire,
(One foote vpon the tonges) me think I heare
Him cough, & say, this Author hath some wit,
Pitty he made no better vse of it⁶.

¹ As early as 1778 Warton (*History of English Poetry*, iv, p. 221) had noted a parallel between this book and Peacham's *Minerva Britannia* and the information was repeated by the Thorpe Catalogue of 1842. S. E. Brydges, who had apparently confused *The More the Merrier* (1608) with *Epigrams* (1608), made the erroneous statement—in *Censura Literaria*, II, 234—that parallels exist between *The More the Merrier* and *Laquei Ridiculosi*; this led some bibliographers (including Lowndes and Huth) to ascribe *The More the Merrier* to Parrot.

² *Thalia's Banquet* (1620), No. 80.

³ *The More the Merrier* (1608), No. 37.

⁴ *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), p. 95.

⁵ *Thalia's Banquet* (1620), No. 71.

- (b) Like *Tarleton*, I see once againe I must thrust my head out of doores to be laughed at¹.

As *Tarleton* when his head was onely seene,
The Tire-house doore and Tapistrie betweene,
Set all the multitude in such a laughter,
They could not hold for scarce an houre after...².

- (c) As well as most men *Panpaeides* they say,
Thou singst, canst set, and on a Violl play,
...Most men can none at all, no more canst thou³.
Thou swear'st I bowle as well as most men doe,
The most are bunglers, therein thou saist true⁴.

In addition, two parallels may be noted between *The More the Merrier* and *Minerva Britannia*:

- (a) *Tusser* they tell me when thou wert a liue,
Thou teaching thrift thy selfe couldst neuer thriue
So like the whetstone many men are woont,
To sharpen others when them selues are blunt⁵.
They tell me *Tusser*, when thou wert aliue,
...Where ere thou cammest, thou couldst never thriue,
...So like thy selfe, a number more are woont,
To sharpen others, with advice of wit,
When they themselves, are like the whetstone blunt...⁶.
- (b) What pleasure more, *Marcellus*, can there be?
Then in thy Garden to behold in *May*,
How manie flowers, what variety
Are while thou slept'st, shot forth since yesterday.
...Looke how we oft in parchment books do find,
Each letter limn'd with rarest excellence,
So heere thou hast instruction of the mind,
And painted lectures of Gods providence.
The *Camomill*, shall teach thee patience,
Which thriueth best, when trodden most vpon...⁷.
Nor Princes richest *Arras* may compare
With some small plot, where Natures skill is shoven,
Perfuming sweetely all the neighbour aire,
While thousand cullors in a night are blowne:
...Withall (as in some rare limn'd booke) we find,
Here, painted Lectures of Gods sacred will,
The *Daisie*, teacheth lowliness of mind,
The *Camomill*, we should be patient still⁸.

Finally, Epigram No. 21 may be compared with a story told in one of Peacham's last publications, the pamphlet entitled *A Paradox in the Praise of a Dunce to Smectymnuus* (1642).

A countrey pedant sitting in the Sunne,
Amongst his boyes thus he examines one,
Your friendes may see that you haue something got,
What is, Poeta? quoth the boy, a pot,

¹ *The More the Merrier*, Epistle to the Reader.

² *The More the Merrier*, No. 3.

³ *The More the Merrier* (1608), No. 51.

⁴ *The More the Merrier* (1608), No. 33.

⁵ *Thalia's Banquet*, No. 94.

⁶ *Thalia's Banquet*, No. 12.

⁷ *Minerva Britannia* (1612), p. 61.

⁸ *Minerva Britannia* (1612), p. 187.

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Which ouer hearing as I passed by,
Vnto his Master turning back (quoth I)
Whats Latine for your Cand-sticke on the shelve?
Why Sir (quoth he) that's Latine of it self¹.

One came before Bishop B. to bee examined and posed of the Bishop for a Living... when he came for his institution, and it fell out to be late at night, and at such a time the B. was writing of a letter, Mr B. quoth the Bishop, you have picked out an ill time, for me to examine you in, neither am I at leasure to aske you many questions, come one quoth the Bishop; what is latine for this Candlesticke, and if it please your Lordship quoth the other, the Candlesticke is latine of itself, so it was, indeed a latine Candlesticke, the B. not knowing whether he spake it out of simplicity, or in way of jest, gave him his institution, without further questioning².

The seven parallels quoted above leave little room for doubt that Peacham wrote *The More the Merrier*. That the true author took no steps to acknowledge this early heir of his invention may be explained by the fact that he had nothing to gain by so doing, since the collection contains no personal compliments calculated to extract donations from flattered patrons³, and merely 'witty' epigrams were necessarily regarded with disfavour by 'the better sort' because of their 'vnsauourie lewdnesse.' It is not unlikely that readers unacquainted with Peacham himself missed the significance of Epigram No. 34 and mistook his initials for those of Henry Parrot from the beginning. The actual identity of this person with whom Peacham has so often been confused remains an unsolved problem. The surname Parrot (also spelt Parret, Parratt, Perrot, etc.) was fairly well-known in the period 1606-26, but Henry does not appear to have been a popular Christian name with the family, and information about 'Henry Parrot' is hard to come by. The tone of the Parrot epigrams implies that their author was a University man, a wit, a playgoer, a well known figure in literary circles, and a frequenter, if not a member, of the Inns of Court, but no corroborative documentary evidence has so far come to light, and it is not even possible to connect 'Henry Parrot or Parratt' with any of the known families of that name. It was suggested by Madan⁴ that Henry Parrot may be identical with the author of a manuscript collection of verses (epigrams, elegies, epistles, and religious ejaculations) entitled '*Perotti poemata varia, sed e multis pauca selectiora*' (Bodleian Malone 14). These pieces are all dated between 1615 and 1637, which fits well enough with the latter part of the period covered by the six books ascribed to Parrot. It may be inferred from his somewhat uninspired and pedestrian verses that 'Perottus' had been at Cambridge, was in Orders and in search of preferment, was acquainted with

¹ *The More the Merrier* (1608), No. 21.

² *Paradox in Praise of a Dunce* (1642), p. 3.

³ In later years Peacham learnt wisdom; roughly one-half of the epigrams in *Thalia's Banquet* (1620) are addressed to actual or potential patrons.

⁴ Madan's *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian*, iv, No. 20562.

various titled and influential persons, and had some connexion with the Nottingham area. There are, however, no actual points of contact between Perottus's verses and the published works of Henry Parrot which would justify the transference of such biographical details as may be drawn from the former to the author of the latter.

The word 'Parrot' enjoyed a certain notoriety in the early seventeenth century, and was used to impute to human beings the supposed character of the bird¹. Lowndes mentions (*Bibliographers' Manual* (1834)) a frontispiece to John Davies of Hereford's *Scourge of Villainy* (1611) 'intended to represent Parrot undergoing a flagellation,' implying that this was meant for Henry Parrot the epigrammatist. Joseph Hunter queried this allusion, saying that the drawing was intended as general rather than as personal satire². In the light of the frontispiece to John Taylor's *Whip of Pride* (1621), showing a peacock chastised by Simplicity, Hunter's view is almost certainly correct. The only obvious contemporary reference to Parrot and his works is John Taylor's allusion to *Laquei Ridiculosi* in one of his own epigrams:

My muse hath vowed revenge shall have her swinge,
To catch a Parrot in the woodcockes springe³.

It might be suggested that 'Parrot' was a pseudonymous surname adopted by Peacham as a cloak for his less creditable publications. This would be an ingenious explanation but unfortunately it is not borne out by the poems themselves. The epigrams attributed to Parrot contain none of those intimate, personal references which characterise the whole body of Peacham's work, both verse and prose; nor do they show any attempt to freshen the conventional imitation of Martial by introducing such touches of unmistakably modern satire as are to be found in *Thalia's Banquet*:

The *Turkes* hold this opinion very odde,
That madmens soules are talking still with God,
And that to be an Ideot or a Vice,
Is th'onely way to purchase Paradise:
If this be true their *Alkarons* relate,
Our *Puritans* were sure in happy state⁴.

The difference between *The More the Merrier* and the other collections discussed above is especially noticeable in the prefaces, where the authors' respective personalities have freer play and are more fully revealed.

¹ Cf. *An Almond for a Parrat* (1590) and Ben Jonson's epigram *On Court Parrat* (*Epigrams* (1616), No. lxxi).

² *Chorus Vatum* (1845-60), III, p. 460 (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 24489).

³ *Epigrammes* (1651), p. 283, No. vii.

⁴ *Thalia's Banquet* (1620), No. 14.

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'Hen: Parrot,' in his Latin address 'Lectori benigno, Scienti, et ignoto,' remarks:

Non sum nescius quam amara & virulenta quorundam sint ingenia, qui cum mellis nihil habeant, aculeum tamen venenatum gerunt, quo obuium quemque vulnerent atque insectentur: Hisce, ego Absinthium & graeolentes herbas potius quam suauissimas rosas gratique odoris Thymum...offerrem.

In the same volume, *Laquei Ridiculosi*, he also expresses this further uncharitable sentiment:

To th'illiterat and home-spun-Peasants, proue I as harsh and indigestable as is their spite and ignorance vnreproueable.

The author of *The More the Merrer* is gentler and kindlier of manner; he can as well away to carry fire in his hand as hate in his heart, he has no desire to 'inveigh' at any man's person, to ensnare the foolish, or to bite the biter, he trusts that his epigrams are 'neither...ouer luscious for obscenitie, or too ranke for their bitternes,' and asserts that he never fights before he is attacked:

I am of *Will Sommers* mind, I will neuer draw my dagger, till I be stricken: and if I chance to vnsheath it, they need not feare me, since it is likely to prooue a wooden one.

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A NOTE ON THE LAST YEARS OF DEFOE

THE closing years of Defoe's life have puzzled all his biographers, and from the facts hitherto known it has certainly been difficult to account for his actions. The mystery centres on a letter written by Defoe on August 12, 1730, to his son-in-law, Henry Baker, in which he signs himself 'Yo^r unhappy, D.F.,' giving as his address 'About two Miles from Greenwich, Kent.' In this letter he refers to 'ye Blow I rec^d from a wicked, perjur'd, and contemptible Enemy,' and expresses the pleasure it would give him to see his son-in-law if only he could receive his visits with safety. This letter, taken in conjunction with the fact that Defoe died in a lodging in Ropemaker's Alley, would naturally suggest that he was endeavouring to hide from someone—most probably a creditor; but Mr Lee, his nineteenth-century biographer, with an obvious unwillingness to let his hero pass from the world in debt, suggested that the contemptible enemy was Defoe's old acquaintance, Nathaniel Mist, who had probably betrayed him in some way to the government. In support of this suggestion he pointed out that Defoe had retired to Stoke Newington in comfortable circumstances, and any debts left over from his earlier business failures must long since have been settled or compounded. There remained, however, one other disturbing fact to be accounted for: after Defoe's death, letters of administration on his goods and chattels were granted to Mary Brooke, a widow. But Mr Lee explained her away by suggesting that she was probably the proprietrix of the lodging in which Defoe died, and that a small sum was due to her for board and lodging which his relatives had not yet settled¹. Professor Dottin, who shows a better understanding of Defoe's character, is inclined to think that the enemy must have been a creditor with whose money Defoe had been speculating, and who was now demanding payment; but he accepts Mr Lee's suggestion that Mary Brooke was merely an unsatisfied landlady attempting to recover legally the sum due to her for board and lodging². That Defoe's family, who were not left in penury, should allow her to take this way of recovering a few weeks' rent is—to say the least of it—unlikely; and, in any case, there is no evidence at all to show that Mary Brooke and the landlady of Ropemaker's Alley are one and the same

¹ *The Life of Daniel Defoe*, by William Lee, 1869, pp. 457–73. Lee probably took the facts about Mary Brooke from the *Life* by George Chalmers (1785). He misprints her name throughout as 'Brooks,' and in this is followed by Dottin. The relevant document may be seen in Somerset House: the name is spelt quite unmistakably 'Brooke.'

² *Daniel De Foe et ses Romans*, by Paul Dottin, p. 285.

person. But what Mr Lee only suggested as a likely hypothesis, Professor Dottin states as a fact.

Actually Mary Brooke was the one person in whose house Defoe was least likely to stay: she was, in fact, one of the persons he was most anxious to avoid, and in all probability the 'wicked, perjur'd, and contemptible Enemy' of whom he complained. In 1912 a contributor to *Notes and Queries*¹ drew attention to two unrecorded lawsuits in Chancery in which Defoe figured. One of those (*Defoe v. Ward*, C. 11/2578/31) he summarised in some detail; but the other (*Foe v. Brooke*, C. 11/679/2 and C. 11/1473/18) he dismissed in a few words, holding that it would be only wasting space to enter into the particulars of Defoe's bill. Professor Dottin, who has certainly examined other Defoe records in the Public Record Office, appears to have taken him at his word. But it is this Defoe-Brooke suit that gives us the clue to the troubles that beset Defoe in his last years. Nor is its interest confined to those final years; for in setting forth his complaint Defoe recapitulates the main facts of his bankruptcy almost thirty years before. There are two separate bills of complaint in this suit: the first is dated January 18, 1728, and the second, which is merely an amended and slightly amplified version of the earlier one, April, 1730. I shall give the substance of his complaint as it appears in the later of the two bills.

About thirty or forty years ago, Defoe explains, he had large dealings, as a factor or merchant, with Samuel and James Stancliffe² of London, hosiers. He was in partnership with them for a considerable time, and at other times he dealt with them extensively 'in a separate Trade.' About the year 1695, having sustained great losses in trade, Defoe was obliged to make a composition with his creditors 'for Time only.' Samuel Stancliffe, as one of his creditors, agreed to the composition along with the rest. Some time later Samuel Stancliffe died, having appointed his wife Elizabeth as his executrix³; but she, finding that her husband's estate was deeply in debt, relinquished her executorship. She died in her turn, and James Stancliffe took administration of the estate.

In 1704 or thereabouts, Defoe 'having still suffered more Greater Losses' was obliged to call his creditors together a second time, and by

¹ A. J. C. Guimaraens, March 30, 1912.

² In 1703 Defoe was imprisoned for writing *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*. When, some months later, his release was secured by Harley, it was James Stancliffe who acted as intermediary between the two men. See a letter from Defoe to Stancliffe, November 1703, *H.M.C. Fifteenth Report*, Appendix IV, p. 76.

³ In his will, which was proved August 8, 1695, Samuel Stancliffe, 'Citizen and Haberdasher of London,' appointed James Stancliffe co-executor along with his wife, Elizabeth. He mentions his 'just and lawfull debts' which he hopes will be faithfully and honestly paid, but he does not cite the name of Defoe or of any other debtor. P.C.C. Irby, fol. 136.

an instrument of composition agreed to surrender all his estate, goods, and effects to the use of his creditors, to be divided amongst them, share and share alike, in full satisfaction of their respective debts. James Stancliffe, pretending to be a considerable creditor (both in his own right and as administrator of Samuel Stancliffe's estate), offered to assist Defoe in dealing with his other creditors by acting as his trustee. Accordingly Defoe, by several deeds and mortgages, etc., assigned his estate and all his effects to Stancliffe, and by an affidavit prepared by his creditors swore that he had kept nothing back. In the assignment it was made clear that those effects were to be used for the purposes of the composition, and the creditors were to accept this as a full and final settlement. Almost all of them, including Stancliffe himself, executed this deed, and Defoe did actually deliver up to Stancliffe all that he had. Stancliffe paid—or should have paid—all the creditors out of the estate, which was more than sufficient for the purpose. To make things easier for him, Defoe had delivered up to him all his securities, and all the deeds and papers relating in any way to the estate; and as Stancliffe was acting for him as well as for the creditors, he had let him have possession of all the vouchers, receipts, releases, etc., from his creditors—including Stancliffe himself—on account of their debts then settled. He never doubted that Stancliffe would hand them all over to him, and account for any balance that might remain after everyone was paid. But this never happened, because, before he had come to an account with Defoe, Stancliffe died.

It is here that Mary Brooke comes in. James Stancliffe died intestate, and Samuel Brooke of Holloway Lane, weaver, took out administration to his estate. Shortly afterwards he, too, died, but before his death he had agreed to discharge Defoe and deliver up all his papers and receipts. Mary Brooke, the widow, took out administration to her husband's estate, and promised to carry out her husband's undertaking to Defoe. But lately she, along with Elizabeth Stancliffe, Aaron Lambe¹, and other persons unknown, has pretended that there are several debts still due to Samuel and James Stancliffe on several bonds entered into by Defoe for the payment of real debts due to them.

Here, it will be noted, Defoe had made an unaccountable slip, which Mary Brooke's lawyer turned to profit. In the earlier bill Defoe had not cited Elizabeth Stancliffe, but in Mary Brooke's demurrer to that

¹ Samuel Tuffley, Defoe's brother-in-law, died in 1725. On August 23, probate was granted to Mary, wife of Daniel Defoe. In the bond the sureties are Defoe, Dan. Defoe, Junior, and Aaron Lambe, of St Mary's, Islington, Scrivener. See an article, *Defoe's Wife*, by G. A. Aitken, *Contemporary Review*, February, 1890, p. 236.

bill¹ it was pointed out that, though the matters for which he sought relief concerned both Samuel and James Stancliffe, he had not made the administrator to Samuel's estate a party to his bill. In seeking to remedy this defect, Defoe had forgotten that, on his own showing, Elizabeth Stancliffe, whom he now cited in his amended bill, was dead. This fact was duly made use of by the defendants in a demurrer to the bill of 1730².

Defoe proceeds to show that the defendants had lately commenced several actions in the Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer for the recovery of those alleged debts, and it was to stop proceedings there that he now had recourse to Chancery. He had been at great trouble and expense to get any light at all upon the transactions carried out by James Stancliffe in the composition. If he did enter into any bonds to either of the Stancliffes it was about the year 1691 or 1693 in trust for his creditors, and not for any private debts. If any such bonds are now in the hands of the defendants they ought not to be made use of against him: they ought, in fact, to have been cancelled long ago. But the defendants pretend that they know nothing about the deed of composition, 'though they the said Def^{ts} have got the same & all other Deeds Books Papers & Vouchers relating to the s^d Accounts in their hands but conceal the same & would recover the s^d Bonds and pretended Debts as due to them.' Some of the relevant papers, he suggests, are probably obliterated or destroyed; but the truth would appear if the defendants were compelled to produce those that they still have. James Stancliffe, at any rate, never demanded any debt from him in his lifetime, but often, in fact, acknowledged himself satisfied. So, too, did the other creditors; and on one occasion, when some of them tried to show that they had not been paid, Stancliffe actually produced their receipts.

With the second demurrer of Mary Brooke proceedings in Chancery appear to have ended. Defoe's attempt to stay proceedings in the King's Bench by filing his bill in Chancery had failed, and the 'contemptible Enemy' had proceeded—with or without perjury—in her suit.

In comparison with the anxiety which this suit must have given him, another trouble of those last years may well have seemed trifling. On December 11, 1729, Defoe was compelled to enter a bill in Chancery³ against John Turner, a Colchester attorney, who, as he complained, had collected without his authority rents amounting to £50 or more from his tenants in the parish of St Michael, Mile End in Colchester, where Defoe had an estate of the value of about £300 per annum. Turner, on being

¹ C. 11/1473/18 (3).

² C. 11/679/2 (2).

³ C. 11/366/72. This suit has not hitherto been recorded.

approached by Defoe, had denied owing him anything, and was in fact demanding £12. 6s. 3d. from him in settlement of various professional expenses, and threatening to sue him for payment. Again Defoe seems to have had recourse to Chancery to delay proceedings in another court.

In conclusion, I may perhaps deal with one last point arising out of the suit in Chancery which Defoe brought against John Ward of Coleshill on November 25, 1728¹. The contributor to *Notes and Queries* already mentioned noted in his summary of this suit a schedule annexed to Ward's answer giving a detailed account of various sums due by Defoe for such commodities as cheese and oysters. He added, however, that it was not clear whether those were for his private consumption or not. A glance at the schedule in question must dispose of the idea that Defoe's purchases were for his own use; he was quite clearly trading in those commodities. On September 15, 1724, Ward charges him with £2. 7s. 10d. for '114 lbs. of honey with carriage'; and in the same month with £19. 19s. 0d. for '22 cwt. cheese (3/- to the dairy maids).' In December there is an order for 21¼ cwt. of cheese, and in the same month a carrier who took oysters from Hill Morton to Warwick for Defoe is paid 12s., and another for taking oysters to Coventry is paid 7s. 6d. The following April Ward notes that he paid £4. 5s. 0d. for Defoe to Ed. Norman and Sarah Tabor of Colchester, an oyster woman, and about the same time he paid £2 for oyster barrels at Colchester. Even more significant is an entry of Ward's for 6s. expenses 'for going from Coleshill to Hill Morton to look after Defoe's cheese and oysters at his earnest request.' Only one deduction can be drawn from those figures. In the year that saw the publication of *Roxana*, Defoe was also trading actively; he was dealing not only in literature but in such things as cheese, bacon, and oysters.

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¹ C. 11/2578/31.

NOTES ON THE POEMS OF BERTRAN DE BORN¹

III.

Song 12. Contained in MS. M.

The form of this piece is imitated from the song *Als durs crus cozens lauzengier* of Raïmbaut d'Aurenga.

There are no means of ascertaining the date of this sirventes; the allusion (v. 15) to Archambaut VI, Viscount of Comborn, is not sufficiently precise to be of any real help.

This, and Nos. 32 and 41, to which the name *sirventes joglaresc* has been given, probably on erroneous grounds, can be regarded as amusing parodies of the letters of recommendation which the *joglars* would carry with them in their pack when they went on their rounds. As for the term *sirventes joglaresc*, found in three only of the old *vidas* (those of Falquet de Romans, Augier and Peire Guilhem), it is not possible to say to what kind of pieces it refers, though it is in all probability not applicable to those which F. Witthoeft (*Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, No. 88, 1891) has published under that rubric, which he thinks designates the sirventes written by a troubadour at the request or in the interest of a *joglar* who was not at the same time a poet himself. This view has been successfully refuted by R. Zenker in the introduction (pp. 35 ff.) of his edition of Falquet de Romans (Halle, 1896), who shows, *inter alia*, that *sirventes joglaresc* was never a technical term. Recently A. Kolsen (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, xli, 1921, p. 548) has put forward the view that in the expression *sirventes joglaresc* the second word is to be interpreted in the sense of 'schalkhaft,' 'witzig,' 'launig,' which he claims fits the pieces which the *vidas* designate as *sirventes joglaresc*.

12, 1-4

Folheta, ges autres vergiers
No fai folhar martz ni febriers
Mas vos, que vos etz trop cochat,
De montanha sai devalat.

The sole MS. (M) has the plural *Folhetas* in vv. 1 and 15, but the singular *Folheta* as the first word of No. 32, which also occurs in M only. It seems impossible to decide whether Bertran is addressing one or more persons, i.e., the *joglar* Folheta or him and his family. *Enserrat* (v. 13) and *soudadiers* (v. 15), both assured by the rhyme, point to a single person. On the other hand, *cochat* (v. 3) and *devalat* (v. 4) are plural nominatives, as is also *malestan* in 32, 13 (all three at the rhyme); and *vos* is used

¹ Continued from *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxviii, p. 49.

throughout instead of *tu* in both pieces, contrary to Bertran's practice in addressing *joglars*. The author's grammatical errors are so gross that he may not be Bertran de Born.

12, 6-7 Qu'ieu ai ja vist albre folhat
 Que's cocha, puous gels lo mata.

Matar may be rendered by 'flétrir' (*PD.*), 'welk machen' (Appel, *Lieder*, Gloss.), a meaning the word has also in O.F., or literally by 'mater' (Thomas). 'Schädigen' (Stimming³) is much too vague.

12, 11-14 E fatz comte de paubretat,
 Com vos.....
 A tengut l'inverns enserrat,
 Qu'anc us no'n passet la lata.

The sole MS. has *e vostrasiata* after *Com vos*, which Stimming³ writes *e vostr'asiata* and Thomas *en vostr'asiata*; but, as no satisfactory explanation of *asiata* has been given (cp. *SW.*, I, p. 89 b), I can think of nothing better than to adopt Appel's *e vostra 'scata*, which entails the change of one letter only, *escata* being synonymous with the more usual *esclata* (*PD.*, 'race,' 'genre'): 'and you relate a story of poverty, how winter has kept you and your brood enclosed, in such way that not one ever crossed the enclosure on that account.'

12, 15-21 15 Folheta, siatz soudadiers
 N'Archambaut, que nasquet derriers,
 Que l'autres o a tot laissat
 De proeza et el gazanhat.
 E, puous lieu e gen barata,
 20 E·l vei adrech et alinhat,
 Lau qu'en proeza s'abata.

The person mentioned in the second verse is not Archambaut V (Stimming³), but Archambaut VI, Viscount of Comborn, who succeeded his father between 1184 and 1187. His elder brother Helias had died before his father's demise, which explains why Bertran says that Archambaut 'was born last and that he gains everything.' Instead of Stimming's 'gewinnen' for *baratar* (v. 19), render the word here by 'to act, to behave,' according to Appel (*Beiträge*, II, p. 46).

12, 25-28 25 Mas ieu com saüs afichat:
 Des qu'en la rota m'abata,
 Non auria mil ans chamjat,
 Qu'ieu sivals tot jorn no·i glata.

Interpret *rota* with Appel (*Beiträge*, II, p. 54 and *Lieder*, Gloss.) as 'road,' 'track' (Thomas has 'route?'), rather than in its usual sense of 'troop,' 'crowd,' 'pack,' as Stimming³ and Andresen (*Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XIV, p. 214). For this meaning of *rota*, not attested in O.P., cp. the O.F. hunting term *route* or a *route* used to stir up the dogs which have

lost the scent. In v. 26 *s'abat* should be rendered literally, the bloodhound being compared to a hawk swooping on its prey; and in the previous verse a comma is required after *ieu* and after *afichat*: 'but I, like a keen bloodhound, as soon as I swoop on the track, even after a thousand years have passed, will always at least bark.'

12, 29-31

N'Atempre, ges de Lieucata
30 No sui, anz ho ai tot laissat
Et estauc a Damiatata.

The two names of towns (the present Leucate and Damiatte in the départements Aude and Tarn respectively) are probably chosen, as Suchier supposed, to give Bertran the opportunity of making a bad pun: 'I do not come from Leucate or the place where things fall easily into one's lap (*leu cazer*), but I dwell in Damiatte where there is nought but hurt for me (*dam i a*).' In the last verse one does not see why Stimming³ has changed *estauc* of the MS. to *estau*: both forms occur as the first pers. sing. of the pres. ind. of *estar*.

Song 13. Contained in MSS. ACDFIKMN.

I do not agree with Appel (*Bertran von Born*, p. 28) who assigns the present sirventes to the beginning of the year 1183. Strophes 4 and 7 refer clearly to the siege of Périgueux, which surrendered to Richard in the first week of July 1182 (G. de Vigéois, pp. 330, 331). In strophe 4 Bertran jeers at the Count of Périgord for not budging from his fortress or '*Arenhalk*' (see note to vv. 22-23) instead of attacking the besiegers, while in strophe 7 Bertran boasts that he will ride to the very walls of the city and smash in the skull of any pot-bellied Poitevin he comes across.

13, 1-7

Un sirventes on motz no falh
Ai fach, qu'anc no·m costet un alh;
Et ai apres un' aital art
Que, s'ai fraire, germa ni quart,
5 Part li l'uou e la medalha,
E s'el puous vol la mia part,
Ieu l'en get de comunalha.

In the first verse *falhir* should be rendered by 'to miss the mark,' and not by 'manquer' simply as Thomas, Jeanroy (*Anthologie des Troubadours*, p. 91) and Audiau (*Nouvelle Anthologie des Troubadours*, p. 147). The literal translation of *art* (Stimming³ and Appel) seems less appropriate than Kolsen's 'Eigenschaft,' 'Gewohnheit,' 'Handlungsweise' (*Dichtungen der Trobadors*, II, p. 136), a meaning of the word not noticed by lexicographers, but corroborated not only by Latin *ars*, but by examples such as the following from the troubadour lyric:

C'us tersols malazautz ramencs
 Be fatz, que son de bon' art vueg,
 Vei trics, qu'an afilatz los beex.

(P. Ramon de Tolosa, 355, 4, vv. 12-14.)

Ieu ai vist donas demandar
 Ab plazers et ab honramens,
 Pueys venia us desconcoyssens
 Abrivatx de nesci parlar
 Qu'en avia la meilha part.
 Esguardatz si son de mal' art!

(*Choux*, IV, p. 328.)

In v. 5 the MSS. have *mealha*, a French form, which Thomas retains. If the Provençal form is introduced, one can read *mezalha* with Appel (*Chrest.*⁶, p. 104) or *medalha* with Stimming³. Thomas (p. 8) interprets *l'ou e la mealha* as 'tout ce que j'ai, les vivres et l'argent'; Jeanroy (*op. cit.*, p. 91) as 'l'objet le plus dénué de valeur.' As *medalha* (French *maille*) was a coin of very little value (half a denier) and *uou* is often used to indicate a worthless object, the second explanation is perhaps the better, though they come to very much the same thing.

13, 8-14

Tot mo sen tenh dntz mo serralh,
 Si tot m'an donat gran trebalh
 10 Entre n'Azemar e'n Richart.
 Long temps m'an tengut en regart,
 Mas aras an tal baralha
 Que lor enfan, si·l reis no·ls part,
 N'auran pro en la coralha.

The different interpretations of *serralh* are recorded by Levy (*SW.*, VII, p. 613 b), to which must be added that of P. Rajna (*Romania*, I, 1924, p. 247 note), who renders the word by 'forziere' ('casket'), by analogy with Old Ital. *serrame*. Uncertain also is the meaning of *regart* (v. 11), translated tentatively by 'Gefahr' in *SW.*, VII, p. 174 a. I suggest that *tener en regart*, for which Jeanroy (*op. cit.*, p. 91) has 'tenir en souci,' should be rendered, on the analogy of O.F. *soi regarder*, by 'se tenir sur ses gardes'; and apparently this is the way that Appel (*Bertran von Born*, p. 29) understands the expression, though in *Lieder* (Gloss.) he agrees with Jeanroy. Stimming³ (p. 155) renders the last verse by 'sie werden genug davon im Leibe haben.' Appel (*Chrest.*⁶, under *coralha*, of which the literal meaning is 'entrails'), following Schultz-Gora, translates *aver en la coralha* by 'zu verdauen haben,' but in *Bertran de Born* (p. 29) he writes. 'jetzt haben sie zusammen solchen Streit, dass, wenn der König sie nicht trennt, noch ihre Kinder es in ihren Eingeweiden spüren.' This more literal rendering, corresponding to Jeanroy's '...que leurs enfants, si le roi ne les sépare pas, en auront encore dans le ventre' (*op. cit.*, p. 91), gives excellent sense, and disposes

of the suggestion that one should adopt the reading of A (*auran part en lur coralha*), in which *coralha* would be a slip for *cerelha* = *queralha* ('quarrel').

13, 15-21

15 Tot jorn resolh e retalh
 Los baros e·ls refon e·ls calh,
 Que cujava metre en eissart.
 E sui be fols quar m'en regart,
 Qu'il son de peior obralha
 20 Que non es lo fers Saint Launart,
 Per qu'es fols qui s'en trebalha.

Appel (*Bertran von Born*, pp. 29 and 84) adopts the suggestion *Que·m cujavan* (v. 17), first put forward by Chabaneau (*Rev. des langues romanes*, xxxi, p. 611), as does also Rajna (*loc. cit.*, p. 247). Stimming³ (Gloss., under *metre*) renders *metre en eissart* by 'in den Kampf treiben.' Thomas (p. 9) has the following note: 'Le mot *eissart*, qui est au vers 18 (= 39 in Appel) avec le sens propre d'*abatis* d'arbres, est ici employé au figuré pour désigner le carnage d'une mêlée: *metre en eissart* signifie donc *pousser à la bataille, mettre aux prises*'; so that he and Stimming agree. Appel (*loc. cit.*) prefers the literal rendering and translates *metre en eissart* by 'roden' for which in *Lieder* (Gloss.) he substitutes 'niederwerfen,' 'vernichten.' I can see no real objection to the literal rendering ('to cut down'); nor does there seem to be any good reason for adopting *quem cujavan*, which does not figure in any of the MSS. Stimming³ and Appel (*loc. cit.*) take *Saint Launart* as a genitive referring to Saint Léonard of Limousin, the patron of prisoners, to whom was ascribed in the Middle Ages the power of breaking their chains at will. I agree with them against Chabaneau (*Rev. des langues romanes*, xxxi, p. 611) and Thomas (*Romania*, xxii, p. 591) who see in Saint Launart the place of that name (now Saint-Léonard) in the arrondissement of Limoges, where they suppose, gratuitously, were foundries which manufactured iron of inferior quality; but I would interpret *Saint Launart* as a dative rather than as a genitive in view of *obralha* of v. 19: 'for they (the barons) are of worse workmanship than iron is to Saint Leonard' (who can break chains at will).

13, 22-25

Talairans no trota ni salh
 Ni no·s muou de son arenalh
 Ni no dopta lanza ni dart,
 25 Anz viu a guisa de lombart.

There is no need to make any further guesses (cp. *SW.*, i, p. 81 b) at the possible meaning of *arenalh*, obviously a derivative from *arena*, so that Stimming's 'Gebiet' is out of the question, now that Stroński (*Légende*, pp. 16 and 25) has shown from a passage in the chronicle of the

bishops of Périgueux that the father of Helias VI (not Helias V, as Stimming³ and Thomas) had built, about 1150, a large fort '*supra locum Arenarum Petragorae*.' It follows that *Arenhalk* should be written with a capital, which I think is also better for *Lombart* (Appel takes it in the derived sense of 'Krämer,' unnecessarily, as Lombart carries in itself that connotation). In *v.* 24 substitute with Stimming³ and Thomas *geta* (DIK) for *dopta* (ACFN).

13, 26-28

Tan es farcitz de nualha
Que quan l'autra gens si compart,
El s'estendilh' e badalha.

If, with Stimming³ and Appel, the reading *si compart* based on *sen compart* of DIK and *si compart* of F is adopted, the difficulty is to know what signification to attach to *se compartir*, which is not found elsewhere. To the various renderings enumerated by Levy (*SW.*, I, p. 303 *b*) may be added that of Rajna (*loc. cit.*, p. 248 note): 'Il "compartire" e "scompartire" italiano suggerisce agevole la spiegazione "si divide in ischiere," "si ordina a battaglia"; e ne resulta un senso quanto mai opportuno ed efficace'; but this also is a pure conjecture, and it is perhaps safer to read with Thomas *Que quan la outra gens s'en part*, which has stronger MS. support and presents no problem.

13, 29-35

Guilhelms de Gordo, fol batalh
30 Avetz mes dintz vostre sonalh,
(Et ieu am vos, si Dieus mi guart).
Pero per fol e per musart
Vos tenon de la fermalha
Li dui vescomte, et es lor tart
35 Que siatz en lor batalha.

In the second verse, of the eight MSS., A alone has *dintz*, which should be replaced by *a* of the other MSS. Omit, with all the MSS. except two, *dui* before *vescomte* (*v.* 34), as does Thomas. If *dui* is retained one of the two viscounts cannot possibly be, as Stimming³ thinks (p. 155), Richard the Lion Heart, who never bore that title: he was Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitiers. In the last verse Stimming³ and Thomas read *frairalka*, but there is good support for *batalha*, adopted by Appel, in *AM.* belonging to the stronger of the two groups of MSS. The two main difficulties in this passage are first the meaning of the expression used in *vv.* 29-30, and secondly the allusion in the whole strophe. Stimming³ (*Notes*, p. 155) translates *fol batalh avetz mes dintz vostre sonalh* by 'Ihr habt einen tollten Streich gemacht'; Appel (*Chrest.*⁶, under *batalh*) has 'eine Thorheit begehen,' but with a query; Thomas (who reads *fort* instead of *fol*, contrary to the MS. tradition) confesses his inability to understand the meaning of the expression, which I do not think should be interpreted in

the sense proposed by Stimming and Appel. I agree with P. Rajna (*loc. cit.*, p. 247 note) that a *fol batalh* is a clapper which gives no sound, the word *fol* having here a value akin to that which it has in such combinations as 'avoine folle,' 'vigne folle,' or Mod. Prov. *espigo folo*, 'épi vide.' What Bertran means to convey is that Guilhem de Gordon has remained mute to the advances of the viscounts who expected him to join their ranks, as he had apparently promised by treaty to do, against Bertran (*v.* 33), the latter being then at strife with his brother Constantine concerning the ownership of Autafort which they possessed in common (see strophe 1). Far from blaming Guilhem de Gordon, as Stimming¹ (*p.* 29) thinks and as the author of the *Razo* states in so many words, Bertran is highly delighted (*v.* 31) that Guilhem de Gordon, by putting a dead clapper in his bell, has lent a deaf ear to his adversaries, the viscounts. The 'viscounts' are probably Ademar V, Viscount of Limoges, and his son Gui who did not succeed his father till 1199 but who shared the government with his father before that date and perhaps already at the time when Bertran wrote the present sirventes, though he is not attested in that capacity till some years later (*cp.* S. Stroński, *Légende*, *p.* 186).

13, 36-37

Tot jorn contendi e·m baralh,
M'escrim e·m defen e·m tartalh.

M'escrim is not from *s'escrimar*, unattested in the troubadour lyric, as Stimming³ thinks; but from *s'escrimar* (*Lieder*, Gloss.), which the *Donat Prov.* (ed. Stengel, *p.* 37) renders by 'cum ense ludere.' *Se tartalhar* in the same verse has puzzled the commentators. Thomas renders it by 'se débattre,' which *PD.* adopts, but with a query; Stimming³ by 'sich herumstreiten'; Jeanroy (*op. cit.*, *p.* 92) by 'se trémousser'; Appel by 'sich hin- und herbewegen' (with a query) in his *Chrestomathie* but by 'sich schirmen' in his *Bertran von Born* (*p.* 29) and by 'streiten,' 'sich wehren' in *Lieder* (Gloss.). The first meaning of the word, which appears to be imitative, is 'to stutter,' as in Mod. Prov.; the *Donat Prov.* (63 *b*, 24) glosses *tartalha* as 'loquitur frequenter et preciose (impetuose?),' and the Prov.-Italian glossary (*Donat*, 91 *b*, 24) by 'favellare spesso.' The transition from the original meaning to that required here is well accounted for in an instructive note of P. Rajna (*loc. cit.*, *p.* 247), well worth quoting because of the new light it sheds on the question: 'Fra il "tartallar," balbettare e peggio, largamente romanzo e ben verosimilmente onomatopeico, e il "tartallar-se" del *v.* 37, da intendersi "armeggiare," non manca una certa analogia. In uno caso s' agita la lingua; nell' altro una spada, o qualche cosa di simile; e potrebbe darsi che il

secondo significato fosse stato dedotto dal primo, sotto l'azione de "talhar." Si noti come, con evoluzione inversa, il secondo ed uno affine al primo si trovino congiunti nell' "armeggiare" nostro: "Maneggiare armi...Confondersi, Avvilupparsi nel discorso" (Rigutini e Fanfani, *Vocabolario italiano della lingua parlata*).'

13, 46-47

E se·i trop peitavi pifart,
Veiran do mon bran com talha.

In the second verse Stimming³, Thomas and Appel all read as above. *Peitavi pifart* being an accusative singular they presumably take *veiran* as equivalent to *veira om*, which of course is possible; but as all the MSS., except DIK (all three closely related) and the insignificant N, have as the first word of the second verse a singular verb (ACF have *sabra* and M *veira*), it is advisable to write *veira·n* or to adopt *sabra*.

13, 48. Instead of *sus pel cap* read with Thomas and Appel (*Chrest.*⁶, p. 105) *sus el cap*, according to ACFM.

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ROBERT FINCH AND ENRICO MAYER

CURIOSITY in regard to the past history of the collection now owned by Oxford University and known as the Finch Collection led me to consult the will of Robert Finch, the traveller and antiquarian (1783-1830). This will contains the following clauses:

I give and bequeath all my books manuscripts statues busts bas-reliefs bronzes medals coins gems prints pictures and drawings unto my secretary Henry Mayer a native of Leghorn in Tuscany for the term of his natural life...at the decease of the said Henry Mayer I give and bequeath my said books manuscripts statues busts and other things unto the University of Oxford...¹.

Enrico Mayer was a figure of some considerable importance in nineteenth-century Italy as an educationist and liberal man of letters closely connected with many of the leading men of the *risorgimento* period. It is therefore not without general interest to illustrate, as far as possible, his relationship with the benefactor who not only left him his valuable collection of books and works of art, but also property, computed to have brought him some £600 per annum. Some information on the subject was given by Linaker² in his biography of Mayer, but very much more may be learnt from original sources in England. A general history of the association is most conveniently given by Mayer himself in a long letter to Crabb-Robinson, the well-known diarist, who was a friend of both, and whose support was sought when Mayer later had difficulty in obtaining part of the English property to which he was entitled.

Mr Finch visited Italy shortly after the peace of 1814, and I became acquainted with him at Leghorn in the spring of 1815. I was then a boy of 13, and was attending a day-school, which however left me unemployed for many hours, which I spent at the house of an old Protestant clergyman, Mr Schulthesius, an eminent scholar and divine, who took a great interest in my education. He was a most intimate friend of my father, and Mr Finch having an introduction to him, saw me first at his house, and was introduced by him to our family circle. Here he soon became almost a daily visitor; and during his stay at Leghorn, which lasted for many months, he kindly directed me in my classical studies, assisted me in preparing my lessons for school, and endeavoured to improve my knowledge of the English language and literature. After an examination at school, in which he thought I had been rather successful, he presented me with a valuable watch; and some time after having left Leghorn, he began a correspondence with me, which lasted till the autumn of the following year. An invitation which he then gave me to join him on a journey to Rome and Naples, and which on account of an illness I was obliged to decline, led to an interruption in our correspondence, and this interruption continued till the summer of 1820. At this time I accidentally met with Mr Finch at the Baths of Lucca, and a few open words of reciprocal explanation were sufficient to make him bestow on the youth that same affection which he had felt for the boy, and which from this period grew always stronger, altho' we again parted for years. Mr Finch soon after was

¹ Somerset House, Probate Registry. Robert Finch Will, 1830, Pts. Dec. 701.

² Linaker, A., *La Vita e i Tempi di Enrico Mayer*, Firenze, 1898.

married, and proceeded to Florence and Rome, where he fixed his residence, while I remained at Leghorn as tutor in an English family. In the year 1823 I was called to Stuttgart to superintend the education of the sons of H.R.H. the Duke Wm of Wurtemberg, an employment in which I was for many years engaged. Mr F. continued to correspond with me but without for a length of time expressing any idea about our connection becoming one of a more intimate nature. The first letter in which he discloses a wish to this effect is dated Rome, Oct. 24th, 1825, and contains the following words: 'Your lot is cast for the present, and in a fairer ground than that of many others. I may safely say that that lot may one day be changed, and your situation in life be more consonant with your wishes and feelings; and it will probably be your own fault if you are dependent as you are now. I heartily wish the being with me in my library was not fancy. There is abundance of room for a second large library table, at which to see you seated and employed would be almost too joyful a spectacle for me. All I can say, and that my wife can say, is, that at a future day it will rest with you to be *Faber fortunæ tuæ*, that is when your present engagements shall expire. I shall enlarge no further on this topic at present, except to say that, if you are not ambitious of other than literary fame, and not greedy of *rapid* acquirement of money, which, I think, you have too much good sense to be, you may hereafter contribute most essentially to increase my happiness and establish your own.'

In another letter dated Rome, April 28, 1827, Mr Finch writes:

'I am returning to my native country to take possession of a considerable property. It is a great mortification to me and to Mrs Finch that you do not accompany us to Britain, that now truly wonderful country. If the good Schulthesius were alive, he would be mortified too. I now only want two things to render me perfectly happy—first, the restoration of my dear wife's health—secondly, your becoming a member of my peaceful family. I am sure that all our pleasures would be completely divided, and I fancy what pleasure you would have in arranging my noble library, which I mean to transport here. I forgot to tell you in my last letter that, in case of my being called to a better state of existence, I have made such a provision for you as will ensure to you not only independence but affluence. You will have no need in future to employ your talents, but for your own amusement and the benefit of mankind.'

At the conclusion of a letter dated Bath, December 17, 1827, Mr Finch gives up the pen to Mrs Finch who writes:

'I have requested a small space in this sheet of paper, in which to express my thanks for the kind sentiments you express towards me, and to assure you that the prospect of your becoming one of our family is fraught with anticipations of pleasure, which I trust ere long to see fully realised.'

And on the 31st of the same month Mr Finch writes:

'My dear Henry, the closing act of this departing year shall be an epistle to you... accept mine and Mrs F.'s best auguries for the coming year, in which I trust you will enjoy some anticipation, altho' not a full one, situated as you are, of the greater happiness which you will probably experience in 1829, when you will have little more to do but to ride, walk, read, write, amuse, and improve yourself.'

The allusion to the year 1829, as the time when I should have probably been able to join him, was owing to the supposition that I would not until then have left the Duke of Wurtemberg's house. But the death of my father, which happened in that same month of Dec. 1827 made it imperative on me to leave Stuttgart early in 1828, in order to return near my mother at Leghorn. Mr F. heard of that event the very day after he had written to me, and on the 2nd of Jan. 1828 addressed to my mother a most affectionate letter, in which he declares that he now considers me as his own son, and laments that my father should not have lived to witness the happiness which he was preparing for his son. And finally on the point of leaving England and *three days after having signed his will*, Mr Finch thus openly informs me of his truly paternal arrangements in my favour.

'London, Friday night, Aug. 22. 1828.

Dearest Henry,

I am now so immersed in the hurry of preparation that I can scarcely spare a few minutes for inditing a letter. However I am determined to begin it, altho' it is now past midnight. The circumstance of your not being in this country has caused me a great deal of trouble and anxiety, as by the laws of England you cannot inherit a part of that property, which I have apportioned to you in case you survive myself and my wife. But at last I am at ease; since a mode has been found out by able lawyers, in pursuance of which my earnest wishes will be in every respect carried into effect; and your future comfort, in the event of my decease will be amply secured; and even during the life of my wife if she should survive me, you will enjoy an adequate provision. I could not have left England without having made all these arrangements, as I must now consider you in the light of a near and dear relative, and by no means as a stranger merely useful to me by the services he performs. I look to you now, my dear Henry, as my representative, as my staff, my prop, and my comfort, and I trust that on all important matters we shall have but one will and one opinion. It is to your firm friendship that I look for my chief consolation as I begin to descend into the vale of years; and I fervently hope that your society will enable me to pass the autumn and winter of my earthly pilgrimage contentedly and happily in the quiet and learned ease, which I have chosen (and I think wisely) for my lot.'

Thus did Mr Finch's unexampled benevolence create for me, and anticipate for himself, a life of united happiness, which unfortunately lasted but a short time, for we met at Leghorn only towards the end of 1828, and he died in my arms at Rome in September 1830¹.

Further evidence as to their early relationship may be found in Finch's journal for 1815, now preserved with other of his manuscripts in the Bodleian Library². On June 25 of that year the visit to Schulthesius, the Lutheran minister at Leghorn, and the first meeting with Signor and Signora Mayer is described. From this date reference to both the latter is frequent. On June 29 Finch breakfasted with his new friends: 'with the second son (Henry) I was much pleased, who is extremely clever, and is now studying Greek with close attention.' A few days later the boy accompanied his future benefactor on an expedition which proved to be the first of many, and Finch found that '*his* little companion is extremely clever; and his conversation is really interesting. He is well-mannered and intelligent; and his manners are extremely polite.' It is perhaps necessary to say that Finch's affection for his protégé, as revealed in intimate journals and private letters, is shown to have been purely paternal. Between July 21 and 29 the two stayed at Pisa, the boy acting as a juvenile secretary, amongst other tasks copying many epitaphs of the *Campo Santo* into Finch's diary. In the evenings they construed Xenophon and Virgil and translated an elegy of Tibullus into English. The importance of Finch's encouragement of his young friend's studies cannot be overestimated, and the latter's remarkable proficiency in

¹ Dr Williams Library, London: Crabb-Robinson MSS. 1844, f. 21.

² Bodleian Library, Oxford: Finch MSS. e. 17.

English dates from their early association. When, in September, 1815, Finch suffered from inflammation of the eyes, Mayer acted as '*his* faithful nurse and surgeon,' wrote the diary at the invalid's dictation, made a copy of the Poggiali Library Catalogue and proved useful in many other ways. Finch had already shown his gratitude and celebrated the friendship by the present of a 'handsome gold repeater.'

As recorded by Mayer in the letter quoted above, the two friends did not meet after 1815, except for a brief period at the Baths of Lucca in 1820, until 1828 when Mayer took up his residence with Finch in Rome, a secretary in name, but in fact as heir and adopted son. After 1820, however, correspondence was regular¹. In answer to Finch's letter of August 22, 1828, quoted above, Mayer wrote as follows:

My dearest Sir, I just receive your letter dated August 22nd and 27th and you may well think that I do not lose a moment in replying to it, were it but a few words to hail your safe arrival on the continent. God be near you and near Mrs Finch and her interesting sister! The time is then fast approaching, that instead of a slow correspondence, the hand will touch the hand, the heart beat against the heart; oh then may it [be] given to my feeble means to second my warm desire, my constant anxiety, to answer the hopes you found in me, showing you the full extent of that gratitude, which can only cease with my life².

It was, however, Finch who was to die first and, indeed, only too soon. An account of his death, and evidence of Mayer's feelings at the time, are to be found in the following letter from the latter to Crabb-Robinson of September 23, 1830:

My Dear Sir,

Dopo la nuova terribile che le ho comunicata, Ella è in diritto di aspettare da me maggiori dettagli, e nel comunicargheli adempio ancora un desiderio caldisimo di Mad. F. che nel suo dolore spesso ricorda il suo nome e la sua amicizia.

Sono oggi quindici giorni che il nostro compianto amico andò a Frascati con due Sig.^{ri} ginevrini Duby e De Luc che ci erano stati raccomandati dal caro Vieusseux. Il Sig.^r F. vi si trovò male, e tornando la sera in carrozza aperta, fù sorpreso dalla pioggia, e si trovava tornato in casa tanto tremante dal freddo e dall' umido che accese il caminetto, e riscaldatosi alquanto, andossene a letto. La mattina seguente si trovò tanto bene che scese come al solito in libreria, vide gli amici, giocò meco al bugliardo, ed altro non ebbe fino all' ora di pranzo. Ma ad un tratto fù preso da tal dolore di capo e tanto ardor febbrile che la sera gli fù cavato sangue, applicate le mignatte ecc. Il giorno dopo ebbe un' altra sanguigna, ma poi si trovò meglio fino al lunedì. In quel giorno il Dottore De Matthaëis lo considerava già convalescente, ed egli erasi placidamente addormentato, quando un nuovo e potentissimo assalto di febre [*sic*] lo gettò nel delirio. Il paziente continuava a lagnarsi d' un terribil calore e dolore alla testa, di sogni e di vaneggiamenti, e questi per lo più riferivansi alla politica francese, come francese era pur la lingua di cui più fece uso nella sua malattia. Passato il delirio, diminuì la febbre, e usando tutta la notte molta china e chinina si trovò così bene la mattina del martedì, che i due medici De Matthaëis e Morichini credettero superato il male. Ciò nonostante fù continuata la china, e continuò il miglioramento fino a due ore dopo mezzogiorno. Allora la febbre tornò con ripetuto

¹ Finch's letters are presumably preserved in the Mayer Family Archives in Italy which I have not had opportunity of consulting; many of Mayer's letters are among the Finch MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

² Bodleian Library, Oxford: Finch MSS. d. II, f. 343.

furore, e que' due medesimi medici dichiararono che non credevano che passerebbe la notte. Pensi che colpo a dare alla povera moglie che non si era mossa non più della sorella dal letto dell' ammalato! Eppure la fatal notte passò, e la mattina seguente vi fu di nuovo un raggio di speranza che continuò fino alla sera. Si raddoppiarono i rimedj; vescicanti, coppette (?), mignatte, ghiaccio alla testa, bibite rinfrescanti, tutto alternavasi, ma tutto inutilmente. I polsi cominciarono a mancare, e non rimase più luogo alcuno alla speranza. Il caro ammalato tornò in sè nella notte, riconobbe la consorte, mi riconobbe e mi nominò sorridendo, e si unì con fervida fede e rassegnazione alle nostre preghiere e a quelle del suo amico il Ministro evangelico che gli fu vicino nelle ultime ore. Alzatosi dal guanciale, mi cadde fra le braccia, e appoggiata la testa sul mio petto dopo non lungo letargo placidamente spirò. La Sig^a F. non lo abbandonò che dopo questo funesto istante. Tutti si abbandonarono allo sfogo del proprio dolore. Io solo rimasi come una pietra, perchè sapevo quali doveri, e quanta responsabilità pesavano da quel momento sopra il mio capo. Due mesi sono, mettendo in ordine le sue carte mi aveva indicato dove troverei il suo testamento, e mi disse ch' io ne era esecutore. Questo testamento fu aperto in presenza di testimonj per vedere se conteneva disposizioni riguardanti la sua sepoltura; ma non trovandosi niente, i Funerali hanno avuto luogo Lunedì 20 corr^{te} in quel modo ch' egli lo avrebbe fatto per un amico suo pari. È inutile ch' io Le parli della Sig^a F. Essa risente nel supremo grado di acerbità quel dolore ch' è sinceramente provato da tutte le classi di persone. La sua salute già per se stessa tanto debole ora è più che mai languente, ma spero che si rimetterà un poco andando in campagna. A me pure era raccomandato con istanza il mutar aria; ma non posso permettermelo. Troppi preziosi oggetti mi sono affidati perch' io possa allontanarmi per lungo tempo dalla casa, ed ho inoltre molti affari che esigono la mia presenza. Oh quanto sarebbe stato alleggerito il mio peso se avessi avuto vicino un amico come Lei. Studio Blackstone ed altri libri per conoscere tutto ciò che le leggi Inglesi ordinano riguardo ai testamenti, e alle varie specie di proprietà; ma nascono talvolta de' dubbj che soltanto un amico di fiducia può risolvere. La libreria, e le collezⁱ di disegni, stampe, medaglie ecc. apparteranno ad Oxford, ma il loro uso è mio durante la mia vita. Ora il testamento parla molto oscuramente intorno ai fondi da impiegarsi al mantenimento e accrescimento di tali collezⁱ. Il testamento non specifica neppure le proprietà del defunto; ma ne lascia usufruttuaria prima la moglie e poi me. La proprietà passa a un giovine McDonald. A me pure è lasciato l' interesse d' un certo capitale. Quando io penso che questo testamento fu fatto prima ch' io fossi col Sig. F. e ch' egli si è generosamente occupato dalla sorte di chi egli non aveva conosciuto che fanciullo, io non trovo parole da esprimere ciò che prova il mio cuore. Questi con tratti che onorano l' uomo, che mostrano quanto son dispregevoli coloro che credono che tutto sia fatto per interesse. Egli mi dava tanto, e che poteva sperare all' incontro da me? E con tutto questo so che neppure a questo voleva limitare le sue mire veramente paterne, e che al nostro prossimo viaggio in Inghilterra voleva farmi naturalizzare per estendere ancora maggiormente sopra di me i tanti suoi benefizj. Il nostro caro amico non aveva che 46 anni! vita degna d' essere raddoppiata per la felicità di quanti potevano stargli vicino e aver parte alla sua amicizia e ai suoi favori. Io termino in fretta questa lettera, e aspettandone con ansietà una da Lei che mi dica quando viene a Roma,

resto suo^{mo} devot oblig^{mo}
E^{co} Mayer.

P.S. Tanti saluti agli amici Fiorentini, non ho neppur un momento da scrivere a Vieusseux¹.

Mayer himself did not die until 1877, but as early as 1840 he entered into an arrangement whereby all the library and works of art (except a few books of reference) inherited from Finch were handed over to Oxford University, the ultimate beneficiary under the will. Light is thrown on

¹ Dr Williams Library, London: Crabb-Robinson MSS. 1830, f. 59.

this matter by a letter of October 28, 1839, from A. T. Gilbert to the Rev. J. Wilson now preserved in the Oxford University archives:

My Dear Sir,

I brought forward the extract, with which you favoured me, from a letter of Mr Mayer, and the questions connected with the Finch collection at the first meeting holden this term of the Hebdomadal Board. Last Monday a committee was appointed upon the subject, and today I am desired to propose to Mr Mayer the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds as a compensation to him for permitting the collection to pass now at once, if he should see fit finally to do so, into the possession of the University, the University defraying, of course, all expenses attendant upon the packing and transport of the property, and likewise the cost of the removal it has already undergone from Rome to Florence....Should the proposed arrangement take effect, it will be desirable that the collection should not be forwarded from Italy until next spring¹.

In June, 1840, Mayer was arrested in Rome for suspected association with liberal patriotic societies, and it was while imprisoned in Castel Sant' Angelo that he received a letter from Oxford dated July 13 acknowledging the receipt of 29 cases containing the Finch Collection².

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enlarge further on Mayer's other interesting associations with England, as revealed in the sources used here, or in the subsequent history of the Finch Collection at Oxford³. It may, however, be permitted to set on record the following unpublished sonnet of Mayer, written in Castel Sant' Angelo to accompany a miniature portrait of himself sent to his mother. It is included in a letter sent by him to Crabb-Robinson and Wordsworth at Ambleside, November 28, 1840. Mayer was on good terms with the poet, and had advised him on matters of Italian poetry and translation.

Tu che in ritrarmi usar sapesti il vago
Dell' arte incanto che natura imita,
Quasi già de' miei giorni impallidita
Ti mostrasse la stella il cor presago.
Donna gentil! coll' opra tua deh pago
Fà il desir di colei che mi diè vita,
Onde a quel sen che indarno a sè m' invita
Per te rieda del figlio almen l' immago.
Forse avverrà che le baleni un raggio
Dal ciglio mio sì impavido e sereno,
Che l' accenda di speme e di coraggio;
E in benedirmi esclami; o figliuol mio
Tu versi in me quella che alberghi in seno
Pace, che al reo mai non concesse Iddio⁴.

E. R. P. VINCENT.

OXFORD.

¹ Oxford University Archives, West Press β. 2.

² It is interesting to recall that included for safe transit in one of these cases were the Foscolo MSS. now preserved in the *Labronica* at Leghorn, sent by Mayer for the perusal of Mazzini.

³ For Finch Collection see *Oxford Hebdomadal Council Papers*, 1910, p. 305; 1911, pp. 229, xiii; 1913, pp. 97, 163.

⁴ Dr Williams Library, London: Crabb-Robinson MSS. 1840, f. 179 a.

DAS DRITTE REICH:

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE IDEA OF THE 'THIRD KINGDOM' IN GERMAN LITERATURE FROM HERDER TO HEGEL

'Das dritte Reich,' 'the Third Realm,' is the name given to the present political state established by the National Socialist party in Germany, but even in Germany there is no unanimity as to what were the first and second realms¹, and it is not generally known that it is unnecessary to give any specific political divisions, for 'the Third Realm' or, to give it the correct translation, 'the Third Kingdom,' is, in reality, an application of the old name, 'das dritte Reich,' which denotes a period of political and individual perfection and has long played an important part in German philosophy. It is usually accepted that it was Lessing who introduced the idea into German thought, but that Lessing's theory has little in common with the later conception which became synonymous with 'justification of the senses' and was part of the doctrines of the Saint-Simonians and the Young German Movement. An attempt to show that the theory of the three stages of human progress was not confined to Lessing but was one of the chief problems in the thought of the eighteenth century, that the religion of the Young German Movement was the natural outcome of this thought and therefore not directly indebted to French influence, and that the idea still greatly influences the politics and thought of German youth to-day, may be especially appropriate at this time when 'das dritte Reich' is a topic of general interest.

Aspirations to a future state of perfection on earth are characteristic of man and were fostered by the vision of the Apocalypse, the preaching of Joachim Floris, who in the thirteenth century foretold the coming of a third kingdom, that of the Holy Ghost, the dreams of the New Jerusalem of Antoinette Bourignon de la Porte, whose works were known to Herder², and the allegory of a new dawn, as in the *Aurora* of Jakob Böhme. Belief in Chiliasm was widespread in Germany. Herder and Goethe refer sceptically to the teaching of Bengel, Crusius and Petersen³,

¹ Cf. Moeller van den Bruck, *Das dritte Reich*, Hamburg, 1926.

² *Herders sämtliche Werke*, ed. B. Suphan, 1887, xxiii, p. 283, *Adrastea*, II (iii). See also Unger, *Herder, Novalis und Kleist*, Frankfurt a. M., 1922, p. 154 and Appendix.

³ Herder says: '...nach dem jungen Helmont sollte das tausendjährige Reich 1734 eintreten, ...nach Petersen alle Dinge wiedergebracht werden, ...nach Cardan sollte im Jahr 1800 das Christenthum untergehen... O welche Kinder sind die Menschen! Durch Träume und Zahlen werden sie regieret.' Suphan, xxiii, pp. 486 ff. See also *Goethes Werke*, Weimar-Ausg., xxvii, pp. 98 ff., 'Dichtung und Wahrheit,' and *Goethes sämtliche Werke*, Jub.-Ausg., II, p. 159, 'Diner zu Koblenz.'

whose theological teaching had stirred the minds of the young scholars when Goethe was a student in Leipzig, but they were both attracted by the subject of the Apocalypse. Goethe never carried out his plan to write his *Maranatha, oder der Herr kommt*, a project which interested him for over twenty years¹, but Herder's *Maran Atha* caused much comment and exerted undoubted influence on the thought of the time². In it he shows that the whole is only symbolical and that the future perfection of mankind lies in the spirit. Yet, in common with so many of his time, he sees in the Apocalypse the promise of universal peace as in the words '...die Morgensterne gehen hervor...es wird...das Reich des Friedens. Das ewige Reich kommt³.' Evidence of the influence of Herder and the Chiliastic beliefs of the age is shown by the interest roused later by Goethe's *Märchen*. Prinz August von Gotha writes: 'Fragen Sie unsern Herder, ...ich bin überzeugt, dass ihm sowohl seine Kritik als seine Hermeneutik nicht erlauben werden, es im geringsten zu bezweifeln, dass die *Offenbarung Johannis* und dieses sogenannte *Märchen* aus einer und eben derselben Feder geflossen sind⁴.' That Goethe heralded in this work the coming of a new age is also intimated by Carlyle, who, having appealed in vain to Goethe to reveal the meaning of the fairy tale, at last himself provided an explanation in which he says: 'Our foolish age of Transition passes utterly away; and a New Universal Kingdom of Wisdom, Majesty and Heroic Strength...is ushered into Life⁵.' Similar vague aspirations based on the vision of the Apocalypse persisted throughout the century. Novalis affirms: 'Nur Geduld, sie wird, sie muss kommen, die Zeit des ewigen Friedens, wo das neue Jerusalem die Hauptstadt der Welt sein wird⁶.' Werner talks of the coming of a 'Heiland aus den Wassern,' and Friedrich Schlegel refers again and again in his poems to the long awaited return of Christ. He uses as a chapter heading in his philosophical works the words 'Ich komme bald und mache alles neu,' and speaks of 'das dritte und letzte Zeitalter.'

This specific idea of a third age, like the Chiliastic beliefs, is especially

¹ *Goethes sämtliche Werke*, Jub.-Ausg., XXVII, p. 306 (Diary of October 2, 1787). See also Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*, Leipzig, 1889, XI, p. 201, a conversation of April 6, 1808.

² Suphan, IX, p. viii.

³ Suphan, IX, p. 181. Quotations are given in German, for often the actual wording may have been of influence on others, even if not consciously imitated. The repetition of certain phrases of prophetic content is one of the striking features of works dealing with the idea of 'das dritte Reich.'

⁴ *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XXV, pp. 37f. For theories associating the 'Märchen' with the Chiasm of Bengel, Hardenberg and Jung Stilling see Meyer von Waldeck, *Goethes Marchendichtungen*, Heidelberg, 1879, p. 213, also *Euphorion*, No. 13 (1906), p. 58 and No. 22 (1915-20), p. 482.

⁵ Carlyle's *Critical and Miscell. Essays*, London, 1869, vol. III, Appendix.

⁶ *Novalis' Schriften*, Paris, 1840, 'Die Christenheit oder Europa,' pp. 176f.

associated with Christian thought and occurs in the teaching of Origen who postulates three stages, that of the child in which truth is taught by means of allegory, punishment and reward, that in which a written teaching, that of the Gospel, is given and, finally, the stage of perfection in which mankind approaches God¹. Irenæus imagines the human race in a state of progression from Adam to Christ and hence to the Holy Ghost. Herder, as a theologian, was no doubt acquainted with this teaching, for in his notes to the *Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament* he speaks of the divine plan of the universe. The Bible, he says, is education which a child can understand, and as central point of this education stands Christ². If Suphan's supposition is true that it was from Herder's fragment that Lessing developed his idea of the *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*³, it is to Herder that we must trace the origin of the idea of 'the Third Kingdom' in Germany. Lessing says that the time has now come for a third gospel, for independence and instinctive morality. Perhaps because Lessing had a premonition that this would be his last work his words have a prophetic ring: 'Sie wird kommen, sie wird gewiss kommen, die Zeit der Vollendung....Sie wird gewiss kommen, die Zeit eines neuen ewigen Evangeliums, die uns selbst in den Elementarbüchern des Neuen Bundes versprochen wird⁴.' He says that perhaps the dreamers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had an intuition of this new gospel when they taught that the New Testament, like the Old Testament, must necessarily become out of date, and were only at fault in so much as they expected its immediate fulfilment and tried to force maturity upon the race before it had outgrown its childhood, before it was worthy of 'das dritte Zeitalter.'

Herder, while praising Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, discussed its theory of palingenesis. The perfection of mankind, he says, can be attained, not by palingenesis of the individual, but by the rebirth of the whole human race. He was confident that this would take place and quotes Lessing's wish that enthusiasm for the coming of a new age should once more become the fashion⁵.

It was in philosophy, however, that the theory of perfectibility gained new significance. Kant gave a historical survey of the three stages of progress akin to that of Lessing, and described the mature state of the human race as the complete emancipation from the religious beliefs of

¹ Erich Schmidt, *Lessing*, Berlin, 1909, II, pp. 471 f.

² Suphan, VII, p. 372. It is interesting that both Novalis and Hegel say: 'Christus ist der neue Adam.'

³ Suphan, VII, p. xxvii.

⁴ *Lessings gesammelte Werke*, Leipzig, 1858, IX, pp. 422 f.

⁵ Suphan, XVI, pp. 354-9, 'Zerstreute Blätter.'

the past. The leading strings of divine authority, he says, will become unnecessary and even fetters when man enters the stage of adolescence¹. He, too, discarded the belief in Chiliasm and hailed the dawn of reason as the last age of man in the words: 'Man sieht die Philosophie könne auch ihren Chiliasmus haben².'

The idea of progress was also strengthened by the growing interest in the history and evolution of mankind which again can be traced to the influence of Herder. His *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* were reviewed by Kant who himself dealt with the same subject and developed the idea that from a life of pastoral harmony man was awakened to a period of disharmony and thence to a final shaping of his own destiny. Kant says that the apparently contradictory theories of Rousseau are really logical, and that man must strive until the disunion of Nature and culture disappears. Conception of guilt, he held, is necessary as a means to an end, and it was necessary that man should pass from a state of physical comfort to one of strife and lastly to a social community. But in the social system there is satiety, inequality, injustice, and man is restless and longs for harmony which, under the influence of poets, he imagines is the original state of innocence. Kant's conception of the third age of man was not that of a return to the pastoral state of primitive peoples but a stage of highest culture. He dreams of the eternal peace of all nations and of the perfect constitution of the state³.

Fichte also took up the argument that what Rousseau and the poets had depicted as lying behind us was really the goal towards which we were striving and that it was common to represent that which we must attain as something we had already lost. He, like Lessing, looked forward to the third age and like Lessing he says: '...so gewiss wird einst eine Zeit kommen...⁴.'

The enunciation of the idea of human progress by Kant and Fichte was further developed in the works of Schiller under their influence⁵. Schiller says that from a paradise of ignorance man was to proceed in stages akin to those of a child through adolescence to maturity to a paradise of freedom, begotten of consciousness⁶. This is the argument of

¹ *Kants gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1902, VI, pp. 121 ff.

² *Ibid.* and VIII, pp. 21 f.

³ *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 109, 386.

⁴ *Fichtes sämtliche Werke*, Berlin, 1845, III. Abt., I. Bd., pp. 311, 342, 343.

⁵ Schiller acknowledges his indebtedness to Kant in a letter of March 1, 1795. See *Kants ges. Schriften*, Berlin, 1902; *Briefwechsel*, Bd. III. He also specifically refers to Fichte's *Bestimmung des Gelehrten*, from which work the above quotation is taken. See *Schillers Werke*, Sak.-Ausg., XII, pp. 7 f.

⁶ *Schillers Werke*, Sak.-Ausg., XIII, pp. 24 ff.

the lecture, *Etwas über die erste Menschengesellschaft nach dem Leitfaden der mosaischen Urkunde* of 1790. The same theories are developed in the *Briefe über die aesthetische Erziehung des Menschen*, where Schiller sees in the maturity of the race the attainment of that idealistic state of innocence which was supposed to belong to the childhood of mankind¹. Here he definitely refers to the three stages of development. The third stage, he says, must be a synthesis of the preceding two. Man must not be ruled exclusively by the sensual instincts of his first state, nor by the moral laws which are the product of the second². Schiller, moreover, applies the three stages of development to art and says that the naïve spirit corresponds to the first state, that of Nature; art, which as a product of intellect supplants Nature, belongs to the second period, and 'das Ideal' is the third and final stage in which perfected art returns to Nature. It is, he says, the mission of poets to lead men to perfection, and the poetic form best fitted for this purpose is the idyll, which depicts the age of innocence of mankind. This, he says, is only a poetical fantasy, and all peoples who have a history have also a Paradise, an age of innocence. Unfortunately poets have imagined that this age was before the beginning of culture and can see only the disadvantages of the latter. The poet must not lead us back to childhood. He must lead us to maturity³. This philosophy is perhaps best expressed in the words of Hölderlin's *Hyperion*: 'So müssen...die Ahnungen der Kindheit dahin, ... die Prophezeiungen und Offenbarungen, aber der Keim, der in ihnen lag, gehet als reife Frucht hervor im Herbst, ...und der heilige Friede des Paradieses gehet unter, dass, was nur Gabe der Natur war, wieder-aufblühe als errungnes Eigentum der Menschheit⁴.'

Interest in the first age of man was further stimulated by Jakobi's translation of Hemsterhuis' *Alexis, ou l'âge d'or*, which deals with Hesiod's description of the age of Saturn and the hope of its return. Dreams of a new 'Golden Age,' reaction to political and religious oppression, the hopes fostered by the French Revolution, and the coming of the new century dominated the thought of the time. Everywhere we meet references to Eos, Aurora, 'das Morgenroth,' and the cry, 'die Zeit ist da, der Morgen ist nicht weit.' Novalis saw in the reinstating of Nature the return of the 'Golden Age,' and Hölderlin proclaimed:

Modert, Knechte, freie Tage steigen
Lächelnd uber euern Grabern auf.

¹ *Schillers Werke*, Säk.-Ausg., XII, pp. 7 ff

² *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 92 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 224 ff., 'Ueber naïve und sentimentalsche Dichtung.'

⁴ *Hölderlins Werke*, ed. Hellmuth, Berlin, 1923, II, p. 76.

Impatiently he cries:

Eil, O eile, neue Schöpfungsstunde,
Lachle nieder, susse guldne Zeit¹.

Once more we hear Lessing's optimism: '...fragst du mich wann dies sein wird?... ich kann sie nicht verkünden...aber sie kommt gewiss, gewiss².' Jean Paul, too, whom Börne described as an avowed democrat³, was filled with a passionate desire for peace and advocated in his works that the whole world should be united to form a republic where men could enjoy equality and freedom: 'Es kommt einmal ein goldenes Zeitalter... wo die Menschen es leichter haben, gut zu leben, weil sie es leichter haben überhaupt zu leben⁴.' He accused his contemporaries of indifference in that they would not see the true dawn, Aurora, which was to announce a new and longer day⁵. Freedom, he says, has been crippled, religion is rotten at heart and must make way for a new lesson, for man is born for something better than a dreary, mournful morality: '.. es muss noch eine Zeit kommen, wo es die Moral befiehlt, nicht blos andere ungequält zu lassen, sondern auch sich; es muss eine Zeit kommen, wo der Mensch schon auf der Erde die meisten Thränen abwischt und wär es nur aus Stolz⁶.' Man would now turn to his creator and say: 'Du hast mich nicht zum Leiden schaffen dürfen⁷.' Thus Jean Paul's ideals foreshadowed those of the next generation who repudiated the old teaching of asceticism. As the mystics of an earlier age had awaited the Kingdom of God on earth, so now the Socialists, heralded by Jean Paul, awaited the coming of a time when a new social order should rule everywhere and all suffering and evil come to an end. Socialism is but a worldly form of Chiliasm.

Many turned to the new lands of the West for a realisation of their hopes, but Herder says it is not necessary to seek for the return of the 'Golden Age' in the lands of the West, for in the arms of the ancient Tithonus, Europe, there sleeps a new Aurora⁸. In his *Adrastea* of 1801 he welcomed the advent of the new century. Now peace and the 'Golden Age' were to drive out the tyranny of might. Their harbinger was the 'goldbeschwingter, leuchtender Eros⁹.' Tieck, too, hailed the nineteenth century as the new youth of mankind¹⁰, and it was he whom Novalis called

¹ *Hölderlins Werke*, I, pp. 145f.

² *Hölderlins Werke*, II, p. 122.

³ *Börnes gesammelte Schriften*, Wien, 1868, I, pp. 173 ff.

⁴ *Jean Pauls Werke*, Paris, 1843, I, p. 530, 'Hesperus.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 455, 'Briefe und bevorstehender Lebenslauf.'

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 118, 'Blumen, Frucht und Dornenstücke.'

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 327, 'Das Kampaner Thal.'

⁸ Suphan, XVI, p. 128, 'Zerstreute Blätter,' 'Tithon und Aurora.'

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 419f.

¹⁰ *Tiecks Gedichte*, Berlin, 1841, pp. 551f.

the 'Verkündiger der Morgenröthe,' the heir to the legacy of Jakob Böhme and the messenger of peace who was to announce 'das letzte Reich¹.'

With the phase of neo-Hellenism the first kingdom became synonymous with the simplicity and beauty of ancient Greece. Here again we can trace the influence of Herder: 'Alles Jugendfreude, Grazie, Spiel und Liebe...Geist und Körper zusammen nur eine blühende Blume...Jugendblüthe des Menschlichen Geschlechts...' But this beauty died and Christianity, Herder says, replaced its ideals and became the ferment in the development of human thought². This was as early as 1774. Steadily the interest grew until it developed into the 'Gräkomanie' of which Schiller accused Friedrich Schlegel. It became the fashion to contrast the religion of Paganism with our own. Schiller describes the former as: 'die Geburt einer fröhlichen Einbildungskraft, nicht der grübelnden Vernunft, wie der Kirchenglaube der neuen Nationen³.' To an essay by Humboldt he adds marginal notes in which he says: 'In der ersten Periode waren die Griechen. In der zweiten stehen wir. Die dritte ist also noch zu hoffen, und dann wird man die Griechen auch nicht mehr zurückwünschen.' In his poems, too, Schiller reflected the reaction of the time against the asceticism often associated with Christianity. He praised joy and love and contrasted the age of the Greek gods with the second age when, no longer in need of leading strings, we were able to dispense with the allegory of the gods, and they and the beauty and colour which they represented faded, leaving us only 'das entseelte Wort⁴.' He depicts the fear and cringing reverence which came to man with the dawn of the second kingdom⁵, and in the poem *Die vier Weltalter* he again reviews the history of mankind. In the reign of Saturn men loved and were free from care, but with the coming of Christianity the spirit of man was deified and life became earnest and full of gloom⁶. The theme occurs again and again. A walk through the clover fields recalls the part played by the gods in the activities of men, the primitive community of the fields and the happy lot of man until reason, striving with natural longings, caused division in his soul⁷. Schiller revolted against the pitilessness of a moral code which sought to repress joy and could offer only promise of reward in heaven in return for renunciation in this life. His views evoked an appeal from the censor and a warning

¹ *Novalis' Schriften*, Paris, 1840, pp. 213f.

² Suphan, v, pp. 481f.

³ *Schillers Werke*, Sak.-Ausg., xii, p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 156f., 'Götter Griechenlands.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 40-1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 14f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 132f.

from Körner that attacks on Christianity were unjustified and dangerous in the favourite poet of the time¹.

It is here that we meet conflicting views of life, the Dionysian and the Christian. The former corresponds to the joyous, instinctive response to Nature of the first kingdom, the latter to the moral laws of the second. Now, until the advent of the third kingdom:

Zwischen Sinnenglück und Seelenfrieden
Bleibt dem Menschen nur die bange Wahl².

It was, however, Friedrich Schlegel who in his defence of Paganism laid the foundation of Nietzsche's conception of 'das Dionysische.' Sadness and pain, he says, have no unifying power, but the result of joy is the fully perfected existence towards which man vainly strives. Freedom to respond joyously to instinct was the right of mankind in its infancy. It is to be the right of man in his third state, that of emancipation³. Schlegel's theories foreshadowed those of the Saint-Simonians. His *Lucinde* was defended by Schleiermacher and Gutzkow and used by the Young Germans in support of their views. Schlegel, like the Saint-Simonians, accepted Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* as his gospel, and in his sonnet, *Lessings Worte*, he characteristically stresses the theory of 'das neue Evangelium⁴.'

Hopes of a new freedom accentuated the bitterness against the prevailing order. Attacks on Christianity, akin to Goethe's 'Julianischer Hass,' became common. Goethe speaks with aversion of the symbol of the Cross, 'von dem leidigen Marterholz, dem Widerwärtigsten unter der Sonne,' and of the display of Christ's suffering⁵, and in his *Braut von Korinth* he depicts the power of the religion which had driven out the gods of Greece and demanded human suffering and sacrifice⁶. Here already is the theme of Heine's *Almansor*. A similar mood is shown in Goethe's description of the carved Greek lions of the Piræus. They and the pagan age to which they belonged have been supplanted by 'der neue geflügelte Kater,' the lion of Saint Mark, and a religion of musty relics⁷.

¹ Schillers *Briefwechsel mit Körner*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 263f.

² Schillers *Werke*, I, pp. 199f.

³ Schlegels *Werke*, Wien, 1822, I, p. 52, iv, pp. 28, 29, 33, 153, 155f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix, p. 17.

⁵ Goethes *sämliche Werke*, Jub.-Ausg., xix, p. 191.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 144ff. Interesting in the light of Nietzsche's own attitude towards Christianity is the conversation related by Malwida von Meysenbug in her *Memoiren einer Idealistin*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, p. 248: '...und Nietzsche bemerkte, Goethe habe dabei an die alte Sage von Vampyr gedacht, die antik und schon von den Griechen gekannt gewesen sei, und habe es damit versinnlichen wollen, wie die Sitten und Sagen des Altertums sich in der christlichen Welt zu spukhaften Dingen verdunkelten, und wie die finstere Wendung, die das Christentum sehr bald nach seiner Entstehung nahm, die schöne freie Sittenwelt der Griechen verunstaltete und das blühende naturliche Leben in Moderduft und Gerippenkultus verkehrte.'

⁷ Goethes *sämliche Werke*, Jub.-Ausg., I, p. 209.

From the longing for the lost beauty of Paganism, the theories of perfectibility, and the hopes of a new era, there developed an attempt to combine the first kingdom with its antithesis, Christianity, to form a synthesis. The best definition of this is, perhaps, Tieck's ending to Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. Heinrich finds 'die blaue Blume.' It is Mathilde whom he loves. Their child is: 'die Urwelt, die goldene Zeit am Ende....Hier ist die christliche Religion mit der heidnischen ausgesöhnt¹.' There are numerous attempts to find a philosophical conception of the synthesis of flesh and spirit. One is Schiller's famous definition of the 'Spieltrieb,' where he postulates a third kingdom which frees mankind from the fetters of the senses and the spirit alike. Here alone, he says, is attained the ideal of balance which was the state of unconscious harmony enjoyed by the ancient Greeks before the growth of intellect caused a sense of dualism². It is significant of the thought of the time that, independent of Schiller³, Friedrich Schlegel also speaks of a 'mittlerer Zustand zwischen dem Zwange des Gesetzes und des Bedürfnisses, ein Zustand des freyen Spiels⁴.' It is in the *Gespräch über die Poesie*, however, that Schlegel expresses most clearly the theory of 'the Third Kingdom' that when there are two opposed elements a third is necessary which in combination with the first two will form a 'vollendete Einheit des Ganzen.' It is this 'vollendete Einheit' towards which we must strive. He concludes:

Mich daucht wer das Zeitalter, das heisst jenen grossen Vorgang allgemeiner Verjüngung, jene Grundgesetze der ewigen Wiedergeburt verstände, dem müsste es gelingen können, die Pole der Menschheit zu ergreifen und das Thun der ersten Menschen, wie den Charakter der goldenen Zeit die noch kommen wird, zu erkennen und zu wissen. Dann wurde das leere, abstracte Reden aufhören, und der Mensch würde inne werden, was er ist, und seyn soll auf der Erde und im Angesicht der Sonne, als König der erschaffenen Natur in deren Mitte und auf deren Gipfel ihn der schaffende Geist gestellt hat⁵.

A further contribution to the theory of synthesis is Goethe's *Pandora*. The contrast between the primitive force of Nature and spiritual culture is shown in the figures of Prometheus and Epimetheus. Independently each is futile and unworthy of Pandora, the Soul. The synthesis, perfection, is attained by their union which is symbolised by Dionysus, the god of laughter, and Eos, Aurora, the dawn.

Thus Goethe, in common with other writers of his time, clothed his philosophy with symbolism borrowed from a pagan age. More significant, however, is the merging of Christian and pagan symbolism which became

¹ Novalis' *Schriften*, Paris, 1840, p. 154.

² Schillers *Werke*, Säk.-Ausg., xii, pp. 119f.

³ Cf. Haym, *Die Romantische Schule*, Berlin, 1870, pp. 187 and 204; also Rouge, *Frédéric Schlegel et la Genèse du Romantisme Allemand*, Paris, 1904, pp. 48f. and 58.

⁴ Schlegels *Werke*, Wien, 1822, v, p. 90.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v, p. 276.

characteristic of the idea of 'das dritte Reich.' The spiritual religion of Christianity is now to be allied with a new religion of joy akin to the ancient rites of Greece. Goethe's poem, *Die Geheimnisse*, written in 1784 under the influence of the first books of Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*¹, describes the monastery under the guidance of 'Humanus,' where lovely youths come by night wearing garlands of flowers as though from some midnight festival, and the Cross, symbol of Christianity and suffering, stands encircled with roses². The same idea was developed much later by Anastasius Grün, who wrote of the decay of monasticism and religious slavery. In mockery of the warning 'Silentium' on the monastery walls the nightingale sings and the vine has almost obliterated the pessimistic words carved on the sundial. The history of the world, he says, has been a long tyranny, but now a new reign of peace is at hand in which the sword and the cross will be unknown:

So steht das Kreuz inmitten Glanz und Fülle
Auf Golgotha, glorreich, bedeutungsschwer:
Verdeckt ist's ganz von seiner Rosen Hülle,
Langst sieht vor Rosen man das Kreuz nicht mehr³.

This reconciliation of the spiritual and the sensual, the merging of Christian and pagan symbolism, was carried further in the identification of the sacrament of Christianity with the pagan worship of the material world. The bread and wine of the eucharist were represented as symbolical of the gifts of Ceres and Bacchus. A further development is that in which the spiritual significance of the Christian conception became allied with the sensual conception of the joys of the earth, the body and the passion of the blood. There is some suggestion of this in Goethe's *Brant von Korinth*, where the Athenian youth would celebrate his union with his bride by sharing with her the gifts of the gods, bread and wine: 'Hier ist Ceres', hier ist Bacchus' Gabe⁴. The idea is also indicated in Novalis' hymn where he compared the passion of sexual love to the enjoyment of the sacrament⁵, and in Werner's *Kreuz an der Ostsee*:

Aus Erde quillt uns Brot, aus Wasser Wein:
Zu Fleisch muss Brot, und Wein zu Blute werden.
Doch aus dem Blut entspriesst der Gnadenhain;
Drum bleibt es Krieg, bis Friede kommt auf Erden⁶.

It is in the works of Werner that we meet the identification of Christ

¹ Cf. Baumgart, *Goethes Geheimnisse*, Stuttgart, 1895.

² *Goethes sämtliche Werke*, Jub.-Ausg., I, p. 289.

³ Anastasius Grün, *Samtliche Werke*, 1907, ed Schlossar, pp. 96f., 'Schutt.'

⁴ *Goethes sämtliche Werke*, Jub.-Ausg., I, pp. 144ff.

⁵ *Novalis' Schriften*, Paris, 1840, p. 200.

⁶ Cf. Petersen, 'Das goldene Zeitalter bei den deutschen Romantikern' in *Die Ernte*, Halle, Saale, 1926.

with the Greek gods which later was destined to play an important part in the idea of 'das dritte Reich.' In *Die Weihe der Kraft* Katherina describes her vision of Christ:

Ein Heiland—nicht am Kreuz, auch nicht ein Knabe,
Ein göttlich schöner Jüngling—
So—wie Apollo ungefähr—so sah der Heiland aus¹.

Not only do we find this conception of a Jesus Apollo but also the union of Bacchus and Christ. It may be only coincidence that Bettina described to Goethe how she planted a young vine in the Rochus Kapelle so that the ripe grapes should hang down over the body of the crucified Christ², but her description is very similar to the treatment of this theme by Heine which must be discussed later.

The most subtle treatment was, however, that of Hölderlin, whose philosophy, while embodying much of that which had gone before, became a synthesis, infinitely comprehensive and exquisitely balanced and controlled, which far surpassed the philosophy of Schiller, whose theory of the 'Spieltrieb' Hölderlin dismissed as a 'Panacee³,' and which was the inspiration of Schelling and Hegel. This synthesis, the result of an instinctive pantheism and love of beauty combined with early pietistic upbringing, is the true 'dritte Reich.' Hölderlin could pray to the Greek gods and plan hymns to the Madonna that are full of wistful tenderness. He addressed Christ as a brother whom he welcomed to that company of symbolical figures which represent the fullness of life⁴. He had been sad that he could not reconcile his love for the Greek gods with Christianity. It was as though there were rivalry, but now he acknowledges his fault:

eigene Schuld
Ists, denn zu sehr
O Christus! hang ich an dir;
Wiewohl Herakles Bruder,
Und kühn bekenn ich, du
Bist Bruder auch des Eviens⁵.

The life of Christ belonged to the first kingdom, and it was his death which was the beginning of an unhappy consciousness. Schelling, too, speaks of Christ as the last god: 'Gipfel und Ende der alten Götterwelt,' and Hölderlin says:

Wie Fürsten ist Herkules, Gemeingeist Bacchus, Christus aber ist
Das Ende⁶.

¹ Eichendorff, *Ueber die ethische und religiöse Bedeutung der neueren romantischen Poesie in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1847, pp. 134f.

² Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde, Berlin, 1881, I, p. 200.

³ Litzmann, *Friedrich Hölderlins Leben, in Briefen von und an Hölderlin*, Berlin, 1890, p. 471.

⁴ Hölderlins Werke, ed. Hellingrath, Berlin, 1923, IV, pp. 162f., 'Christus.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 231ff., 'Der Einzige' (Spätere Fassung).

⁶ *Ibid.*

As Bacchus reconciles the day with the night, so Christ reconciles the first and second kingdoms and brings the promise that the old gods will once more return. In their memory we celebrate the eucharist, Hölderlin's 'Geheimnis des Weinstoks (*sic*)':

Brot ist der Erde Frucht, doch ist's vom Lichte geseegnet,
Und vom donnernden Gott kommt die Freude des Weins.
Darum denken wir auch dabei der Himmlischen, die sonst
Da gewesen und die kehren in richtiger Zeit¹.

Hölderlin went further. As Friedrich Schlegel saw in the survival of the carnival spirit the primitive orgies of the Greeks, so Hölderlin saw in the sacrament of modern Christianity a symbol of something elemental, not only a sacrifice of corn and wine to the gods, but blood sacrifice, the sacrifice of Empedokles and Christ. In *Empedokles* the parallel between Christ and the Greek philosopher, who by voluntary self-immolation and reunion with the elements conquered the hybrid state between man and god, is obvious. The philosophy of *Empedokles* is the quintessence of the theories that man has now reached the mature state of emancipation and that the conception of Christ as suffering and humiliated is unworthy of the ideal of perfect fusion of sensual and spiritual.

Something of this idea is seen in Goethe's account of the three religions, the ethnical, the Christian and the philosophical, where he says that the life and not the death of Christ was important and that Christ belongs to the third age, in that he, as a true philosopher, taught that man himself is God².

Under the teaching of Empedokles joy of life is universal and in sharp contrast to the reign of the priests which is one of jealousy and oppression. Now the reign of such tyranny is over and man must become conscious of his independence and his divinity.

This is also the basis of Hegel's teaching. Hegel's conception of Christ was equally subtle. Here was no personal god but the superman who, in an age of dependence upon authority, tried to teach the philosophy of individual life as Hegel and his friends would teach it, that man in his perfection is God, and that the long-hoped-for third kingdom is the attainment of such perfection. The weakness of Christian doctrine, says Hegel, can be traced to the fact that Christ, as a Jew, taught that the principle of his faith was the will of the god whom the Jews worshipped. The Jews believed that their laws were given to them by their god and were proud of their obedience to his will. If Christ wished to influence them he must think from their point of view and teach in symbolical

¹ *Ibid.*, iv, p. 119.

² *Goethes sämtliche Werke*, Jub.-Ausg., xix, p. 190.

language. Unfortunately the meaning and force of Christ's teaching were subordinated to the interest in his person, his life-story and death¹.

Here is the parallel to Hölderlin's Empedokles, the philosopher who was immeasurably in advance of his age, and knew the secret of life and death. His philosophy that man and Nature are one, are God, the supreme 'ἐν καὶ πᾶν,' says Hegel, cannot be understood by those of lesser intellect, who look upon the natural process of death as a thing of horror and tragedy. The teaching of Christ had never been understood. Christianity had preserved only an empty symbolism and had formulated only religious duties and moral laws. Hegel denied the right of the Church to impose any law on man². Here we feel the influence of Kant and of Schiller. The influence of Herder is felt in Hegel's study of 'Volksreligion,' where he says that as Christianity banished the gods of Greece, so it destroyed as superstition all that remained of the 'Volksreligion' of the North: 'Das Christentum hat Walhalla entvölkert, die Phantasie des Volkes...ausgerottet und einen Glauben gebracht, dessen Klima, Kultur, Gesetzgebung uns fremd und dessen Geschichte mit uns in gar keiner Verbindung ist³.' It is extremely interesting to note how much this quotation resembles the arguments raised by German youth to-day.

Hegel asks how it was possible for Christianity to triumph in this way, and says that with the growth of intellect belief in the gods was fast disappearing. In its place the Greeks worshipped the state, but with the downfall of Greece the way was paved for Christianity and men who had now become a race of slaves read into Christ's character the humility they themselves possessed, and those who had no hope of happiness on earth saw in death for their religion a promise of happiness elsewhere⁴.

All this belongs to the early stages of Hegel's philosophy and was not intended for publication. The notes are crossed out, rewritten between the lines and in the margin. Sometimes they are undecipherable. They are an attempt to express in words the mass of thought and wealth of conceptions which dominated the minds of the young philosophers of the age.

Perhaps the most striking proof of the similarity of Hölderlin's and Hegel's thought is the latter's poem *Eleusis*, which he sent to Hölderlin in August, 1796. It is an attempt to express his conception of the all-pervading sense of the divine and the contrast between the ancient Greek religion and Christianity. The incomprehensible 'Ein und Alles' cannot be expressed in words but only in silence and action. It is embodied in

¹ *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften*, ed. Nohl, Tübingen, 1907, pp. 158f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

the mysteries of the Greek religion of Nature. The poem is Hegel's reaction to his lonely thinking. From the empty theology of his time he turns to the worship of Ceres and the gods of Greece:

erhabene Geister, hohe Schatten,
Von deren Sterne die Vollendung strahlt'
[er] (*sic*) schreckt nicht—ich fühl' es ist auch meiner Heimat Aether,
der Ernst, der Glanz, der euch umfließt¹.

Hegel laments the fact that a new religion has supplanted that of Greece. The temples of the gods are desolate and silent. No trace of their religion remains, for it was too holy to be made a thing of words, debased to a 'hohler Wörterkram' as was the religion of the Jews. This and Christianity have triumphed and caused disharmony in man: '(die) christliche Religion...beginnt selbst von der absoluten Entzweiung und fängt von dem Schmerz an, in dem sie die natürliche Einheit des Geistes zerreisst und den natürlichen Frieden zerstört².' The early innocence and union with Nature have been lost but they can be regained in the consciousness of a new unity: 'Was aber verloren ist, was sich entzweit hat, wird durch die Rückkehr zur Einigkeit, zum Werden wie Kinder wieder gewonnen³.' We think instinctively of Novalis and of Hölderlin. Hegel continues: 'Die Vollendung des Glaubens, die Rückkehr zur Gottheit, aus der der Mensch geboren ist, schliesst den Zirkel seiner Entwicklung. Alles lebt in der Gottheit...aber das Kind trägt die Einigkeit, den Zusammenhang, den Einklang in die ganze Harmonie unzerstört, aber unentwickelt in sich.' This 'Harmonie' is the final result of man's development, and its natural consequence will be the renewal of the ideal state akin to that of ancient Greece, but not merely a state of political perfection, but one of pure humanity, beauty and love. Here again there is close similarity to the ideals of Herder as expressed in his *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*⁴.

In 1801 we find Schelling and Hegel working together, and in this year Schelling wrote jubilantly of the dawn of a new day. At last the new religion was to be brought into being. It was the new philosophy. Paganism, starting from the finite, saw the infinite and for one short period there was identity of finite and infinite, of material and spirit. This period was followed by that of Christianity which tried to realise the infinite in the person of Christ. It was the period of antithesis in

¹ Haering, *Hegel, sein Wollen und sein Werk*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1929, pp. iif.

² *Hegels Werke*, Berlin, 1840, xi, p. 18.

³ Nohl, p. 316. Cf. *Novalis' Schriften*, p. 351, 'Wo Kinder sind, da ist ein goldenes Zeitalter,' and *Hölderlins Werke*, II, p. 149, 'Dass man werden kann, wie die Kinder, dass noch die goldne Zeit der Unschuld wiederkehrt, die Zeit des Friedens und die Freiheit.'

⁴ Nohl, p. 318. Cf. also Suphan, xvii, pp. 110, 111ff.

which man began to be conscious of himself and his identity with God. With full consciousness a third period, of synthesis, would be attained in which the merging of the infinite and finite would be manifested in joy and beauty akin to that of ancient Greece. Christianity was only a means to this: 'Das Christenthum als Gegensatz ist nur der Weg zur Vollendung; in der Vollendung selbst hebt es sich als entgegengesetztes auf; dann ist der Himmel wahrhaft wieder gewonnen, und das absolute Evangelium verkündet¹.'

Like Lessing and Herder Hegel accuses the mystics of impatience in wishing to gather the as yet unripe fruit of their ideals².

In his 'Phänomenologie des Geists' he again developed the theory of the growth of mind to full consciousness, the final state of perfection. This growth is manifested in the types of sacrifices: the animal which is sacrificed is the symbol of the animal god; the fruit and wine are symbols of Ceres and Bacchus themselves. This shows consciousness of the material world. Very soon man would become conscious of himself and portray the deity in human form. Strangely haunted by Hölderlin's obsession Hegel says: 'Noch hat sich ihm also der Geist als selbstbewusster Geist nicht geopfert und das Mysterium des Brodes und Weins ist noch nicht Mysterium des Fleisches und Blutes³.' Very soon the consciousness of self entirely dominates man and now it is man who is sacrificed in the form of God. Now the deity is depicted in man's form and finally becomes spirit. The denial of the material is complete. The conception of God is of someone who once existed in material form but who has now left us and whose influence is now entirely spiritual. A third development is necessary, that of the individual who in his own consciousness combines the first state of reality with the second of spirituality: 'Das Selbst...wendet...sich...an sich selbst, an seine eigne Welt und Gegenwart, entdeckt sie als sein Eigenthum und hat somit den ersten Schritt gethan, aus der Intellectualwelt herabzusteigen oder vielmehr deren abstractes Element mit dem wirklichen Selbst zu begeistern⁴.' With the further development of man comes the conception of freedom, but before true freedom can be won all sense of time and space must be lost. Like Hölderlin's Empedokles, man must become one with Nature by an instinctive process.

Hegel closes the work with a quotation from Schiller which he gives from memory⁵, and it is by such slight indications that we realise the importance of Schiller's influence. More remarkable than Hegel's use of

¹ *Hegels Werke*, I, p. 307.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 525.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 591. Cf. Lasson, *Hegels Phänomenologie des Geists*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 521.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 304.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 586.

Schiller here is his preoccupation with Schiller's poem *Resignation* and its underlying bitterness. That Hegel should quote lines from this poem in different works¹ shows the impression which it had made on his mind. He uses it as an angry protest against the debasing of the imagination by the gloomy fears which were used to strengthen the fetters of religion.

Not only to Schiller but to Herder was Hegel indebted and like him saw the many nations and their beginnings. The Orient was the childhood of history, the age of Greece the youth of the world, 'das Reich der schönen Freiheit, wahrer Harmonie...es ist die unbefangene Sittlichkeit... noch nicht Moralität².' The present era was the senility of the race, but it had not the weakness of old age; for, says Hegel, the senility of the spirit is its perfect maturity in which it returns to unity³.

Hegel also took up the parable of Paradise and the Tree of Knowledge and the theory of Kant and Schiller that man could not remain in the innocence of the animal state and says that the parable of the fall of man is the eternal myth, for it contains the promise of union with the deity⁴.

Hegel was not alone in his interest for this subject. The threefold structure of the idea, namely, man's innocence before the eating of the Tree of Knowledge, the subsequent unhappy consciousness and the hope of a third stage, is also expressed in Kleist's essay *Über das Marionetten-theater*, where he says perfect grace belongs only to the puppet and to the god, for perfection can exist only in complete unconsciousness or in the infinite consciousness of divinity. It is therefore necessary, he says, to eat of the Tree of Knowledge yet a second time in order to regain the state of innocence. This, Kleist says, will be the last chapter in the history of the world⁵.

These were problems which occurred again and again throughout the century and which dominated the whole of Hegel's life. From the fragmentary manuscripts which reveal the groping, earnest spirit of Hegel to the early published works and the *Philosophie der Geschichte* we trace the same thoughts. The lectures on the philosophy of religion, delivered in Berlin in the years 1821, 1824, 1827 and 1831, follow the same arguments. They are organised on the same lines as Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, the successive divisions being (1) the Jewish religion (*das Reich des Vaters*), with its dependence upon authority, (2) Christianity (*das Reich des Sohnes*), with its insistence upon morality and pain and consciousness of disharmony, and (3) the final state of synthesis as

¹ Nohl, pp. 34, 54, 204, 208.

² *Hegels Werke*, ix, p. 131. Cf. Suphan, v, p. 487.

³ *Hegels Werke*, ix, p. 134.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix, pp. 391 ff.

⁵ *Heinrich von Kleists sämtliche Werke*, Berlin, II, p. 388.

foreshadowed by the words: 'damit ist bedingt eine neue Welt, eine neue Religion, eine neue Wirklichkeit, ein anderer Weltzustand¹.' The lectures are heavy with the wealth of thought which Hegel was now ready to express. Much of the freshness and force of the early work² has been lost, but to the students who listened to those lectures there was new and valuable material, and old theories were clothed with new significance. Among the students who heard those lectures when they were delivered for the first time in 1821 was Heine.

This is important, for it was Heine who was to become the apostle of the philosophy of 'das dritte Reich' among the younger generation. His references to Hegel's influence lead us to suppose that the lectures in their original form were more imbued with Hegel's personality than in the form in which they were published in 1840. This assumption is not unreasonable when we consider the ardent spirit of Hegel's youth as expressed in the early theological works. The facts that these works were not made accessible until 1907 and that Hegel avoided any clash with authority have obscured to some extent the importance of his influence on the idea of 'das dritte Reich.' It is from Hegel and the German philosophers, and not from France, that Heine and the Young Germans derived their theories of emancipation.

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¹ *Hegels Werke*, XII, p. 288.

² *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften*, ed. Nohl, Tübingen, 1907.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

THE 'ANCREN RIWLE' AND GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.

The following parallel quotation will illustrate what seems to be probably an echo in the *Ancren Riwle*. Geoffrey's 'history,' at the time of composition which I think likely for the *Riwle*, was one of the most exciting of new literary compositions¹:

He [the son of God]...ase noble woware
etter monie messagers, & feole god deden,
com uorto preouen his luue, and *scheawede*
þuruh knihtschipe þet he was luuewurde;
ase weren sumewhile knihtes inuned for to
donne. He dude him ine turnement, &
hefde uor his leofmonnes luue, his schelde
ine uhite, ase kene kniht, one eueriche
half i-purled (*Ancren Riwle*, ed. Morton,
Camden Soc., 57, p. 390).

Ad tantum etenim statum dignitatis
Britannia tunc reducta erat, quod copia
diuitiarum...cetera regna excellebat....
Facetae etiam mulieres...nullius amorem
habere dignabantur, nisi tertio in militia
probatus esset. Efficiebantur ergo castae
quaeque mulieres et milites pro amore
illarum nobiliores (*Historia Regum Bri-*
tanniae, p. 246)².

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'OUT OF HEAVEN'S BENEDICTION TO THE WARM SUN.'

Some time ago³ I ventured some remarks upon the meaning of the proverb, 'Out of God's blessing to the warm sun,' quoted with slight verbal changes by Kent in *King Lear* and recalled by Hamlet, as most editors suppose, when he says that he is 'too much i' the sun.' I was careful on that occasion to confine myself to the simple question of interpretation, as I had no hope of discovering how the saying originated. The latter problem, however, has an interest of its own, and having recently encountered it again, in the course of another enquiry, I should like to offer the suggestion that the proverb may be a corrupt translation of the Erasmian adage, 'Ex umbra in solem.'

The definition given in the *Adagia*, which is not too long to be quoted in full, is as follows:

Ex umbra in solem educere, est rem prius abditam et ociosam, in publicum et in communem vitae usum deducere. Translatum ab athletis, quibus mos, *solis et pulveris patientia*, confirmare corporis robur. Delicatorum autem est, in umbra latitare. Venustius fiet, si ad animi rem torqueatur: veluti si quis dicat, philosophiam a Socrate ex umbra in solem esse productam. Exempla passim apud scriptores obvia.

¹ I date the *Ancren Riwle* at about 1140, or even possibly a few years later. I have already shown echoes in the work of the Carthusian Customs of 1127, and of the letter of Peter the Venerable of c. 1123 (see *P.M.L.A.*, xxxiii, pp. 488, 518ff.). The italics in the quotations are mine.

² Éd. E. Faral, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, 255-7, Paris, 1929, iii, p. 246. He dates the work 1135 (i, p. 260). Mr Griscom dates the first dedication April, 1136 (*Hist. Reg. Brit.*, New York, 1929, p. 42).

³ *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxv (October, 1930), pp. 478-81.

I have used italics to draw attention to the evident fact that the adage is an abbreviation. It is used by Cicero in two well-known passages¹ precisely in the sense indicated by Erasmus, but in the verbal form, 'Ex umbraculis in solem et pulverem.' It is not unknown to Horace², and there is a line in Juvenal,

Ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra³,

which has a special interest in this connexion for its treatment by Budé. Juvenal, it will be noticed, uses the simple words 'ad pugnam' to convey the sense of Cicero's 'in solem et pulverem'; but Budé's comment shows that it was no less natural to him than to Erasmus to prefer the more fanciful expression:

Umbratilis autem pugna propterea dicebatur,...quia huiusmodi pugnae simulacra sub tecto fieri solita erant, non ut vera pugna *in sole et pulvere*⁴.

Another of Budé's illustrations, which makes the meaning still clearer, is from Pliny's *Epistles* (ix, 2):

Nisi forte volumus scholasticas tibi atque (ut ita dicam) *umbraticas* literas mittere. Sed nihil minus aptum arbitramur, cum arma vestra, cum castra, cum denique *cornua, tubas, sudorem, pulverem, soles cogitamus*.

It appears, then, that the proverb was so well known in the age of Erasmus and Budé that it was impossible to encounter *umbra* in this kind of context without being prompted to supply the remainder; just as to-day we could not read 'Fools rush in' without being reminded of angels. The phrase *in solem*, or *in solem et pulverem*, conveyed the idea of a combat of that peculiarly unpleasant kind in which one receives blows rather than gives them; and there is reason to believe that during some part of the sixteenth century 'a warm sun' had precisely that signification. In Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) we find these words:

So that he [the lawyer] gaineth alwaies,...wheras the other get a warme sonne often tymes, and a flappe with a foxe taile for al that euer thei haue spent.

Wilson is, as a rule, remarkable for the clarity of his style, and when he makes 'a warme sonne' equivalent to 'a flappe with a foxe taile' we may be sure that that was the meaning commonly understood in his time. There can be no serious doubt that the allusion is to the 'warm sun' in opposition to 'God's blessing,' for Wilson acknowledges his obligations to

¹ 'Processerat enim *in solem et pulverem*, non ut e militari tabernaculo, sed ut a Theophrasti doctissimi hominis *umbraculis*' (*Brutus*, 39). 'Mirabiliter doctrinam ex *umbraculis* eruditorum otioque non modo *in solem atque in pulverem*, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque produxit' (*De Legibus*, iii, 14).

² 'Cur apricum

Oderit campum patiens pulvis atque solis?' (*Carmina*, i, 8.)

³ *Satires*, vii, 173.

⁴ *In Pandectas* ('Sciamachia').

Heywood's *Proverbs*, which he strongly recommends¹, and as Heywood's readers would be familiar with the phrase as part of the proverb it would be misleading to use it in any other sense.

The original translator was, in all probability, a preacher who flourished about the time when the *Adagia* first appeared. It is easy to understand his difficulty. With Erasmus's definition before him he would see at once that 'Ex umbra' could not be rendered 'Out of the shadow,' and such abstractions as 'sheltered peace' and 'tranquil security,' which might occur to a modern writer, would be foreign to his mind. He would reflect on the words 'rem prius abditam et ociosam...deducere,' and if he belonged to a monastic order, as is not unlikely, 'Out of God's blessing' would be a natural interpretation. The remainder would present a difficulty of a different kind. Here the translator would derive no help from Erasmus unless he saw the significance of the words, 'solis et pulveris patientia.' Apparently the point was missed, and *in solem* was translated literally, 'into the sun,' the redundant adjective 'warm' being inserted in a somewhat feeble effort to preserve the rhythmical balance.

How the translation might have been effected has been shown in *Areopagitica*, for it can hardly be doubted that Milton was guided by Cicero's expressions when he wrote this sentence:

I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.

From this application to a particular theme it appears that Milton's suggestion, if he had been asked to furnish an equivalent in the spirit of the English language, would have been 'Out of the cloister into heat and dust.' We cannot hope for an improvement on that until a greater genius than Milton is prepared to supply it. Addison has given a much looser rendering, not of the proverb itself but of the example which Erasmus uses to illustrate it. It has not, I think, been noticed in any edition of the *Spectator* that when Addison makes the curious statement, 'It was said of Socrates that he brought philosophy down from Heaven to inhabit among men²,' he must refer to the words of Erasmus already quoted: '...veluti si quis dicat, philosophiam a Socrate ex umbra in solem esse productam.' Addison's version, which has been dutifully admired by generations of students to the satisfaction of generations of examiners, is a piece of rhetorical tinsel. If Socrates had found his philosophy in Heaven, or imagined that he had done so, he would certainly have wished

¹ 'But what nede I heape all these together, seyng Heywod's Proverbes are in prynte, where plentye are to be hadde: whose paynes in that behalfe are worthye immortall prayse.'

² *Spectator*, No. 10.

to leave it there, and to exalt the minds of men until they were able to apprehend it. What Erasmus clearly meant is that Socrates brought philosophy out of the region of Pythagorean inspiration into that of free enquiry and debate. Here, in the view natural to Erasmus, is the beginning of that contest between authority and reason which was entering upon one of its livelier phases when the *Adagia* was written.

Perhaps I may add, very briefly, that I see no reason to modify the conclusions furnished forth by my former note, in which I pointed out that Palsgrave, in the English *Acolastus*, gives 'Out of Chrystis blessinge into a warme sonne' as the equivalent of another of Erasmus's adages, 'Ab equis ad asinos.' It is the way of proverbs to lose contact with their original sources, and this one seems to have done so at an early stage of its career.

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'MANSFIELD PARK' AND 'LOVERS' VOWS': A REPLY.

'Let other pens dwell on guilt and misery. I quit such odious subjects as soon as I can, impatient to restore every body, not greatly in fault themselves, to tolerable comfort, and to have done with all the rest.'

So wrote Jane Austen in the last chapter of *Mansfield Park*: yet it is suggested¹ that *Mansfield Park* was written chiefly if not entirely as a protest against the lax morality of *Lovers' Vows*. 'The protest underlying the scheme of *Mansfield Park* is now tolerably clear. In *Lovers' Vows* Kotzebue had condoned and rewarded immorality in the person of Agatha; Jane Austen condemned it mercilessly and punished it savagely in Maria Rushworth². Many readers find it difficult to recognise Miss Austen in the merciless and savage moralist here presented; they feel, moreover, that if she had written her novel with intent to 'annihilate Kotzebue' she would have evolved a more comprehensible scheme than the one worked out by Miss Butler, with its intricate relationships and its doubling and trebling of parts. This feeling may perhaps be regarded as mere prejudice, incapable of proof. Yet it should be noted that the letters recording Henry Austen's first reading of *Mansfield Park*³ give no indication that he detected this underlying protest, and no comment on his failure to detect it. And it is possible to show reasonable grounds for the belief that Jane Austen was not moved to write by indignation at

¹ E. M. Butler, '*Mansfield Park* and Kotzebue's '*Lovers' Vows*,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, xxviii, July, 1933, pp. 326-37.

² P. 333.

³ Letters 92, 93, 94. All references to the letters and to the novels are to the Oxford edition.

Kotzebue's lax morality, but that she chose *Lovers' Vows* to fit the plot she had already devised for *Mansfield Park*.

There were, of course, rigid moralists who disapproved of the treatment of Agatha Friburg in *Lovers' Vows*¹, but Jane Austen was not of their number. For her, as for Kotzebue, Agatha was more sinned against than sinning. She had been betrayed at the age of seventeen, under a solemn promise of marriage, by the son of her friend and patroness: is it 'condoning and rewarding immorality' to allow her betrayer to fulfil his promise at long last, after she had endured more than twenty years of poverty and shame? Kotzebue throughout lays stress on Baron Wildenhaim's guilt and repentance; Jane Austen speaks of the *situation* of Agatha as 'unfit to be expressed by any woman of modesty,' but nowhere speaks disparagingly of Agatha herself. She had herself allowed Lydia Bennet, in circumstances of at least equal guilt, to escape far more lightly; she had treated sympathetically Colonel Brandon's 'poor disgraced relation': how can it be supposed that she regarded the tardy justice done to Agatha as an impossibly lax condonation of immorality?

It is true that *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice* had originally been written much earlier, and that in the interval Jane Austen had learnt to take moral problems more seriously; she saw possibilities of danger, for instance, in private theatricals which she does not appear to have realised when she and her family were acting in the barn at Steventon². Yet in *Mansfield Park* she does not condemn private theatricals absolutely: it is the extreme delicacy of Maria's situation which makes the acting scheme so 'highly injudicious.' And there is no reason to suppose that her attitude to other moral problems had changed more than this. In any case, though *Pride and Prejudice* was written in 1796 and 1797, it was revised for press in 1812, and Dr Chapman shows reason for thinking that it was substantially rewritten then. *Mansfield Park* was 'Begun somewhere about Feb^y 1811 Finished soon after June 1813³.' There is unfortunately no evidence to show when Miss Austen became acquainted with *Lovers' Vows*; if, as seems most probable⁴, she saw or read it when it was at the height of its popularity, at about the

¹ See '*Mansfield Park*' and '*Lovers' Vows*,' by William Reitzel, *Review of English Studies*, Oct., 1933. Mr Reitzel quotes a criticism from *The Porcupine* which condemns the play from this point of view.

² Yet she may have realised these dangers earlier. It is suggested that she had seen definite examples of the possible ill effects of private theatricals, both in her own family and at Southampton. See C. L. Thomson, *Jane Austen*, 1929, pp. 146-8, and J. H. Hubback, *Pen Portraits in Jane Austen's Novels*, *Cornhill Magazine*, July, 1928, pp. 28, 29.

³ Jane Austen's note, of which a facsimile is given in *Plan of a Novel and Other Notes*, Oxford, 1924.

⁴ Mr Reitzel has found evidence of six performances at Bath between 1801 and 1805, *loc. cit.*, p. 454 n.

turn of the century, it is unlikely that any indignation it caused should have roused her to action only in 1811; if on the other hand she did not meet with it till shortly before 1811, and felt impelled to write *Mansfield Park* as a protest, it is even more unlikely that she should have left the elopement and marriage of Lydia Bennet as it is in *Pride and Prejudice*. She cannot at one and the same time have been protesting against the 'condonation of immorality' in the case of Agatha and sympathising (as she obviously does) with Mr Bennet's protest against Mr Collins' severity towards Lydia: 'That is his notion of christian forgiveness!' (*Pride and Prejudice*, p. 364).

And what of Maria Rushworth? Maria in her twenty-first year engages herself to Mr Rushworth; she subsequently meets and is attracted by Mr Crawford, but on his departure persists in her engagement and marries Rushworth in pride and pique; six months later, what Crawford had intended at most to be a standing flirtation is changed to a 'matrimonial fracas' by Maria's imprudence and the strength of her passion. It is curious, to say the least, that Jane Austen should have made Maria's guilt so much more definite than Agatha's, if she intended *Mansfield Park* as a protest against Kotzebue's laxity, for a worse crime normally demands a worse punishment. Yet is Maria's punishment worse than Agatha's? Agatha had been turned away from the Baroness' castle and from her own home: 'My mother, indeed, wept as she bade me quit her sight for ever; but my father wished increased affliction might befall me.' She was protected by the clergyman of the parish, and, 'hid in humble lodgings, procured the means of subsistence by teaching,' till her health failed and she was gradually reduced to poverty and destitution; at the beginning of the play she is being turned out of the inn to die by the roadside. Maria, on the contrary, though compelled to live in retirement—as Agatha had been—was to be well provided for: 'As a daughter...she should be protected by him, and secured in every comfort, and supported by every encouragement to do right, which their relative situations admitted; but farther than *that*, he would not go. Maria had destroyed her own character, and he would not by a vain attempt to restore what never could be restored, be affording his sanction to vice, or in seeking to lessen its disgrace, be anywise accessory to introducing such misery in another man's family, as he had known himself' (p. 465). Maria's seclusion is in fact not so much a punishment as a precaution against the spread of moral infection, and Jane Austen in ordaining it is no more merciless and savage than a modern doctor who orders a patient with scarlet fever to an isolation hospital.

Miss Butler admits that, even before *Mansfield Park* was finished, Miss Austen must have begun to relent. 'There followed a marked reaction from the excessive severity of the moral judgments; they are much softened in *Persuasion*, which is based on the scheme of *Mansfield Park* in much the same manner in which the latter is based on *Lovers' Vows*.... I merely wish to stress the mildness of the author's judgments on the Louisa-Henrietta-Frederick combination, when contrasted with her strictures on the one between Maria, Julia and Henry. This amounts to a recantation.' So, if a judge has punished one boy for stealing apples and subsequently refuses to punish another for looking in a shop window to see which apples he wants to buy, he also may be said to recant. But that Jane Austen did not repent of her attitude in *Mansfield Park* and intend *Persuasion* as a recantation there is direct evidence in her letters. *Persuasion* was begun, according to her own note, on August 8, 1815. Four months later, on December 11, 1815, writing to the Prince Regent's Librarian, Jane Austen declares that she is 'strongly haunted with the idea that to those readers who have preferred...*Mansfield Park* [*Emma* will appear] inferior in good sense.' She had not repented of the 'good sense' of *Mansfield Park* when that letter was written.

It is unnecessary to consider in detail the other points where it is suggested that *Mansfield Park* reverses the situations of *Lovers' Vows*. Likenesses there certainly are, but they are by no means fitted to bear the weight which Miss Butler attaches to them. They are, however, sufficient to justify Miss Austen in thinking, when she wanted a play for *Mansfield Park*, that *Lovers' Vows* would do for her as well as for the Ravenshaws, and Mr Reitzel has shown how well the play and its reputation fitted in with her needs. The fretful *Porcupine* and other rigid moralists might consider the treatment of Agatha 'too much of an apology for error,' even though 'such things may be admitted in real life.' But Jane Austen could never have agreed with them. She was a moralist, but neither rigid nor merciless. And her concern was with real life.

H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS.

LONDON.

REVIEWS

Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. (Germanische Bibliothek, IV, 7.)

Lief. 5, 6. Von F. HOLTHAUSEN. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1933-4.
80 pp. and xxviii + 28 pp. 3 M. and 2 M. 50.

These two parts contain the vocabulary from *stice* onwards and complete the book, the last including, with other introductory matter, a select bibliography and an explanation of the symbols employed in the various languages cited. In previous notices the characteristic merits of the work have been sufficiently indicated; it will be of notable value to all students of Anglo-Saxon. A few comments on selected points are added below.

Among omissions may be noted *truma* 'troop,' and *ȝð(i)gian*, which is not identical with *ȝðian*, though doubtless confused with it later. The absence of *wierge* 'accursed' is intelligible enough, in spite of the claim made for its existence, but *wax-georn* 'edax' might have been recorded, whatever explanation Holthausen prefers. The form *wolc* (in Alfred) is worthy of mention along with *wolcen*, and *wulle* (already in the *Leiden Riddle*) beside *wull*. It may be doubted whether *yfes* is not simply a reverse spelling. The only example in Bosworth-Toller (or known to me) occurs in the endorsement of a charter (ninth century, but the endorsement is later), which has also *fæt*, *fyt* = *fēt*. *strēat*, both noun and adjective, is a ghost-word: on it see *Times Lit. Suppl.*, Dec. 21, 1922, p. 860, and Jan. 18, 1923, p. 45. The early forms scarcely support the view that the second element of *Sūðrige* is *īeg*; *getāwe* in poetry seems to have a long vowel and accordingly distinct from *getawu*, *getēa* neut. pl., and O.H.G. *gizawa*; *Treante* may rather be from *Trisanto*, -*onis* (cf. the form of the Sussex Tarrant in Ptolemy); under *wōcor*, O.N. *ōkr* should have been added; the association of *ȝr* 'back of an axe' with *ēare*, as given in *N.E.D.*, is supported by the variant spelling with *e*, and in that case the form is rather *iere*. There are difficulties in assuming a long vowel in *strægl* and *twēntig*, while *twægentig* seems as obviously analogical as *Wintūn-ceaster*. May not *for-ðysmed* be associated with *þismas* acc. pl. in the Vercelli Book, 135a (*Guthlac*, ed. Gonser, p. 131), and with *Heliland* 5627 *githismod*? Finally in regard to *þengel* the question arises whether the curious *fengel* is not a perverted form of the same word. In a charter of A.D. 832 occurs *þenglesham*, identified as Finglesham in Kent (near Deal), and the tendency to substitution is well known. It would be interesting if *fengel* were an early and isolated example of the substitution of *f*, established as a result of some popular association.

R. GIRVAN.

GLASGOW.

Sire Degarre. Herausgegeben von GUSTAV SCHLEICH. (*Englische Textbibliothek*, XIX.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1929. 144 pp. 7 M. 50.

Professor Schleich has produced a scholarly edition of a Middle English Romance that has suffered more neglect at the hands of modern students than it deserves, although the poem was at one time popular enough to

appear in three editions from different presses in the course of the sixteenth century. The text here printed is that of the Auchinleck MS., which, as the editor shows, is the oldest and nearer the archetype than any other extant version. He follows it without making many alterations or emendations in it; he has collated it with all other extant texts, manuscript and printed, and at times, one would suggest, errs in being too conservative.

The introduction contains a detailed account of the various MSS. and their relation to each other; a chapter is devoted to the phonology and morphology of the text, followed by another on the poet's treatment of his romance material. All this occupies a good deal of space; one would like to have seen some of it sacrificed to make room for a glossary at the end which is lacking, and to make some of the notes more elaborate. The want of a glossary is to some extent compensated for by the fairly exhaustive treatment of grammatical forms in the introduction. It may perhaps be worth adding on p. 39 (l. 34) that the form of the 1st sing. of the pers. pron. is mostly *ich*, otherwise *I*; the proportion is about 40 : 25. *I-ich* occurs initially some half dozen times; *iche* once (l. 180, where it rhymes with *riche*). To p. 40 may be added that the forms of the 3rd sing. fem. of the pers. pron. are mostly *zhe* and (*s*)*sche*, in the proportion 30 : 20 (*ze* occurs 3 times); other forms *scho*, *hii*, *hi* are uncommon. The form of the 3rd plur. pers. pron. is *þai* (some 33 examples); *zhe* occurs 3 times, *hii* twice, *hi* 5 times. Incidentally, can we still speak of a 'Kentish' *ē* < O.E. *ȝ* (cf. p. 30, l. 2)? And why is *auen* (< O.E. *æfen*) described as a 'specifically East Saxon form' (p. 29)?

A few notes on individual lines are appended:

l. 21: *gentiresse* 'nobility of character, kindness' is usually disyllabic (*N.E.D.*); the metre here requires three syllables, with the accent on the first and last.

l. 231: *drupni*, which is read as an infinitive, is more likely to be the adjective *drupi* 'downcast' (cf. *N.E.D.*), which is the reading of *F*; the next line seems to offer two adjectival phrases parallel to this: *sore wepinde* and *swiþe sori*.

l. 282: the argument in the note (p. 133) for changing *bo* to *too* (as in *F*) is not convincing.

ll. 299–300: *fostring* 'is probably singular, and its rhyme-word *starling*' also; both *F* and *R* have *sterlynge*.

l. 341: *to* is hypermetrical and unnecessary for the sense; it might well have been taken out of the text.

l. 349: *tuskes* instead of *teþ* (cf. *tuskys* in *R*) restores the rhythm; moreover, as the editor himself points out in his introduction, the word is applied not only to lions and boars but also to other wild animals and—by courtesy—also to dragons; cf. the *locus classicus* in *Beves of Hamtoun*, l. 2663.

l. 365: read *And him the dragon gan assail*.

l. 379: surely this is *Upon Dégarré(e)s side*.

l. 499: read *In feld þe king he bide gan*; for *in feld* we may compare *Sir Ysumbras*, l. 625.

l. 782: accepting *per-wiþ-alle* in the previous line, omit the initial *þer*. Making all due allowance for the universal high cost of printing in these days, the price of this slim, paper-bound volume, which is not too well printed, seems excessive.

O. K. SCHRAM.

LIVERPOOL.

The Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales: a Critical Description of Their Contents. By SIR WILLIAM MCCORMICK. With the assistance of JANET E. HESELTINE. Oxford: University Press. 1933. xxxii + 156 pp. 63s.

It is a notable evidence of the fascination of Chaucer and Chaucerian studies for a clear and powerful mind that, although Sir William McCormick for many years devoted his magnificent energies to administrative work of national importance, he never lost his interest in Chaucer. An essay of fifty-eight pages on *The Pardoner MSS.*, criticising the Zupitza-Koch methods and results and questioning their fundamental assumptions, though printed in 1900, lay unissued in the printer's hands until 1927, when Sir William had a few copies bound up for distribution to fellow Chaucerians. The germ of the magnificent volume to which in his later years he devoted all the time and energy he could spare from his official duties, now completed and published by his devoted assistant, Mrs Janet Heseltine, is contained in this early essay.

After forty-nine pages of detailed criticism of Zupitza-Koch methods and results, Sir William proceeds:

If we turn from these apparent *a posteriori* contradictions to consider the *a priori* probability of Zupitza's hypothesis, I may say that it seems to me one of the most unlikely premisses he could have chosen. To begin with, it is not at all likely that the original which Chaucer handed over to his scribe was what printers would nowadays call 'good clean copy.' Such holograph manuscripts of our greater poets as have come down to us are often covered with deletions, insertions, and transpositions, not to speak of the occasional illegibility of the handwriting. However this may be, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the first copy or copies were not perfect, and that the correct (we would probably be safer to say the *more* correct) copy or copies were the result of more or less careful correction either by the poet himself, or by some scribe collating his copy with a corrected text....He would rather, even for a new edition, correct some previous copy; and, as likely as not, he would as a rule content himself with indicating the corrections, and leave the 'rubbing and scraping' to his scribe.

But we can go beyond these probabilities. It is evident (at least, as far as evidence can go in such matters), not only that various portions of the *Canterbury Tales* were originally composed and copied at separate times, but that certain parts even of this portion which we are at present examining were also composed and copied separately....If any of these inferences were correct, they would clearly make impossible the tracing of the various MSS. back to a single original, as is attempted in Zupitza's genealogy, to say nothing of the improbability of that original presenting an exact copy of Chaucer's correct text....

And what we know of the contents and various order of the Tales in the extant MSS. bears out what we know as to the gradual development of the *Canterbury Tales* as a whole. There is as yet, unfortunately, no complete information available as to the contents and order of Tales in each extant MS. of the *Canterbury Tales*....Are we to suppose that the disorder as well as omission of Tales in Hn or Ch—not to

mention others—was the result either of emendation or of carelessness? The partial destruction of a copy, especially at beginning or end, or even the desire of a scribe to pick out one or two single Tales for which his client had a preference, may doubtless account for the imperfections of a few MSS. But neither of these theories is an adequate explanation of the disorder and omissions of the majority. Their examination leads us to the conclusion that these MSS. had never been complete at any stage of their descent. And in many cases there is evidence of additions having been made to them from time to time. But with each addition there is the greater probability of contamination of the text of the contents of the MS. before such addition.

These quotations, fragmentary though they are, may suffice to indicate the originality and fundamental soundness of Sir William's views. The textual problems of a mediæval composition are very different from those of classical texts. This is especially true of a work like the *Canterbury Tales*, which was not only left less than half-finished at the author's death but incorporated tales, copies of some of which demonstrably must have circulated among his friends as separate compositions. In the various attempts after Chaucer's death to compile a collection of the *Canterbury Tales*—of which assuredly no complete official copy circulated or even existed in his lifetime—it would be extraordinary if one or more of the compilers did not sometimes get an unrevised version of a tale and—lacking access to some of the materials (links, etc.) that lay in the author's chest—sometimes arrange the tales in an order different from that decided on by his literary executor (if there was such a person).

To the solution of such problems Sir William's great book is an important contribution. He knew, however, that it would not furnish all the evidence even for determining how many of the arrangements represented original attempts to deal with floating materials (Corpus and in part Hengwrt), how many were the result of accidental disarrangements of an unbound MS. (Petworth, Phillipps 8137, Cam. Mm. 2. 5, and in part Hengwrt), how many resulted in later days from shifting from one exemplar to another, with possible duplications, omissions, and later additions (Glasgow). He knew that the presence of a certain arrangement in a large number of MSS. was no proof of its Chaucerian origin, but was a natural result of the fact that the commercial publishers (scriveners and the like) got hold of a certain exemplar and reproduced its order. He knew further that the solution of all such questions must await the textual evidence of relationship.

Of the manner in which Mrs Heseltine has carried out the work left in her hands by Sir William's untimely death it is impossible to speak too highly. She had worked with him and under his immediate supervision. Every detail of his plans had been discussed with her many times—for he was greatly concerned about the details. Her chapter on the 'Links and Some Outstanding Divergences of Arrangement' is as complete in materials and as clearly arranged and expressed as Sir William himself could have made it. Some errors occur here and elsewhere, as is inevitable in so large a mass of details, but they are surprisingly few. Most of them are mere slips and are self-corrective. In paragraphs 38-9 of the chapter referred to, Selden should have been joined with Lansdowne as having

the 8-line link, but it has it, not between *Squire's Tale* and a (spurious) 4-line head-link to *Wife of Bath*, but between ll. 670 and 671 of *Squire's Tale*. In par. 6 the absence from Harley 7333 and Helmingham of *Shipman's Tale* as well as *Shipman-Prioress* link is implied, but it might be overlooked by a careless reader. In some other places the effort at condensation has resulted in making necessary careful reading of the whole paragraph to get the facts about a single MS.

Two obvious slips in the lists of contents are p. 405 (B²abcf for B²abef) and p. 523 (Cbc for Cb). By a somewhat similar slip, on p. 548 the newly discovered fragment Merthyr is described as having six leaves instead of six pages or three leaves. On p. 101 the name of the present owner of Delamere is given as Boies Penrose III; it should be II (I did not learn this until too late for Mrs Heseltine to correct it).

It would have been better, I think, when one or more of the tales of a group is missing in a MS., to indicate this in the list of contents on the first page of the description. Thus where *Pardoner's Tale* or *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* is missing, the symbol for the incomplete group should be Ca or Ga, not C or G. Mrs Heseltine has good reasons for sometimes using G and sometimes Ga for the incomplete group, but the distinction is not immediately clear.

Another place where an unmodified statement may lead one astray is the last sentence in the description of Hengwrt (p. 245). It is true that the MS. was disarranged in binding, but the only block of tales that can be moved is B² (d link) ef, H, which could easily be placed between the rest of B² and I. The overlapping of text into quires makes any other move impossible¹.

It did not come within the province of Sir William or his co-worker to suggest that the loss of lines in Harley 7334 at the ends of the Cook's fragment and the Man of Law's end-link is not without meaning. They both knew that A4413-14, written as a single line, come at the foot of f. 2v of a quire, and that just below it, in the thin scribble characteristic of the supervisor, occurs the note: 'Icy comencera le fable de Gamelyn.' Gamelyn begins at the top of the next recto and runs through the rest of this quire of 8 and another quire of 6.

I thought Mrs Heseltine had deciphered the name at the end of the Naples MS. (p. 549). It does indeed look like *mprfr*, but it should be *mprf*. The encipherment is the common mediæval one of keeping consonants unchanged and substituting for each vowel the consonant following it in the alphabet. To remove all doubt, the copy of 'Libeus Disconyus' in the same MS. is signed 'Quod More.'

While Mrs Heseltine was seeing the volume through the press, she made the discovery that Wynkyn de Worde's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* is not, as had been supposed, a mere reprint from Caxton, but that the latter half of it is derived apparently from a MS. closely related to Gg. 4. 27

¹ The make-up of this MS. and the differences in inks (very important in this case) form too complicated a problem to be discussed here. Nor have we space for the implications of the fact that a large triangular piece was gnawed off the upper corner of every leaf while the MS. lay unbound.

and Phillipps 6570. There is, however, little probability that it would shed new light on the subject of this volume, and it was accordingly disregarded.

Obviously most of the remarks I have just been making are not criticisms of the work but notes supplementing in a few points the necessary limitations of its information. I can recall no volume containing so many details which maintains a higher standard of accuracy.

Undoubtedly many Chaucer scholars who have long been eager to classify the MSS. will attempt to do so on the basis of the data furnished by this book, supplemented perhaps by Mr Kase's recent chapters on the Order of the Tales in the MSS. (in *Three Chaucer Studies*, by Krauss, Braddy, and Kase). Professor Rickert and I tried the experiment while Mrs Heseltine's work was still in MS. We found, as might be expected, that certain groupings, large and small, stood out very clearly on the basis of omissions, spurious lines, arrangement, etc., and some were fairly constant, but that the relations of a majority of the MSS. were uncertain or indeterminate in many parts of the text, and that many of the conflicting phenomena could be understood only with the aid of a more detailed knowledge of the variant readings.

The danger of theories based upon incomplete knowledge is well illustrated in a recent article by Professor Carleton Brown, one of our ripest scholars and most experienced manuscript men. In his general contention that certain MSS. present an earlier form of the *Clerk's Tale* he is undoubtedly right¹, but believing, as he does, that Mr Kase's study gives all the necessary data for a discussion of the variant arrangements of the tales in the MSS. and the manner in which the various arrangements originated, he falls into strange errors, which a fuller knowledge of the MSS. would have prevented. Arguing, apparently, that Chaucer himself made a first draft of a *Canterbury Tales* MS. which had, in part, the arrangement B¹F¹F², and that before achieving the arrangement of Ellesmere and its congeners (i.e., B¹DE¹E²F¹F²) he thrust E²DE¹ in between F¹ and F², thus giving the arrangement of the Pw group (i.e., B¹F¹E²DE¹F²)², he says:

This insertion of E²DE¹ between F¹ and F² would naturally have the effect of bringing the Franklin's Tale after the Clerk's, and it actually stands in this position in twenty MSS. as well as in Cx¹. But the scribes at this point evidently were confronted with a difficulty....We find unmistakable evidence of their perplexity in the varying devices which were adopted at the end of the Clerk's Tale....In Ra⁴ the Prioresses Tale follows; in Tc² the Pardoner's Tale; in Gl the Canon's Yeoman's. (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec., 1933, XLVIII, p. 1058.)

But the disarrangement of the tales in a MS. does not necessarily reflect the perplexity of the scribe. In Professor Brown's list, for example,

¹ Sir William McCormick believed in the existence of this earlier version (in part for the same reasons adduced by Professor Brown) at least as early as 1900. Indeed, he visited Chicago in October, 1925, for the express purpose of getting full information on this question by collating the readings of our photostats; it was only later that he laid aside this problem for the larger task represented in the present volume.

² Textual evidence is against the view that Chaucer made any definite arrangement of the disconnected fragments of the *Canterbury Tales*. His work was too incomplete and his plan too unsettled for that.

Ra⁴ (Rawlinson C 86) is a late miscellany containing only two of Chaucer's tales—those of the Clerk and the Prioress; Tc² (Trinity R. 3. 15) is disarranged because its ancestor (from which Caxton had apparently already printed his first edition) was shattered and disarranged (perhaps because Caxton had removed the binding); Gl (Glasgow V. 1. 1) was copied in 1476 from two MSS. with different arrangements, shifting from Cambridge Mm. 2. 5 to Rawlinson Poetry 223 (or a closely related MS.) at or about D 193, and the two tales omitted in the shift had to be added at the end. The correspondences show the process. For the correspondences, see McCormick, pp. 179, 335 and 443, and for the addition of the two tales at the end, p. 179 and especially pp. 187–8.

When the textual evidence is published in full—as we hope it will be in about two years—Sir William's volume will be found to present in practical usable form an extremely valuable part of the evidence presented in different form in our volumes. If this book had not been made by Sir William and Mrs Heseltine, it would have had to be made in this form by the editors of the forthcoming edition—indeed it was as an aid to our work that Sir William conceived and undertook it.

J. M. MANLY.

CHICAGO.

The life and death of Sir Thomas More. By NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD. Edited by ELSIE VAUGHAN HITCHCOCK. With an Introduction on *The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School*, a *Life of Harpsfield*, and Historical Notes by R. W. CHAMBERS, and with Appendices, including the Rastell Fragments; the *News-Letter to Paris*; More's *Indictment*; and More's *Epitaph*. (Early English Text Society: *Original Series*, 186.) London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1932. ccxxx+400 pp. 36s.

It must be said at the outset, or it will be lost in the 'general bumming,' to use the language of Margaret Gigs, that this great work rests and is founded on the labours of Dr Hitchcock. The text is hers, with its collations and textual notes, marginalia, glossary, indexes and much else. She has run down and checked sources and quotations innumerable and provided a text of all that survives of Rastell's *Life of More*. I believe that she knows More's English works as intimately as Harpsfield or Rastell. And she will not like me for saying these things, for she has the modesty of Mary Bassett who, though she contributed largely towards the cost of printing More's English works, was most reluctant to allow her translation of his *Christi Passio* to take its place among the works written in the Tower.

The Emmanuel MS., which Dr Hitchcock takes as the foundation of her text, has particular interest as having belonged up to 1582 to More's grandson, Thomas, head of the family, in whose house it was seized by Topcliffe the informer, and trapper of Catholics. It was this grandson, then aged 4, whom More remembered in the last sentence of his last

letter: 'and Oure Lord blesse Thomas and Austin and all that they¹ shall have.' Besides this 'association value,' this MS. has the unique advantage of being complete. Miss Hitchcock having ascertained the facts by collation of the eight extant MSS., Chambers has written a lively essay on their interpretation, a problem of particular interest, since half of the text can be checked by reference to its sources in Roper's *Life*, More's letters and works, the letters of Erasmus, Hall's *Chronicle*, *The Paris News-Letter* and elsewhere. As usual, Chambers rises clear of the particular textual problems to enunciate general principles, and his essay deserves close attention.

Nicholas Harpsfield undertook the *Life of More* at William Roper's request, to whom in his *Epistle Dedicatorie* he acknowledges himself indebted for 'great benefits and charges heaped upon him toward the supporting of his living and learning.' He was of Winchester and New College, where he graduated in Civil Law in 1543, and he was still at Oxford in 1546. In Edward's reign (1550), at the age of 31 he went, a voluntary exile, to Louvain along with More's old friend Bonvyse and other Catholics, notably John Clement and his wife, Margaret Gigs, and William Rastell and Wmifred Clement, his wife. These had all known More intimately. Clement, Royal Physician to Henry VIII and President of the Royal College of Physicians, had left St Paul's School to become More's scholar-attendant and was with him in Antwerp when *Utopia* was a-making. Margaret Gigs, 'condiscipula ac cognata filiabus Thome Mori,' a witty woman and a scholar, had been one of More's family from her infancy. Rastell, More's nephew and printer of his works from 1529 to 1534, knew these works intimately, and he edited the great collection of the English works published in 1557. Thus Harpsfield spent the rest of Edward's reign abroad with friends of More who had lived in his house, 'The Barge,' in Bucklersbury up to 1523, when the Clements took over the lease, and who knew the Chelsea home familiarly from 1523 to 1535. The exiles returned on Mary's accession and in due course, but not before Rastell had been made Serjeant in 1555, Harpsfield presented his *Life of More* as a New Year's gift to Roper. Shortly afterwards, on April 20, 1557, Rastell dedicated his edition of the English works to Queen Mary.

Harpsfield was a busy man in Mary's reign, practising as an ecclesiastical lawyer at Doctors' Commons and holding the archdeaconry of Canterbury and other livings and offices. Chambers' account of his life and works is an excellently documented study of great interest, in which much that was confused in the accounts of the brothers John and Nicholas runs clear for the first time. Under Elizabeth the brothers declined to subscribe to the Book of Religion and were sent to the Fleet, where, except for an interval in 1574, to go on bail to Bath for their health, they remained until they were too sick to be suspect of further harm. Of the works written in prison Chambers has much that is new to tell us. It is interesting to know that Foxe was aware that in the *Sex Dialogi* his assailant was Harpsfield, not Cope; that a copy of *The*

¹ John More and Anne Cressacre, his wife.

Pretended Divorce, written in fulfilment of a promise made in the *Life of More*, was seized among the papers of Carter¹; that the bibliophile, Lord Lumley (d. 1609), was interested in Harpsfield and was the owner of the best MS. now extant of the *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, as well as the Lambeth MS. of an English version of his *Christi Vita*. Chambers protests on good grounds against Bémont's ascription to Harpsfield of the *Vita Henrici VIII*, a chronicle of the Divorce. Similarly he refuses with Van Ortrooy, whose scholarship he greatly respects, to assign to Harpsfield the anonymous *Life of Fisher*. Nicholas emerges from Chambers' study a well-defined figure clearly distinguished for the first time from the other Archdeacon, his brother and fellow prisoner, John.

Harpsfield's *Life of More* is a scholarly biography; the first full biography in the English language. Moreover, it is conceived and written in the manner of which More, as a historian, was the originator and master. In order to establish this, and to demonstrate the distinction of the prose of More and his 'School,' the prose of Roper, Margaret More, Lady Alington, Thomas Lupset, Mary Bassett, William Rastell and Nicholas Harpsfield, Chambers has written an essay (130 pp.) on *The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School*, an essay of interest so manifest that Dr A. W. Pollard and the Council of the E.E.T.S. determined that it should be lifted from the Harpsfield volume and published separately, so that non-members, whom 36s. was beyond at the moment, might get it for 6s. The essay was needed. There are some who speak and write of English prose as if it began with the Authorised Version of the Bible, ignoring what is earlier than Elizabeth, or relegating it to a mediæval glory-hole in a bundle bearing the label, 'Philology.' It is as though the other national institution, Parliament, were deemed to have its origin in the Gunpowder Plot, or our church architecture to have begun with Inigo Jones. For English prose, like Parliament, is a national institution and heritage. The prose of Alfred and Aelfric, the prose of the *Ancren Riwe*, the prose of Rolle and Hilton, the prose dialogue of More and Shakespeare; these are not many prose, but one prose; and it is the unbroken history of English prose that Chambers illustrates and demonstrates. But he insists on the restoration of More to the place of eminence in that history that he occupied until English became a subject of academic study. He overthrows many idols of the class-room. 'Wiclif gets credit for being a pioneer, because only on that assumption could the crudity of the Wicliffite translation be explained.' 'We have taken Middle English prose seriously when it is either most elementary or most frivolous; and we have ignored it when it is most finished and most serious.' 'The history of English prose has been stultified by a contempt for the periods immediately preceding the Conquest and the Reformation.' From this latter contempt More has suffered; yet he was 'the first man who possessed a prose style equal to all the needs of sixteenth-century England.' But More, 'when he deter-

¹ Harpsfield's amanuensis. He was reported later to be the owner of a secret press. Executed, 1584.

mined to be an author, not merely in Latin but in English also, had not to make an English prose; he found it ready to hand; not in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, not even in Malory...but in the living tradition of the English pulpit, and in the large body of devotional vernacular literature dating from the fourteenth century and the early fifteenth.' And More founded a school which cultivated the same flexible ease in its use of vernacular prose; *vide* Roper's *Life*, Margaret's Letters and her *Treatise*, Richard Hyrde's Preface to the *Treatise*, Rastell's Prefaces and his other writings, notably the fragments extant of his *Life of More*, Lady Alington's *Letter*, Mary Bassett's translation, and now, in our hands, Harpsfield's *Life of More*. This essay is not out of place, therefore, in this edition of Harpsfield's work, and to the *Life of More* we now turn.

Following the practice of the E.E.T.S., Miss Hitchcock has provided marginal summaries as a running accompaniment to the text, but to most of the items of the marginalia she adds a note indicating Harpsfield's source. An analysis of these sources is instructive. To the notes provided by Roper, familiar to us as his *Life of More*, 180 references are made; to More's English works, with which Harpsfield shows remarkable familiarity, there are 70; to the Letters of Erasmus, 23; to *The Paris News-Letter* (for the Trial), 18; to Hall's *Chronicle*, 4; to More's Epitaph, 3; to the text of *Utopia*, 2. Harpsfield quotes from the letters of More and Margaret written during the imprisonment. He relates reminiscences he had from Bonvyse; and when he extracts anecdotes from More's writings he makes interesting identifications. His intimacy with the Ropers enables him to write of them with familiarity. We learn from him of William Roper's early interest in Lutheranism and his desire to become a preacher. He writes with devotion of Margaret Roper and her daughter, Mary. He records a witty Latin quatrain, not included in the Latin works, in which More late in his life puns on his own name (*Mōraris si sit spes*, etc.). He answers questions that many must have raised, as for instance, how so busy a man as More could write so much. It was, he finds, that his memory was excellent, his quickness and wit singular, and that he saved much time that others devote to bed and the board. Finally he has a scholar's interest in bibliographical references. His material was of many dissimilar kinds, ranging from that derived from talks and intercourse with Bonvyse, the Clements and Ropers to passages taken from the printed Epistles of Erasmus; but he welds it all into a coherent narrative that falls naturally into six chapters, each self-contained and capable of taking a chapter heading. His reconstruction of the Trial is his outstanding success; but I myself am equally impressed by the ease with which he uses material found in More's English works. His interest in Erasmus persisted to the end of his life, yet he wishes he had followed More's advice and withdrawn some things he had written. 'If he had...his books would have been better liked of our posteritie.' There are no 'legends' in Harpsfield; he is as free from credulity as Erasmus himself. As in Roper's *Life*, so in Harpsfield's there is hardly anything supernatural. Yet between these two *Lives* there is all the difference that separates the memoir in which a personal adherent

records what he knows of his hero, and the ample biography executed by one gleaned his facts from many sources. 'From Roper's notes we learn little of More's European eminence; we do not even learn that he wrote *Utopia*.' I do not know that Roper ever crossed the Channel; and it is the London More we meet in his pages. Harpsfield sees More against the wider background of his times.

Reference must be made to the full text that Dr Hitchcock gives us of the extant remains of a lost *Life of More* by William Rastell. These fragments survive in the form of notes extracted for a *Life of Fisher* in which they were subsequently used by an anonymous writer. Rastell's work—it is described as a story 'that treateth of King Henry VIII'—must have been of great length, running to several books of which Book III had over 68 chapters. It is as an eyewitness that he writes of Fisher's execution, and his account of the trap laid for Fisher by the 'mischievous messenger' (one of the King's 'subtle counsellours') leaves small room for doubt that Rich, the Solicitor-General, who deceived More and lied about it, was equally successful with Fisher.

There remain to be mentioned Chambers' 'Historical Notes,' in some ways the most impressive feature of the book. They are indispensable for the student of More and his times, and if they leave some problems unsolved they at least set out all the evidence available at present.

Notes.

That the Basel sketch with its references to the ages of the More family is to be placed early in the period Aug. 1526–Aug. 1528 is apparent from our knowledge of Margaret Roper's age, 'xix yere of age. 1524,' as Richard Hyrde tells us writing on Oct. 1, 1524. When Holbein arrived in England in the early autumn of 1526, Margaret was already in her 22nd year—the age given in the sketch (p. 302).

That John More's wife (in 1499–1500) was Johanna appears from the Index to Hustings' Deeds, where Thomas her son is also mentioned and Richard Staverton and Johanna his wife. E. C. P. 337 suggests that this Johanna was widow of John Marshall, a wealthy mercer who died 1498 (p. 305).

The water bailiff referred to by Roper was almost certainly Sebastian Hilary. His widow Margery deposed in a Chancery case affecting Roper property that she had known Thomas More and his first wife before their marriage and the family since. Margaret, she said, died at Christmas 1544, and her own husband Sebastian at Shrove-tide following (p. 330).

'remayning in a greate Booke of his workes.' Bibliographical evidence suggests that there was an interval between the completion of the printing of pp. 1–1458 of the works and the inclusion of the Index etc. with Rastell's dated Preface. In any case the word 'remayning' may be in the future tense (p. 335).

In the 630 pages of this work I have found two misprints, a comma for a full-stop in the second marginal note on p. 9, and *an* for *as* on p. xci. The comma is Miss Hitchcock's fault, the *an* is Chambers'.

A. W. REED.

An Introduction to Tudor Drama. By FREDERICK S. BOAS. Oxford: University Press. 1933. viii+176 pp. 4s. 6d.

At this time of day, and in the pages of the *Modern Language Review*, it would be superfluous to praise any piece of work by Dr F. S. Boas. His life-long devotion to Elizabethan scholarship has resulted in several important works of first-hand research as well as those smaller volumes of an introductory nature which have proved so useful to beginners. His new volume *An Introduction to Tudor Drama* rounds off these latter works of *vulgarisation*: it is a compact, well-balanced narrative of the drama from Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres* to the days of Marlowe. Dr Boas has taken full account of the results achieved by modern researches, and in ten chapters gives us a wonderfully clear résumé 'of the various streams which contributed to the great sea of Elizabethan drama'. Not only this. Dr Boas refuses to be led astray by contemporary vagaries of opinion such as that of Mr T. S. Eliot who asks us to think of Marlowe's Barabas as a deliberate burlesque of the Machiavellian villain, or by the over-confident claims of enthusiastic researchers such as the late Mrs C. C. Stopes who asked us to see in William Hunnis the author of *Godly Queen Hester* and *Jacob and Esau*. In short, the student is fortunate enough to have here the considered and condensed outline of Dr Boas' views on a period he has studied with successful zeal for so many years.

If, therefore, a sentence or two is added, it will be understood that it is a general speculation and not a particular reflection. It is this. What may we reasonably expect from literary histories nowadays? I submit that, besides a clear account of a writer's work and influence, his indebtedness and technique, and the like, we are entitled to ask for a clear statement of the historian's estimate of the value of these works. The young student, especially, is likely to be bewildered by the mass of names presented to him, and to regard them all as of equal importance. Literary historians could do much here by the use of a little courage and imagination.

H. S. BENNETT.

CAMBRIDGE.

Elizabethan Love Conventions. By LU EMILY PEARSON. Berkeley: University of California Press; London: Cambridge University Press. 1933. ix+365 pp. \$1.75.

Mrs Pearson has written a book on a fascinating subject, and has obviously worked very enthusiastically and vigorously. But, unfortunately, her vigour and enthusiasm have not enabled her to overcome many difficulties, and her book must be regarded as a compilation of materials rather than as a final contribution to her subject. Both in the text and in the appendix she quotes much that was necessary to her preliminary study, but which ought to have been digested and presented to us in a more attractive and more highly organised form. Her work is not confined to the Elizabethan period, but goes back to Chaucer and even earlier to Provence and *l'amour courtois*—hence much of it is in the

nature of a summary, and reads a little breathlessly and baldly. More important than this; much of it is concerned with making general statements that require much more argument and support than they get here before they can be seen in their right proportion. For instance, Mrs Pearson says that the 'wife of Bath perfectly epitomizes the views of the Canterbury Pilgrims regarding the woman question' (p. 15)—a statement which leaves us wondering what the Clerk or the Prioress (to name two only) would have said to this. Again, she insists that the *Nun's Priest's Tale* is a 'charming satire on the absurdities of courtly love' (p. 27), ignoring the fact that the emphasis is not mainly (if at all) upon courtly love, but upon half a dozen other things. One last example: after speaking in general terms of Drayton's 'Since there's no help,' Mrs Pearson writes (p. 200):

There is more in the lines, however, than a pretty matter of fiction. The moralist in the poet has taken the opportunity to present what he thinks the deplorable state of the society of his age. The equality of the sexes in the time of Elizabeth had disappeared. With the new régime and a new attitude toward woman's place in society, had come about a new belief in regard to love and love poetry. Was there still time to save the ideals of the people, to restore love 'from death to life'?

In such a mood he wrote the most beautiful lines of all his sonnets: 'Now at the last gasp of Love's latest breath,' etc. Not a word of justification or explanation is given for this series of statements, all crying out for some such aid. Hence, Mrs Pearson's book should be read with critical attention: the instructed will find much that is useful summarised in its pages, but much they will dispute and also much they will be forced to reject.

H. S. BENNETT.

CAMBRIDGE.

A Looking Glass for London and England. By THOMAS LODGE and ROBERT GREENE. 1594. The Malone Society Reprints, 1932. Edited by W. W. GREG.

The text of this edition is printed by permission of the authorities of the Huntington Library from photographs of the unique original (Q. 1594) in the possession of that Library. There are twelve collotype pages (including four from the unique copy of the undated edition), while B₂ and B₃, which are defective in Q. 1594, are also reprinted from Q. 1598.

The five early editions [Qq. 1594, 1598, 1602, n.d. (all black letter), 1617 (roman)], together with a few extracts in *England's Parnassus*, give us the total of original texts from all sources. The prefatory notice explains the relations of these and especially the character and position of the undated fourth, to which the editor's attention was first drawn by Professor C. R. Baskerville of Chicago¹. In the absence of conclusive evidence either way, Dr Greg treats the undated Q. as earlier than Q. 1617, hitherto considered the fourth edition. 'There are thus no less than five editions of this moral play: it will be observed that of these the

¹ See also Professor Baskerville's description of the Q.; *Mod. Phil.*, xxx, 1932, pp. 29-51.

first, second and fifth' [1594, 1598, 1617] 'agree page for page, and so do the third and fourth' [1602, n.d.].¹

Variant readings are not recorded in detail as 'none of the later editions...are of the least authority, and except in cases where the original text is corrupt, their readings possess no interest whatever.' The editor, however, checks the variants recorded by Churton Collins² and reminds us that Dyce is the only modern editor whose work on the text possesses any value as a whole.

Dr Greg places the date of composition in 1588 or 1590 and refrains from adding to the attempts to distinguish the authors. (For more precise conclusions upon both these points we are, indeed, dependent rather upon the biographical than the bibliographical approach. Professor Sisson's recent work³, with its detailed comparison of the references in the usurer scenes of *The Looking Glass* and the newly discovered facts of Lodge's life, goes far towards making the distinction between his share and Greene's a matter of fact.)

There is an interesting and valuable note upon the Chicago copy and its MS. additions. It must, as Dr Greg points out, have been a seventeenth-century prompt book; some of the MS. additions, moreover, are in one of the various hands which appear also in MS. Egerton 1994 (B.M.), notably in *Edmond Ironside* and *The Two Noble Ladies*. He suggests that it was probably used for country performance: the only link with a definite company is, however, the name of Reason—that of an actor in Prince Charles's Company from 1610 to 1625 'who appears to have led a section of it in the provinces at least as early as 1613.'

U. M. ELLIS-FERMOR.

LONDON.

The Lost Plays and Masques, 1500-1642. By GERTRUDE MARIAN SIBLEY. (*Cornell Studies in English*, xix.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; London: H. Milford. xiv+205 pp. 10s. 6d.

Miss Sibley, who is described as Associate Professor of English in The College of the Pacific, has produced a book that should be useful to students of the Elizabethan drama. It gives, in dictionary form, all that is known or conjectured of those plays whose titles are recorded but which are not otherwise preserved. There may, at first sight, be no obvious reason why lost plays should be separated from extant, and the lists of Halliwell and Hazlitt include both. It is true, however, that information regarding extant plays is generally more readily accessible, and Dr J. Q. Adams, to whom acknowledgment is made, was probably well inspired when he advised the preparation of the present work.

It is a compilation from published sources, and makes no pretence at original research. Of course considerable additions might be made by any one who had the opportunity of delving among unpublished material.

¹ P. vii.

² Vol. I of his ed. of Greene's plays (1905).

³ C. J. Sisson, *Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1933 (see especially pp. 88-9, 151-6).

But that Miss Sibley in California obviously had not, and it is as a compilation that her work must be judged.

Its great merit lies in the exhaustive use she appears to have made of periodicals and other less accessible sources. So far as I can judge, her search has been very complete, and in this respect her work should be a real help to the student. Most of her material, however, is of course drawn from standard works, dramatic bibliographies, histories of the stage and drama, editions of well-known documents, and the like. It is here that the compiler's refusal to exercise a critical discrimination seems to detract from the value of her book. She speaks in her preface of having 'summarised the opinions of the more trustworthy scholars.' But the trust of which a scholar is worthy is often open to dispute. I cannot imagine what advantage is to be gained from repeating the twenty-five or fifty year old speculations of Greg or Fleay. In at least nine cases out of ten they have lost all interest since the publication of Chambers's conclusions, in the formation of which they received all the attention they deserved, and a bare reference would surely suffice. It is hardly a service to students to revive conjectures which their authors, if still living, would wish others to forget as they have themselves forgotten.

The qualities by which a compilation such as this may be judged are completeness, accuracy, and competence in presentment. On each score Miss Sibley's work may be commended, though weaknesses appear here and there. There is a head-title on p. 1, 'The Lost Plays and Masques.' This is rather misleading, for the list that follows includes plays only, the masques appearing in a separate list with its own head-title on p. 183, 'Lost Masques with known Titles.' The running-title is clumsily given as 'Lost Plays and Masques' throughout. The list of authorities—headed 'Abbreviations'—contains a number of eccentricities. The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, is entered twice, once as *C.S.P.* and once, more normally, as *S.P.D.*; and why should the Foreign Series of the same appear as *R.O. Foreign Papers*? Why should Feuillerat's work on the Revels under Elizabeth be given as *Revels*, and that on the Revels under Edward and Mary as *E. & M.*? The only entry under Bale is *Index Brit.* for the *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (which is said to have been 'compiled c. 1547-57,' though it is more likely to have been begun in 1549). This is not a particularly valuable work, and no mention is made of the *Catalogus* of 1557-9, though it is frequently referred to in the course of the book. The *Summarium* of 1548 should also have been consulted and entered. It is referred to under an erroneous title on p. 38. Pursuing Bale I find (p. 154) a title *Super utroque regis* rendered unintelligible by the omission of the word *conjugio*. It should be noted that in several instances the titles given in the *Summarium* differ from those of the *Catalogus*: Miss Sibley only gives the latter. Thus the *Imago amoris* appears as *Amoris imago*, and *Contra Momos* as *Erga Momos*. The incipits given by Bale might with advantage have been recorded. It may be added that two of Bale's own plays, *Super oratione dominica* and *De septem peccatis*, are only recorded in the manuscript *Anglorum Heliades* of 1536, and consequently do not appear here.

A few random notes may serve to indicate the nature of the not very serious deficiencies of the volume. It is hardly fair to students to refer (p. 7) to Tannenbaum's *Shakspeare Forgeries* 'for a discussion of the genuineness of the Revels' Account' without indicating that no competent critic has endorsed his views. A reference might at least have been given to A. E. Stamp's complete facsimile and defence of the document in question. *Evordanus* (or *Euordanus*), *Prince of Denmark* (p. 49), is not a play but a romance, as Herford correctly called it, though he perversely interlarded his remark in a discussion of plays treating of German history. It is recorded in Hazlitt's *Handbook* (p. 189) as in the Althorp collection. I suppose it was Herford who misled Schelling. Of *Eurialus and Lucretia* (p. 48) Miss Sibley remarks rather naively that Warton noted it as 'first written in Latin prose, 1440': it is of course Pius II's famous novel *De duobus amantibus*. By the way, the prompt copy of Marmion's *Soldered Citizen* (not *Citizens*) is extant in private hands.

Miss Sibley duly enters a list of seven titles preserved in *The Mayor of Queenborough*, noting that Middleton most likely invented them. She also enters a similar list in *Histrionastix*: but are not these titles just as likely to be fictitious, even though one of them is '*Mother Gurton's neadle* (a tragedy)'? There are many obviously imaginary titles given in plays that it would be fantastic to record. Into her *Masque* section Miss Sibley has copied wholesale from Hazlitt's *Manual* the titles given in MS. Addit. 10444, a musical manuscript at the British Museum. But this is only a collection of dance tunes, and it is unlikely that the titles belong, generally at any rate, to productions of a dramatic nature¹.

A final section gives a list of 'English Plays with known Titles acted in Germany,' and there is a short 'Index of Playwrights.' In spite of its rather mechanical nature the book should prove handy to those who merely look for a collection of references and opinions and do not ask for any critical evaluation of the information supplied.

W. W. GREG.

LONDON.

The Education of Shakespeare. By GEORGE A. PLIMPTON. London and New York: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1933. 140 pp. 7s. 6d.

Mr Plimpton's agreeable account of the early educational books in his own library is sufficiently interesting without the added attraction of the not altogether relevant title which he has given to his book. The profusion of valuable reproductions of pages from his rare books excites both the

¹ The title of the manuscript (added later) is 'Masques, and other Tunes,' and in it 'Masque' is used similarly to 'Allmaine,' etc. Presumably the tunes so called were dances of maskers, but a masked dance is not necessarily dramatic. Some may have been, and probably were, taken from known dramatic masques, e.g., 'The Lord Hayes his first Masque,' to which the date '1607' has been (it would seem later) attached, may be from Campion's masque for the marriage of Lord Hay and Honora Denny. But in no case can it be assumed that the titles given in the manuscript are those of the literary compositions. Thus when we find 'The Fooles Masque' followed by 'The Nymphes Dance' it is pretty clear that the names merely apply to the tunes, irrespective of origin. The manuscript, however, would repay closer investigation. Hazlitt did not list by any means all the titles.

envy and the curiosity of the reader. I should have welcomed further bibliographical details concerning most of them. There is, for example, a reproduction of a portrait of Eliot described as being prefixed to his *Castell of Helth*. It is obviously engraved from a re-drawing of the original by Holbein in Windsor Castle. But it does not appear in any of the early editions. Mr Plimpton does not tell us from what edition it is taken, nor does he otherwise mention the book. The whole question of portraits is a knotty one, with extra-illustration intervening more frequently than is generally imagined. It can hardly be doubted that this is an eighteenth-century lithograph inserted into Mr Plimpton's edition, probably from Bartolozzi's engraving.

It is odd to find the publisher's name, Chard, misprinted 'Chare' even on a title-page of Mulcaster's *Positions* of 1581 (p. 29). A marginal note on the title-page of Nowell's *Catechism* of 1573 (p. 61) attributes it to Jewel. The title-page of *Flores Aliquot Sententiarum* of 1547 bears an interesting reference to Richard Taverner's edition of the *Mimes* of Publius Mimus, recently published and advertised here as a companion-book (p. 101).

Mr Plimpton's copy of *The Abridgement of the Book of Assises*, 1555, bears on the title-page the autograph signature of Roger Ascham, dated 15 October 1556, below four lines of Anglo-Saxon neatly written in the old script, apparently also by Ascham (p. 17). The passage is taken from the *Laws of Edward and Guthrum*, § 2. 2, with two slips, *cristendom* for *crisendom*, and *dead* for *dæd*. The variant readings in the four lines show that Ascham must have been copying from the lost manuscript that Lambarde used twelve years before Lambarde published his *Αρχαιονομία*.

It is not the case that 'paper was not manufactured at all in England till the sixteenth century' (p. 67), for John Tate was making paper for Wynkyn de Worde in 1495 and probably earlier. On p. 90, for *arcus* read *arcu*. What is here called an 'exorcism' on the hornbooks (p. 47) needs no justification in childish original sin. It is merely the necessary 'invocation' of the name of God for all human activities, here the acquirement of learning. The preliminary cross has the same signification.

An index and a list of illustrations are a desideratum in this pleasing book by a book-lover who is ready to share his treasures with others.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

The Works of Thomas Purney. Edited by H. O. WHITE. (*Percy Reprints*, XII.) Oxford: Blackwell. xxxvi + 112 pp. 1933. 5s.

Mr White has done something well worth doing in this edition of Purney's *Works*. The title is rather misleading since the book does not contain all Purney's writings; the long heroï-comic poem on *The Chevalier de St George* is cut down to two pages of extracts, and the accounts of condemned criminals written by Purney as the Ordinary of Newgate are omitted. But these works are unimportant when compared with those which Mr White reprints for the first time since 1717—the Pastorals and the critical writings.

Purney is a typically English critic and a charming poet. He has Dryden's independence and Dryden's sanity, and does not hesitate to call Rapin 'Facetious Head!' The French critics have done nothing but elaborate what had been already discussed by Aristotle; Purney wants criticism to concern itself with new questions and draws up a list of these (pp. 48-53). He has interesting things to say about Tragedy and the Epic, but chiefly discusses the Pastoral, which has not received much attention and yet is 'capable of the Perfection of Epick Poetry and Tragedy. *Viz.* one entire poetical Action; Manners, or Characters; a moral Result, &c.' His own pastorals are meant to illustrate this, and also to show his theory of pastoral diction. The true pastoral should exclude every element of strength; and the author can manage this only by avoiding all such strong words as *admit*, *deride*, *condemn* (Purney, it seems, reserves the Latin part of the language for the Epic), and by using tender dialect words and soft expressions from Shakespeare and Spenser. 'But I fear he'll find the chiefest part of the Language must proceed from his own Invention.' Purney's poetry is not so strange as this might lead us to expect; he does not invent many words, and his obscurity is usually the result of his compressed syntax, and not of absence of meaning:

Soothly, a-frosty Morns she'll set
Her WINDOW ope, and much of Meat;
Then, oh how she will cherrup fair,
The gentle BIRDS out eager AIR.

This passage is, in all but the difficulty of meaning, typical of his poetry, of its lightness of spirit and intimacy of description. The poetry is as independent and as refreshing as the criticism; he can remind us in turn of an Elizabethan, of Hopkins and of Stevenson while still remaining definitely himself:

Set still SWEET! Wind might wag: or LEVERET rush,
With Cock-up Ears: don't go ' or Bird from bush....

My heart's on the Hills and the Heaths with the Wind.

Mr White might have annotated a little more fully. Some important debts of Purney to Dryden's criticism are noted while others are not. 'Spencer's long description of a Woman...' might have been given its reference. And his estimate of Purney as 'spiritually *dépaysé*, an exile in time' is scarcely true. Purney was no Chatterton; he was a great admirer of the Augustan age—'our excellent Age' he calls it, and he is full of praise for Addison and Philips. His poetry would have been at home in no period, and its author was independent to the verge of being eccentric. If Purney did not fulfil the promise he showed, this was due to himself and not to his age, and if he inherited 'Bare, ruined choirs' as Mr White asserts, Purney was certainly unconscious of the disadvantage.

ARTHUR TILLOTSON.

Henry Fielding: Novelist and Magistrate. By B. M. JONES. London: Allen and Unwin. 1933. 256 pp. 8s. 6d.

Fielding's Theory of the Novel. By FREDERICK OLDS BISSELL, Jr. (*Cornell Studies in English*, xxii.) Ithaca, N Y.: Cornell University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. xii+86 pp. 5s. 6d.

Fielding is not an author who comes in and goes out of fashion; his head is now fixed steadily above the clouds, and it is probably no more than a coincidence that several books have recently been written about him. Of the two studies under review, the first is a clear and well-informed account of Fielding's contribution to English law, and the extent to which legal references appear in his plays and novels. The author has the advantage of being himself a barrister-at-law, and his readers will probably find most profit in the third section of this book, in which Mr Jones deals very capably with Fielding's career as a magistrate. Without needless exaggeration he makes it quite clear that even if Fielding had never written a single novel or play he would still be entitled to the gratitude and respect of his countrymen for his humane and practical efforts to reform one branch of English law. Occasionally Mr Jones seems to hold the wrong sort of brief for his author, as when (p. 121) he tries to explain away his reputation for liking low company by suggesting that this was probably due to the fact that he spent the last few years of his life 'in the sordid atmosphere of Bow Street.' But surely it is not necessary nowadays to make this sort of apology: Fielding did enjoy low life, and it was fortunate for the English novel that he had not the morbid gentility of some of his contemporaries. Mr Jones, however, has written a useful account of Fielding's legal career and interests, and the subject was certainly important enough to deserve separate treatment.

Of Dr Bissell's short study it is not possible to speak with enthusiasm; the addition of this volume to the Cornell Studies in English does little more than assure us that its author has got his own mind clear on the subject of his research. As a contribution to learning it suffers by having been immediately preceded by a much better book, Dr Ethel Thornbury's *Fielding and the Comic Prose Epic*, and indeed Dr Bissell has little to offer but a thin commentary on the introductory chapters to *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones*. Had he been content to wait, he might have had a book to write.

J. R. SUTHERLAND.

LONDON.

Charles Lamb and his Contemporaries. By EDMUND BLUNDEN. Cambridge: University Press. 1933. x+216 pp. 7s. 6d.

Literary Friendships in the Age of Wordsworth. Edited by R. C. BALD. Cambridge: University Press. (*The Cambridge Anthologies*.) 1932. xxiv+284 pp. 7s. 6d.

Mr Blunden's Clark Lectures on Charles Lamb are as delicate and discerning in their criticism as might be expected. The book is important,

not so much for any directly original research—though there is evidence of that—as for the new light cast by one finely critical mind on the workings of another. Whether Mr Blunden is correct in one particular contention may remain debatable: that, but for the tragedy which broke his life, Lamb might as a poet have rivalled his greatest contemporaries. That the poetic instinct was in him any reader merely of the quotations here must admit, but the instinct is present, and yet does not develop, in many others. If it had been as strong as in Wordsworth or Coleridge, would even the tragedy of 1796 have caused more than a temporary check to its development? Yet Mr Blunden may be right in this, as in other of his pronouncements: passages of Lamb's earlier verse (e.g., the stanza quoted on p. 55 and the extract from *John Woodvil* on pp. 61–2) have a richness which seems to anticipate Keats, and which helps to explain Lamb's enjoyment of Keats, who was attempting a kind of poetic beauty which he himself had attempted.

One serious and two lighter complaints may be made. The serious one is a protest against the hint conveyed in the preface that this book may remain the author's 'only lengthy observation on Charles Lamb.' It is not lengthy, and if Mr Blunden is attempting to make Dr Johnson's excuse to George III, we are entitled to retort on him as the King did on Dr Johnson. Then, is the postscript 'Thank you for Liking my Play!!' either 'ironical' or 'a complaint against Wordsworth's egotism'? It seems to one reader at least straightforward enough: Wordsworth once said that Lamb's prose was exquisite, and on another occasion that all his poetry was delightful, and he may surely be allowed to have praised the play to its author without being accused of egotism. Lamb's relegating his thanks to a postscript may be evidence of his own modesty, and even of his disappointment with the public, but scarcely of anything more. And finally, a special Demon must have intervened on p. 130 to spoil one of the most pathetic lines of the *Extempore Effusion*: no poet like Mr Blunden and no reader of the Cambridge Press could be guilty of substituting *our* for *his*.

Mr Bald's volume might serve as an illustrative companion to Mr Blunden's. It is a well-selected and well-arranged anthology which does what it sets out to do, to show what the more important authors of the period said to or about one another, with the addition of a few passages in which we see the great through the eyes of the less great. There is a brief and good introduction, and Mr Bald has provided prefatory notes where they seemed necessary.

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

The Later Wordsworth. By EDITH C. BATHO. Cambridge: University Press. 1933. x+417 pp. 16s.

Miss Batho has done in this interesting *Apologia* something that very badly wanted doing. Since the revelation of the episode with Annette Vallon, Wordsworth's life and work have become a favourite field of investigation and theorising for our younger critics who believe they have

found in some of the phrases of modern psychology—inhibitions, sublimation, transference, etc.—a key that turns easily in every door and reveals what one wishes to find. Mr Herbert Read's *Wordsworth, The Clark Lectures* (1929–30) and Mr Fausset's *The Lost Leader* (1933) are the most recent and outspoken examples of this analytic treatment, this diagnosis psychological or metaphysical of a poet who after his early years in some way or other lost his soul. With the story of Annette as clue, Mr Read can discover the beginning of the disintegration as early as 1797, that is, at the very date of the first emergence of Wordsworth's poetic genius in its full power, his recovery of happiness and the overflow of that happiness in song, in poems which have no equal as the expression of spiritual convalescence, returning health of body, mind and soul. This is how Mr Read describes it: 'Wordsworth was recovering his stability, finding his ideal self, or personality, his philosophy of nature and his poetic genius; he was losing Annette, his faith in youth and change, his fundamental honesty.' It is a strange combination of experiences which one would hardly expect to find in poems of such untroubled and rapturous joy as 'It is the first mild day of March,' 'I heard a thousand blended notes,'

One morning thus by Esthwaite lake
When life was sweet, I knew not why,

or

The sun, above the mountain's head,
A freshening lustre mellow
Through all the long green fields has spread,
His first sweet evening yellow.
Books! 'tis a dull and endless strife:
Come, hear the woodland linnet,
How sweet his music! on my life
There's more of wisdom in it.

This great recovery was to be the central theme of *The Prelude*, and if with Mr Read we are to accept the recovery as meaning an end of love, of faith in youth and change, a final breach with fundamental honesty, what are we to make of that poem? Mr Read hints how we are to take it in his adjective 'ideal.' *The Prelude* is not a genuine record of Wordsworth's spiritual and poetic growth, but an ideal reconstruction of that life contemplated from a later point of view, from a time when he has repressed or denied some of his most poignant experiences and sublimated those he selected to cherish. Because in one of his early letters (written before he had recovered from the shattering experiences of his sympathy with the promises held out by the French Revolution) Wordsworth wrote: 'I begin to wish much to be in town. Cataracts and mountains are good occasional society, but they will not do for constant companions'—a sentiment to the truth of which the whole tenor of Wordsworth's life bears witness—no poet felt more strongly than he the need of communication from time to time with his fellows, with understanding minds—Mr Read declares that this statement 'is a denial of the central doctrine of *The Prelude* and one of those minute fissures of reality that make us doubt the autobiographical validity of that idealistic structure.'

Annette is, Mr Read and Mr Fausset will have it, the clue to Wordsworth's life, and to the failure of his later poetry, the explanation of that last phase in 'an atmosphere of domestic tyranny and provincial narrowness; of decaying sensibility and the slow growth of a thick shell of convention—conventional religion, conventional morality, and worst of all, conventional poetry.'

What an untrue picture this is of Wordsworth's later life at home and in the world Miss Batho shows by an appeal to evidence, recorded evidence, not psychological and prejudiced interpretation. But before coming to Miss Batho's picture of the later man I must say a word on this reading of Wordsworth's earlier experience and its result in his greater poetry. In the absence of a full knowledge of the Annette incident we may, I suppose, read it in this manner, though I cannot myself find anywhere in Wordsworth's poetry any evidence of that troubled conscience, that sense of the loss of innocence, on which both the writers referred to lay stress so insistently—nothing remotely resembling the war between conscience and a perverse will of which Byron's later poetry is the record, or even of what one divines must be the accent of remorse in one or two of Shelley's lyrics, where certainly one might expect to hear such a note. No poetry breathes, as I have said, a more untroubled spirit of joy than that which flows from Wordsworth between the recovery of his peace of mind and the discovery of the gradual decay of his supernormal sensibility—a decay of a kind of which everyone who has had any acuteness of sensibility in youth becomes sooner or later aware. Wordsworth is not the only poet whose later work lacks inspiration.

Is it not possible to read the history of Wordsworth's life, including this episode, in quite another way and one more in harmony with the tone of the poetry written between 1797 and 1807, if it does not explain the gradual decline of his poetic inspiration after that date, which is another question? That his love for Annette had been an exciting, absorbing incident Wordsworth's own description in *Vaudracour and Julia* is sufficient evidence:

Earth lived in one great presence of the spring;
Life turned the meanest of her implements,
Before his eyes, to price above all gold—

and that Wordsworth could so write about it is evidence that in looking back he felt no inclination either to suppress or belie the experience. But the ferment which a passionate experience excites is not always a safe clue to its depth, its origin in the deeper levels of his personality. First love, especially, for a young man who has not given himself away in cheaper 'furtive lust,' the discovery that a woman of his own class and upbringing can love him so well as to deny him nothing, is a tremendous experience; but it may be a misleading one. Witness Milton; or take the instance of Shelley again. The description of love in the lines quoted above is to my mind a truer one than that given in *Epipsychidion*; but it is not so ecstatic. Yet in what did Shelley's ecstatic passion

eventuate? Nothing. Disillusionment. A state of 'as you were,' and an eager looking round for another woman with whom to renew the experience:

The Serpent is shut out from paradise.

It is of course a compliment that Mr Read and Mr Fausset pay to Wordsworth in taking it for granted that he was not so 'tickle o' the sere' as Shelley, that for his stronger, tougher nature such an experience meant more, would make a deeper and more enduring mark. Yes; but that mark may take another form than that of a troubled conscience. Anyone who has had occasion to make a sympathetic yet detached study of religious conversion will have observed certain differences in its effect—in some a violent fermentation which subsides and leaves no trace behind; in others a fermentation that does also subside without producing any profound alteration in character and life, yet leaves its mark, if only in the subject's better understanding of himself, of what is or is not for him. But there is a third effect produced more rarely, an effect not of fermentation but rather of crystallisation. The religious appeal acts like the passing of an electric spark through a prepared solution; the character takes a shape it will never again lose. The reason is that in such a person the earlier, secular, careless life had not represented adequately the deeper strata of the soul; it was the religious awakening which revealed to the subject his own true self. So can love act in some, on the whole, one must admit, rare natures. Wordsworth's love for Annette was, like Shelley's, a violent fermentation resembling in that his first passionate enthusiasm for the French Revolution. Both left their mark, but that mark is not to be deciphered as a deeply troubled conscience about Annette or a desertion of the cause of humanity. The issue of both was ultimately a deeper self-revelation. Just as it was impossible for Wordsworth, with his robust mind, to continue with Shelley all his life to think that if Kings and Priests could all be hanged the world would run on wheels towards Elysium, so it was not possible for him to keep up a passion once he realised it had no roots in his deeper nature; nor, on the other hand, could he like Shelley simply forget it and pass on. He had a duty to Annette and, so far as one can discover, endeavoured to discharge it. The fact remains that the full flow of Wordsworth's stream of song began, not with the passion for Annette and the Rights of Man, but with his escape from them, his realisation of the stratification of his own soul. Poetry as passion recollected in tranquillity—Mr Read has justly corrected the misinterpretation of that phrase—is a description of Wordsworth's poetry as perhaps of no other poet's; for the theme of all the poems of his best years is the life he had lived from childhood to the year 1797, but that life as seen by one who had escaped from certain powerful but misleading influences, and can now read the whole in the light of a new revelation. That is his one great theme. Even if he draws from later details of experience he fits them into that picture and mood. From France and passion he reverted with all the force of a deep and passionate nature to England and affection.

Dorothy and, supplying the intellectual element which she could not, Coleridge, provided the electric spark which crystallised Wordsworth's emotional and moral nature.

Miss Batho's book is of course not concerned with this earlier Wordsworth, and she has not found it necessary to add to the increasing number of analyses of *The Prelude*, analyses which tend too much to assume that it is a philosophical treatise rather than a poem. A poet utilises philosophical ideas, whether derived with John Donne from Thomas Aquinas or with Wordsworth from Hartley, not to elaborate a complete philosophy, but as a help to define and articulate emotional experiences and convictions. Miss Batho's concern is with the later man and poet, 'the Lost Leader' as Browning described him and as the complacent Liberalism of the nineteenth century naturally thought of him; the man who in the age of 'unexampled progress,' of the glorious expansion of Macaulay's panacea for all ills, *laissez faire*, the doctrine that the duty of government was not to afford any paternal protection to the weak but to stand aside 'leaving capital to find its more lucrative course, commodities their fair price, industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment'—the Wordsworth who felt that this was not what he had hoped for and was a progress, as Carlyle declared in much more violent language, towards a precipice, and so drew back and apparently entrenched himself in a Tory resistance to change. That this did lead Wordsworth to oppose changes that were imperative and have proved, if not in their first yet in their ultimate workings, beneficial or capable of being beneficial, need not be denied. But who to-day will say that Wordsworth and Carlyle were wrong in their distrust of democracy working merely by the counting of noses, without regard to the complex structure of a social organism, or in disliking an industrialism of 'rugged individualism' which took no regard for the real inequalities produced by wealth and poverty?

To prove that Wordsworth despite his Toryism was not indifferent to the welfare of humanity and the poor, was not a closed, hardened mind, Miss Batho appeals to the evidence of those who knew him. A man has a right to be judged by his equals, and those who admire him may rest in their opinion. Miss Batho's witnesses are men of such high authority and of such different shades of political thought as John Stuart Mill, Thomas Carlyle, William Rowan Hamilton, Thomas Cooper the Chartist, and others. The more depreciatory descriptions of Wordsworth as an egotist who could talk only of his own poetry proceeded, she has shown, from a rather narrow circle in close touch with one another of whom Hazlitt, for special personal reasons, was the most envenomed. If Wordsworth left on the minds of some who heard him the impression of being self-centred, he was in that like many other literary men who are good talkers, Macaulay, Carlyle, Coleridge; and if Wordsworth talked of his own poetry it was because in the circle he moved in (to which Shelley and Keats hardly belonged) he was almost alone in regarding poetry with entire seriousness, as a thing of the first importance in the life of a country.

Miss Batho is on more difficult ground in dealing with Wordsworth's religion and with his later poetry as poetry. On the former subject she is, I think, essentially right. Whatever phases of thought on religion and morals he may have passed through in the years of fermentation, to say that in his great poetry Wordsworth writes as a pantheist seems to me a misapprehension alike of its underlying thought and of the feeling it communicates. In an interesting analysis of one of the rejected passages of *The Prelude* (which Mr de Selincourt has printed) Mr Read brings out very well the clearness with which Wordsworth had distinguished, yet interrelated, Nature, Man, and God: 'So the great union of Man and Nature is consummated by a process of association which links up, at every stage, experience and the experiencing self, leading from sensation to feeling, from feeling to thought, and then creating a union of these faculties in God, who is the Whole of Being.' If I understand this aright (which I am not sure) it is what Miss Batho means by Wordsworth's 'panentheism.' God is in Man and God is in Nature, and yet God transcends both, and the theme of Wordsworth's nature poetry is not so much the divine spirit manifested in Nature as the simpler and happier relation of natural things to God, to the inner law of their being. Henry Vaughan and Thomas Traherne had, in an earlier century, the same intuition of this happier, simpler relation of natural things to God. But Wordsworth reads the lesson of that intuition with a less obvious reference to the Christian doctrine of the Fall, more in the spirit of the age of Rousseau:

The birds around me hopped and played,
Their thoughts I cannot measure:—
But the least motion that they made,
It seemed a thrill of pleasure....
If this belief from Heaven be sent,
If such is Nature's holy plan,
Have I not reason to lament
What Man has made of Man?

What is the contrast Wordsworth here emphasises? I would venture to read it thus. The sources of happiness in all organic being—indeed in all being Wordsworth would say in moments of exaltation when he is lending life and personality to streams and winds and mountains—are impulse and law. Happiness is the consciousness, in Aristotle's phrase, of ἀνεμπόδιστος ἐνέργεια. The life of flowers and birds and animals is such a life. They are happy because their impulses flow freely along the channels prescribed by the law of their being by God. How this has been attained to by those who survive in the struggle for existence is a question which no Darwin had yet raised. The cause of man's peculiar trouble is twofold. He fetters his natural freedom by artificial laws of his own invention—social taboos, prudential maxims, traditional inhibitions. On the other hand he will continue to 'kick against the pricks,' to fight against the deeper laws of his nature which have their root in his social nature and his dependence on God. A Rob Roy achieves release from the first of these, and in so far is happy because free:

The creatures, see, of flood and field,
 And those that travel on the wind!
 With them no strife can last; they live
 In peace, and peace of mind.
 For why?—because the grand old rule
 Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
 That they should take who have the power,
 And they should keep who can.

But this is a half truth expressed in a mood half humorous, half serious, for the law of man's nature is not that of the animals and flowers, but ultimately the law of love:

by love subsists
 All lasting grandeur, by pervading love;
 That gone, we are as dust.

What Wordsworth learns from Nature is not naturalism, *fay ce que voudras*, and Rabelais' doctrine of liberty rests itself on a faith in human nature. Rabelais is a humanist, as were Montaigne and Milton; and on the strength of the well-known lines written above Tintern Abbey Mr Read makes Wordsworth, and justly, a humanist also. But the humanism of all these poets is not, as he thinks, and is the fashion now to declare, an entire contradiction of supernatural religion. Their humanism is the denial of a supernatural authority, or what claims to be so, commanding what is repellent to the deeper instincts of the human heart. If the Jewish prophets spoke the words of supernatural revelation, they spoke also in the language of the human heart outraged by religious demands which involved passing their children through the fire to Moloch and sanctioning the orgies of fertility rites. To sacrifice and hecatombs they preferred a command to which the heart assented: 'do justice and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God.'

I cannot, therefore, see that there was anything in the poetic creed of Wordsworth's years of great creative work that made it an apostasy to revert to the Christian and Anglican tradition in which, Miss Batho points out, he had been reared. Indeed Mr Aldous Huxley has detected an Anglican flavour in the fine lines written before 1805:

The unfettered clouds, and region of the heavens,
 Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light—
 Were all like workings of one mind, the features
 Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
 Characters of the great Apocalypse,
 The types and symbols of Eternity,
 Of first, and last, and midst, and without end.

'Something,' says Mr Huxley, 'far more deeply interfused, had made its appearance in this Wordsworthian scene. The God of Anglicanism had crept under the skin of things' (*Do What You Will*, p. 119). So Mr Huxley in mockery says what Miss Batho seriously contends regarding Wordsworth's 'panentheism' and the Catholic tradition in which he had been educated. If that tradition was at the back of Wordsworth's mind during all these years, it is not difficult to understand that he should

retreat into the shelter of a more dogmatic and institutional religion when the ardour of his joyous and poetic faith in Nature began to give way with the decay of his sensibility and his encounter with the tragic facts of life. For every convert—and Wordsworth's crisis had been in the nature of a conversion—the problem arises sooner or later what is to be his support and guidance when the first fervour and glow of feeling has subsided. It is just here that, if he can accept them, dogmatic and institutional religion come to his aid, definitions and rites. They are not the expression of his own highest moments but are an evidence and reminder in moods of depression and dullness that such experiences have been and may be again.

The first severe shock to Wordsworth's recovered joy and faith was the death of his brother John in 1803. For Wordsworth affections were passions. His affection for his sister was so intense as inevitably to suggest to psychological critics of to-day an erotic interpretation. But the same interpretation would have in that case to be extended to his love for his children, for his daughter Dora especially, one might even say for his brother. The loss of each of these was as the tearing up of something from the very roots of his heart. To every man comes sooner or later a realisation of the tragic character of life, and it could only come with the greater poignancy to one who, having passed through a violent fermentation in youth, had emerged into the sunlight again, and, with a force derived from a supernormal organic sensibility and a vivid creative imagination, renewed his joy and faith in life. What was he then to do? He might yield like the Solitary in *The Excursion* to despondence, to the conviction that:

Earth and high Heaven fail from the prime foundation;
All things are here to rive the heart, and all are vain,
Horror and scorn and hate and fear and indignation;
Oh, why did I awake? When shall I sleep again?

He might, on the other hand, if I can follow Mr Fausset, have attained to a mystical faith in life which would have made him 'love good and evil,' a strange creed which Mr Middleton Murry apparently has evolved from a misprint in a poem of Keats. The artist indeed may find an equal aesthetic interest in good and evil. The saint may believe, and attain at moments to the conviction that in God these contradictions will find an ultimate solution. No living and suffering man, who is honest with himself, will ever feel or think that he is equally content with good and evil. Attaining to this mystical height Wordsworth would, I gather from the same source, have been indifferent to the hope of immortality, of another and better world beyond this. Historically it is only in some such faith and hope that men have ever, in the face of sorrow and death, risen beyond resignation to faith and peace of mind. It was the end of Jewish prophecy, after all its phases of earthly hope and expectation had passed. To Blake the only explanation of evil was that the vegetable world of the senses is an illusion, that truth lies beyond:

The Grave is Heaven's golden Gate.

Wordsworth had too robust a mind to become a pseudo-mystic; too honest to affect ecstasies of religious conviction. In his later religion, as in his later politics, he fell back on a Christian Stoicism. He did not really cease to believe in human progress as Mr Fausset asserts, though, like Carlyle, he did not swallow all the nostrums of current Whig doctrine. 'You were right,' he said to Cooper the Chartist, 'I have always said the people were right in what they asked; but you went the wrong way to ask it... The people are sure to have the franchise as knowledge increases; but you will not get all you seek at once.' For religious support, as the glow of his sensibility and the confident faith which it inspired faded, he looked round for the best he could find. Unfortunately, institutional and dogmatic Christianity in England was at a low ebb. He watched with sympathy the early symptoms of its revival in the Oxford Movement. All this Miss Batho brings out in a clear and convincing way.

And what of the poetry of this last long phase? Miss Batho has made a gallant effort to vindicate its merits, and spoken justly of the difficulties with which Wordsworth had to contend owing to the weakness and suffering of his eyes. Much of it is certainly not great poetry. It is a pity that Wordsworth continued to write Nature poems in the old vein but without the old inspiration. But there are one or two things to be said about this later poetry. Firstly, no one who realises the narrow range within which Wordsworth's great and intense poetry moves should feel surprise at its subsidence. Wordsworth never had the artistic range of poets like Spenser and Milton whether as regards form or subject. He had but one great theme, his own early experiences and their interpretation. His poetry is a product of memories re-interpreted comparable to Proust's great novel. Secondly, as to the philosophical poem which Wordsworth never wrote. With regard to this, Wordsworth himself, Coleridge, and the critics seem to me to have fallen into the same error as Wordsworth did once before when he found to his dismay 'that we had crossed the Alps.' He had, in *The Prelude*, written that great philosophical poem. Thirdly, Wordsworth's later poetry should be read as something quite distinct from the earlier. It is poetry of a different kind, poetry on a lower level certainly, but not at its best without interest, a poetry of reflection, of meditation, Christian and Stoical in tone. I am one of those, and there are others, who can read *The Excursion* with a quiet pleasure, this poetry of sober, meditative age, just as I find myself giving a higher value to *Paradise Regained* than I should once have thought possible. 'Conventional' does not seem to me the right word to apply even to Wordsworth's later poetry. It is always too sincere to be merely conventional—awkward, if you like, even dull, but there are ever-recurring exceptions: sonnets like *Mutability* which Miss Batho quotes; the *Trossachs*, 'There's not a nook within this solemn Pass'; 'Such age, how beautiful'; 'Ethereal minstrel! pilgrim of the sky'; the lines on the death of Hogg—and not a few others. *Dion* and *Laodamia* seem to me noble poems of this reflective, ethical kind, and are to be judged as such—breathing a noble Stoicism not untouched with a

mysticism which his mystical critics have overlooked—the touch of mysticism which one feels when a poet carries a story of human life and character relentlessly to its end, so far as we can follow it, yet leaves the reader with a strange, elevated sense that this is not the ultimate end. In both these poems, Wordsworth traces with unwavering hand the inevitable working of justice, of moral law, yet leaves us with a sense of something mysterious and consoling in the final issue. He rejected the more sentimental close which he had given to *Laodamia* for one that seems more stern and has shocked his critics. The close of *Dion* is even more impressive in this way. Dion has fallen as the consequence of one moment's guilt, but

in calm peace the appointed Victim slept,
As he had fallen in magnanimity;
Of spirit too capacious to require
That Destiny her course should change; too just
To his own native greatness to desire
That wretched boon, days lengthened by distrust.
So were the hopeless troubles, that involved
The soul of Dion, instantly dissolved.

Miss Batho has written an excellent book. It is a piece of advocacy and will not convert all those to whom it is addressed, but it will give satisfaction to anyone who wishes to do justice to a great, if a limited, poet and who dislikes seeing a great and complex spirit too easily interpreted by the application of a few formulae. It is a comfort to read a work which rests on evidence, not on conjecture and divination.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

EDINBURGH.

An Odyssey of the Soul. Shelley's Alastor. By HAROLD LEROY HOFFMAN.
New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933.
x+174 pp. 16s. 6d.

Alastor, which De Quincey thought the least intelligible of Shelley's poems, has been so diversely explained that it is neither surprising that an attempt should recently have been made to demonstrate the uselessness of trying to understand it at all (by Professor Havens in *P.M.L.A.*, XLV, Dec., 1930), nor that such a conclusion should now be met by a renewed effort at interpretation. The problems at issue would be much less baffling if Shelley had never written his *Preface*, which is less a comment than a sermon on the poem, and obviously affected by the title which Peacock had suggested; but the poem by itself is still perplexing. Is it, as Dowden thought, the criticism of his past self by a man who has emerged into a happier and better condition? Or is it, as Koszul tries to show, the melancholy self-realisation of a poet who in a short period of calm has gained insight into his own nature both as it is and as it probably will always be? Professor Hoffman, who takes the former view, has put forward what he considers to be a consistent explanation of the theme, reconciling the *Preface* with the poem; while in the second

part of his book he studies the imagery of *Alastor*, attempting to trace the threads of its 'flying skein of associations' to their beginnings in Shelley's reading and experience. He regards the poem as an allegorical condemnation of the 'self-centred seclusion' described in the *Preface*. 'The theme is love of self, of the soul within the soul. This love does not fade away; it remains with the poet to the end of his life.' The vision which destroys the young man's peace is pure self-projection, the poet's 'idealised intelligence or inner self in the form of a woman.' The search for her prototype is consequently bound to be futile. The second vision, similar in origin, is different in form, because in the meantime the poet's soul has been weakened by its own despair. At first he was in 'the full flush of physical desire,' but now desire and vigour are lost; instead of a beautiful maiden he now sees 'his own soul signaling from a life he has created for it beyond the grave.'

This interpretation is ingeniously worked out and in places illuminating, but, unduly affected by Shelley's philosophical guides, his prose writings and his *Preface*, the course of Professor Hoffman's theory eventually drifts quite away from that of Shelley's poem. No doubt the meta-physical origins of Shelley's outlook at this time are rightly demonstrated; no doubt it is true that the poet's ideal, evolved within the self, is sought in the outer world in vain; true perhaps also that when the ideal begins to attach itself to particulars, in this case to the particular attributes of woman, absorption in the whole is replaced by desire for the part, and peace gives way to a frenzy of longing which can only subside when, the particular quest forgotten, the poet sinks back exhausted into the whole again. But the philosophical illustrations cited seem sometimes either inapposite or unnecessary (see for example Locke on dreams, p. 21, the passage from Godwin, pp. 24-5, and that from Drummond, p. 55); and the moral implications of the poet's search are made questionably precise. The longing for an unattainable ideal, as Shelley knew too well, brings its inevitable Nemesis, 'the Fury of an irresistible passion' as he calls it in the *Preface*; but in the poem itself this condition of the soul is presented without condemnation, and presented with deep and sad self-knowledge. How far Professor Hoffman's examination carries him from the spirit of the poem may be judged from his comment on the second vision: 'The poet who was at first occupied with the magnificence and beauty of the universe has sunk to the level of a contemptible and miserly hoarding of his own identity.' If this astonishing conclusion is true, why did Shelley think of his poet as a 'surpassing spirit,' 'high and holy,' whose departure leaves nature and the web of human things 'not as they were'? Why is he described in the *Preface* as one of 'the luminaries of the world'? The youth approaches his 'green recess' led on 'by love, or dream, or god, or mightier Death.' Shelley himself does not seem to know which; but he represents the leading as imperative, and demands for the youth who followed it compassion much rather than reproach. It may in fact be doubted whether Mrs Shelley was right in calling *Alastor* a didactic poem at all. Is it not better to regard it only as the symbolical representation of a fated tem-

perament, 'a love in desolation masked,' treading its path in suffering, inevitably alone? Though no doubt, as Shelley says, 'the picture is not barren of instruction to actual men,' he appears to have put the instruction into the *Preface* and the picture into the poem.

The first part of Professor Hoffman's book is the more interesting, but his readers will probably follow with greater confidence his study of the imagery of *Alastor*, where he succeeds in tracing many of the elements of Shelley's 'phantasmal scene' to their sources in Miss Owenson's *The Missionary*, the writings of Mrs Radcliffe, C. B. Brown, 'Monk' Lewis and Mrs Byrne, Southey's 'epics,' Wordsworth's *Excursion*, and other works. Some of the resemblances, however, are a little remote, and the dangers of this type of investigation are illustrated on p. 105, where Professor Hoffman, surprised to have found nothing adequate to explain the sky-reflections in the well (lines 459-62), surmises that they may be merely 'the result of imaginative observation of nature.' But in the main his search is cautious and discriminating.

I have noted a few slips. In the second quotation, p. 11, *circumambient* should be *ambient* (and a few lines above, 1281 should be 128); in the *Queen Mab* note, p. 16, *presumption of the system* should be *presumption of the falsehood of the system*; in the first quotation on p. 72 *writhing* should be *writhed*; in the fourth line of the quotation on p. 105 *For* should be *Nor*; in the second quotation, p. 108, *vasts* should be *vast*; in the second quotation from Beattie, p. 113, *While twilight* should be *Where twilight*, and the reference for this passage on p. 157 should be I. xx, not I. xxi. These errors are surprising, for the book is otherwise written with scholarly care; the index is full, and, where I have tested it, accurate. As a careful and systematic attack upon an interesting problem *An Odyssey of the Soul* will be welcomed even by those who, like myself, are unable to accept all its conclusions.

ROSS D. WALLER.

MANCHESTER.

Studies in English by Members of the English Seminar of the Charles University of Prague (Přspěvky k dějinám řeči a literatury anglické od členů anglického semináře Karlovy university v Praze). Volume IV. Prague: Fr. Rivnáč. 1933. 172 pp. 30 Czech crowns.

This volume commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the English Seminar in the Slavonic University of Prague. It contains four separate essays representing work in entirely different fields.

In the first paper, entitled *The Pearl, an Interpretation of the Middle English Poem*, René Wellek discusses the meaning of the poem as a whole. After making a useful survey of previous attempts to interpret it as an elegy, as an allegory, or as both, he goes on to show that it is best explained as symbolical. The nameless author—the claims of Huchown of the Awle Ryale and Ralph Strode are summarily dismissed—made use of a changing or complex symbolism. No 'one-to-one identification' of the Pearl should be sought with virginity or purity, with the Eucharist or the soul of man. First the Pearl is the little child before she is lost, and the symbol stands for her uniqueness, beauty and

great price. When she is rediscovered in heaven, the Pearl becomes the symbol of an immaculate, pure soul at peace with God. But then the Pearl is the symbol not only of the blessed child herself but of the kingdom of God of which she has become a part. 'The symbolism of the Pearl shifts subtly from the conventional and mere earthly meaning of preciousness to the heavenly symbol of grace and the realm of grace.'

Zdeněk Vančura, in his paper on *Baroque Prose in America*, examines the prose style of certain seventeenth-century writers like Nathaniel Ward, Anne Bradstreet, and Cotton Mather, the last being the most affected of American writers, 'a belated follower of Robert Burton, Sir Thomas Browne and Joseph Glanvil both in matter and style, without possessing the force and genius of at least the first two.' It is doubtful whether the term *Baroque* may be suitably applied to all the passages cited at length in this rather sketchy essay. Some of the quotations, which Vančura adduces as specimens of the *terse Baroque*, are directly reminiscent of the language of the Authorised Version.

Next Otakar Vočadlo gives a well-documented account of the scope and capacity of the language of England before the Norman Conquest, and from his remarkable store of linguistic equipment he is able to draw all kinds of interesting comparisons. The chance parallels in word-formation between Old English and Old Slavonic are particularly instructive. With certain of Vočadlo's generalisations few scholars would agree, but none would dispute the interest and value of the varied material here gathered together, the accumulation of years of research. The title *Anglo-Saxon Terminology* is misleading. *Observations on Old English Word Formation and Vocabulary* would be more appropriate.

Joseph Vachek's very detailed and elaborate study *Über die phonologische Interpretation der Diphthonge mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Englischen* continues this author's discussion on *Professor Daniel Jones and the Phoneme* which appeared in the *Charisteria* dedicated to Vilém Mathesius last year. The writer is mainly concerned with the analysis and categorisation of the diphthongs in present-day English, but he also devotes two long sections to a comparative study of the diphthongs in French and Czech. Most venturesome of all are the endeavours by the way to explain *statically* what happened in the monophthongisations and diphthongisations in the older periods of English. For these alone this study is worthy of a careful perusal.

There are some unfortunate misprints. On the bibliographical side there are glaring deficiencies, not all excusable. Thus, for example, on page 83 it is somewhat disconcerting to read a reference to 'the fragments of Byrhtferth's *Manual* printed by F. Kluge in *Anglia*,' as if these constituted the only available printed source.

These studies reflect great credit on all concerned, and on the English Seminar in which they arose. They are, in fact, just what seminar work in a modern university should be: stimulating, challenging, provocative, *anregend*.

SIMEON POTTER.

Introducere în Studiul Limbilor Romanice. Evoluția și Starea Actuală a Lingvisticii Romanice. By IORGU IORDAN. Iași: Editura Institutului de Filologie Română. 1932. viii + 480 pp. 300 lei.

This study of the history and tendencies of Romance philology has arisen from an article contributed by the author to the *Festschrift für Wilhelm Streitberg* in 1924, multiplied ten or twelve times by additional material and observations. The author's method is indicated in the sub-title; he is concerned with the past solely for its bearing on the present. In a first chapter he summarises the history of Romance philology down to the end of the nineteenth century and through the first decade of the twentieth, when the influence of recently begotten schools was not yet strong. In this period—from the inception of the scientific method to the definitive triumph of the 'Young Grammarians'—our branch of linguistics developed, despite the protests of some rebels like Hugo Schuchardt, under the shadow of the Indo-Germanists, to whom Professor Iordan accords the space that their controversies merit. In three other chapters Professor Iordan analyses the 'idealistic' school of Vossler, the linguistic geographers, and the French sociological doctrine of Ferdinand de Saussure and his pupils. This distribution may be criticised as unfair to those who use the traditional methods of the Young Grammarians, and the author both allows that their conclusions may be the most permanent elements in the science, and that he himself is of their persuasion. But the manner of presentation has the enormous advantage of showing philological studies as a science in motion, of giving the inside view of the subject, of pointing to half-finished as well as finished productions, and of stimulating the ambition to create. The 'state,' indeed, of Romance philology is not a state but a flux and a crisis; and the author closes on a fine phrase by Schuchardt: 'Man hört jetzt: in der Sprachwissenschaft kriselt es; das ist ein gutes Wort.'

The appeal of this account of Romance philology is to the practising philologist; and to him many casual observations will prove revealing. Professor Iordan includes some sketches of individuals which serve to remind us that these studies are not abstract sciences, but to a large extent the expressions of personality. It is interesting to remark that the greatest pedagogical success has been attained by a Young Grammarian who has never wavered in his faith, and so has always had precise doctrine to impart to his pupils; while another great scholar, who could never be brought to believe in dogma, was a class-room failure, but has done more than any other to shape the thoughts of the mature philologist. Peculiarities of the geographical school are direct consequences of the combativeness and the brilliant metaphorical gift of its founder; and it is the openness to conviction and profound reasonableness of M. Meillet that makes him an unofficial tribunal of appeal for the Romance worker as much as for the Indo-Germanist.

This humane discipline, then, has been built up by human personalities; and, like other branches of humanism, it is impatient of dogma. In this respect the hero of our subject is seen to be Hugo Schuchardt, that tireless rebel, who admitted no restrictions on the linguist's investiga-

tions. Romance philology has been a restless subject to the Indo-German law-givers; partly because many things which are guess-work in Indo-Germanic studies (substrata, dates, 'roots,' etc.) are capable of exact verification in Romance; and our conclusions do not agree with the large *a priori* assertions of our colleagues the Indo-Germanists. We have either reason to deny a theory, or we require a more precise definition than a science full of asterisked hypothetical stages can afford. A 'substratum' may be discussed *grosso modo* when assigned to a date before 1000 B.C., but the Romance student splits the notion in the prism of historical fact; and—in a given case—the 'substratum' that he considers to operate on a dialect is not a conquered race, but a wife brought in from a neighbouring village, with speech-forms she transmits to her children alongside those of her husband. In the course of Professor Iordan's narrative, nothing is more frequent than to see boundaries overturned. The claim that linguistics is a science ruled by laws as unbreakable as those of the exact sciences is found, in experience of fact, to be not so much wrong as void of intelligible meaning. M. Bally holds that we must not confuse the study of style with stylistics; the former is a literary or æsthetic exercise, the latter is properly linguistic. But Herr Spitzer studies style by methods which must be admitted to be linguistic; and Vossler and Croce have reasons to offer for resolving all language into art. In a mood of reaction against their predecessors, the Young Grammarians insisted that philology was concerned with the spoken language, not with the written; but it is evident that language, when written, is still language, and that speech, in its infinite variety, occasionally subjects itself to the conventions that govern the written tongue. A feature of contemporary linguistics is precisely the attention now given to literary texts.

In his account of the main schools of opinion, Professor Iordan has some passages of remarkable felicity. He brings out, for instance, not merely the fact that Vossler's 'idealistic' doctrines have given a violent and salutary shake to a too complacent discipline, but also the theoretical strength of that school. That a language reflects the temperament of its users is a proposition that commands assent, however disappointed one may be with the detailed application of the principle in such efforts as, for instance, E. Lerch's 'Spanische Sprache und Wesenart' (*Spanienkunde*, Frankfurt am M., Diesterweg). The author does not pursue these theories into their unimpressive details, but he does appositely remark that the 'idealists' do not break new ground but, like Stracheyan biographers, sift again the material collected by more laborious linguists. The account of the Young Grammarians is appreciative, but the author's esteem does not blind him to their defects. He notes that, while proclaiming the subject of language to be speech, their practice equated speech with sound (which is far too limited) and they studied these sounds characteristically in languages in which (being long dead) they could not be heard. On the other hand, Professor Iordan resuscitates Curtius, whose very sane objections have not had much of a hearing among the pæans of the Young Grammarians' victory. The line of progress is marked for the author by the increasing assurance of phonology and morphology;

had he considered the deplorable case of syntax at more leisure he would, I think, have included the Greek grammarians also in the first paragraphs, which adopt the somewhat cavalier attitude of most philologists to language-study before Bopp.

Professor Iordan rightly stresses the peculiar advantages offered within the one and indivisible science of language by the Romance facet. Romance possesses an incomparable wealth of existing material, its historical setting is very fully known, and we know, as neither Germanists nor Indo-Germanists can, the mother tongue. Indeed, we may know it better than we have hitherto thought, if Mr H. F. Muller's account of Romance chronology be correct; for we may begin to credit our authors and inscriptions instead of opposing them systematically to a supposed 'vulgar' tongue used in speech. The special circumstances of Romance diminish the importance of the comparative method, in as much as we have not the same labour of reconstruction imposed on us as on our colleagues. The Romance linguist seeks to expound the existing knowable languages; and in a complete knowledge of the present he finds much of the past history of the tongue, without asterisks. Our genealogical tree is one in which the twigs are much thicker than the trunk! Professor Brøndum-Nielsen has drawn the same moral. One ought, perhaps, to add that complete knowledge is only possible of one's native tongue, so that the bar of appeal is not Romance, save in Romance territories, but in each country the study of the national speech in its existing forms and variety. But, apart from this consideration, Romance philology offers by far the greatest common opportunity to reduce theory to fact by means of observation.

The advantage of certainty held by Romance over Germanic and Indo-Germanic philology is held, at least in theory, by the Hispanic languages in America over Romance. Sixteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese are known much more fully than Latin, whether classical or vulgar; there is no dark period in the historical transmission; we may know precisely what nations and tribes constitute the substratum, and we may know their languages, not only now but since the moment of contact with Spanish and Portuguese. This field is largely undeveloped, but evidently offers possibilities to the young school instituted at Buenos Aires under Sr Alonso and the older school of Lenz at Santiago de Chile. It is very important that a more intensive study of evidence other than French should take place in our field, in order to redress the balance, which is at present overweighted. It is by no means certain whether some of the most interesting recent conclusions are to be considered privative to French or general to Romance. The principle of 'clarté' in the selection of vocabulary, for instance, plays a considerable part in discussions based on French material; but does it rank as prominently among the linguistic processes of more emotional and less logical peoples? Professor Iordan's discussion is based on French experience with, as the facts warrant, little immixture of Italian or the Hispanic languages; though a welcome feature is the care with which he has noted relevant work in Rumanian. No one will minimise the debt we owe to the long

and brilliant line of specialists in the study of French linguistic history; but it is fair to remark that the 'name and nature' of our science involves the equitable study of all the Romance languages, and that no conclusions are Romance in scope until they have been confirmed by the remaining speeches of the group. This disproportion is a weakness in our discipline which we should loyally confess while affirming our advantages.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

The Commedia dell' Arte and its Influence on French Comedy in the Seventeenth Century. By I. A. SCHWARTZ. New York: Institute of French Studies. 1932. 192 pp. 8s.

The study of the influence of the 'Commedia dell' Arte' upon French comedy in the seventeenth century was worth making, the pity is that it has not been more worthily made. The table of contents promises well; in six chapters Mr Schwartz is to deal with the nature of the 'Commedia dell' Arte,' the provision for Italian actors at the French court, Italian influences in farces before Molière, Molière himself, his contemporaries, and the *théâtre* of Gherardi. This covers the ground fairly, and leads one to hope for some judgment between the critical variances and some co-ordination of the evidence in relation to the essential characteristics of the comedy of the age of Molière. But Molière is not made the apex of interest: the passage is flat. We are kept to a dull routine of the synopsis of other people's views, interspersed with extracts sometimes only indifferently translated from other selections and reprints.

The derivative nature of the book is, at least, frankly acknowledged by the recurrence of the phrase 'according to.' Mr Schwartz does not speak with authority, nor is he an accurate scribe. In the first page of the reprinted scenario 'Il Ritratto,' I have detected at sight on a first reading fourteen misprints, some of them palpable, others making havoc of the sense. Some errors in the text, such as *Rogua* for *Rogna*, *Acchini* for *Cecchini*, *Duchartres* for *Duchartre* throughout, are obvious. The first name in the bibliography is mis-spelt: the penultimate word in the second Appendix is incorrect. It would not be worth while to enumerate the other slips, but they suggest that Mr Schwartz has but slight acquaintance with Italian. Why does he quote Mortier's French translation of Trojano's dialogue (p. 33)?

The amateur scholarship is matched by casual and colloquial style, once at least the English is faulty, often it is slipshod; the expression on p. 63, 'Here is a bit of dialogue that brings on the stage the dreaded Captain, etc.,' with its sequent quotation is only too characteristic.

I am at a loss to find the relevance of the concluding remark: 'It was on the stage of the Foire that the traditional Arlequin, Mezzetin and the Doctor and their brethren made their final bow. The Arlequin of the sixteenth century represents a new development,' unless 'sixteenth' is a misprint for 'eighteenth.' It may well be so. That the Arlequin of the eighteenth century is a new development is a truth which is fre-

quently obscured by Mr Schwartz's method of taking instances at random from the whole period during which the 'Commedia dell' Arte' flourished. He refers on pp. 139-40 to the 'traditional multi-coloured costume' of Arlequin. This was assumed in the seventeenth century, it would not have been recognised by Martinelli in 1600. Many old inaccuracies are repeated. It is injudicious to describe D. Locatelli, who played as 'Trivellino,' as an Arlecchino, to suppose that Brighella was a popular mask in the sixteenth century, that scenari gave only the 'barest outlines' and are to be identified with the prompter's plots hung in the wings, that Scala was the 'amoroso' in the Gelosi troop, that it may be deduced from Kyd's reference to the improvising players that Italians invaded England (p. 45), that only Gueulette's version of the 'Festin de Pierre' scenario survives, or that il Lasca's 'Canto di Zanni e Magnificchi' was a play (p. 33).

The book may well be read as a rough introduction to the subject, but its detail is hardly to be trusted.

KATHLEEN M. LEA.

LONDON.

Louis Ménard (1822-1901). By HENRI PEYRE. (*Yale Romanic Studies*, v.) New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1932. 605 pp. 20s.

Lettres inédites de Louis Ménard. Publiées et présentées par HENRI PEYRE. Paris: Presses universitaires. 1932. 133 pp.

Louis Ménard's life and work touch on so many branches of nineteenth-century thought that it is surprising such a study as the one we now have from Professor Peyre was not earlier attempted. The present volume solves many problems. Not only has Dr Peyre made a thorough survey of Ménard's work, but he has added considerably to our knowledge of his life, using for this purpose the reminiscences of several living writers who were familiar with the 'païen mystique,' and especially those of his niece, of his nephew, and of his old friend Dr Pettit. In addition, M. Peyre has had the exclusive privilege of consulting, in the *Bibliothèque nationale*, the unpublished documents bequeathed by Madame Ménard, comprising Ménard's lectures at the Hôtel de Ville and a complete work on *Les Questions sociales dans l'antiquité*. The plan of the present study is synthetic: Ménard's works are analysed as they emerge from his life. This biography (M. Peyre confesses to it) still shows many lacunae; but even were these more numerous than they are, we should hardly have cause to complain.

Perhaps the best service we could render to M. Peyre's book would be to consider some of the questions we have been asking ourselves about this enigmatic writer, and to indicate the answers which are now given. Why has Ménard never received the recognition which one felt was due to him? Why, somehow, did he fail to achieve a definite mundane success, as Renan and Leconte de Lisle achieved it? What exactly was his influence on the Parnassians, and did Leconte de Lisle owe as much

to him as most recent critics have supposed? How far was Ménard's symbolical interpretation of the religions original, and what value may it be said to possess to-day?—to these questions M. Peyre returns answers which, though they are not always what we expected, seem nevertheless well-founded and satisfying.

(1) The reasons for Ménard's persistent ill-luck he sees both in his work and in his personality. Ménard 'n'a jamais pu ou voulu s'adapter aux conditions de la vie moderne; il ne s'est jamais imposé de discipline.' Thus it was an error on Ménard's part to leave the *École Normale*, after a few months of study there, in 1842; and again, in 1859, when his mother had persuaded him to take his University degrees, and he had in fact successfully defended his theses before a jury which admired and accepted the candidate, while not always agreeing with him, it was a mistake not to seek a post in the teaching profession. The discipline of professorial duties, so far from hindering, would probably have helped him in his literary and historical work. And finally it was a mistake, in 1868–9, not to seize the opportunity of visiting Greece offered by his friend M. de Clermont.

Ménard, as the reader will know, devoted a part of his career to painting, and produced, between 1863 and 1870, a good many canvases of merit, mainly representing animals and forest-scenes which he had studied at Barbizon; and his talent was recognised by Gautier and other critics, though it was not very original. For chemistry, on the other hand, he had something approaching genius. In 1846 and 1847 he had conducted experiments in the laboratory recently founded by Pelouze. It was here that he discovered collodion, a liquid compound produced by dissolving gun-cotton in a mixture of alcohol and ether—a compound of great practical value, since it is now used in surgery, in optical appliances, in the manufacture of celluloid and of photographic materials. It was in Pelouze's laboratory, too, that Ménard invented nitro-mannite, in 1847. Unfortunately, the discoverer of this powerful explosive produced one day an explosion which wrecked a part of the laboratory—an exploit which probably accounts for Monsieur Pelouze's deciding to part company with him. Ménard might still have devoted himself to poetry—his first love—and he did indeed, from time to time, compose a little masterpiece, like the famous *Panthéon* which first appeared in 1863. Less well known, but comparable with the best work of Verlaine and Mallarmé, is the exquisite *Valse en bleu mineur*. The repetitions imparting a dream-like character to the poem, the vague and suggestive music of the verse (it is in decasyllabic lines), explain why Vielé-Griffin was able, with some reason, to describe Ménard as the father of the Symbolists. One cannot say, after reading such pieces, that Ménard was not enough of an artist; one can only regret that his inspiration did not maintain him, more frequently, on these high levels.

(2) The question of Ménard's influence on the Parnassians, and particularly on Leconte de Lisle, has been one of the outstanding problems of literary history. Previous critics believed this influence to be very great. Faguet and Estève represented Leconte de Lisle as profoundly

influenced by him; while M. Desonay, in *Le Rêve hellénique chez les Poètes parnassiens*, went so far as to speak of Leconte de Lisle as having, in the domain of Greek studies, 'parfois péniblement répété la leçon péniblement apprise [from Ménéard]...à la façon d'un perroquet.' These conclusions must now be modified in the light of M. Peyre's investigations. In his Greek poems—apart from *Hypatie et Cyrille*—and in his translations from the Greek, Leconte de Lisle appears to have been scrupulously *personal*, and, as regards the style of his translations, original. But he was undoubtedly assisted in his knowledge of Greek by a scholar more learned than himself; he also shared much of Ménéard's intellectual outlook, his interest in religious history, and his pessimism regarding the future of mankind. But they differed on such matters as the cult of art for art's sake, Ménéard always insisting on the cult of the inner life, of the soul, as an object transcending the claims of art, a view in which none of the Parnassians, except Sully Prudhomme, would have joined him. On the other hand, it may be noted that two or three of Leconte de Lisle's poems were inspired by Ménéard, and that the latter's ideas may be definitely traced in the important preface to the *Poèmes et Poésies* of 1855. On the Parnassian poets as a whole Ménéard exercised a general, but probably not considerable, influence; the vogue of Hellenism was not an invention of his: it formed part of the Romantic movement. More definite, more clearly distinguishable, was his influence on Heredia, and on Anatole France, whose *Thais* appears to have been directly inspired by Ménéard's *Légende de Saint-Hilarion*. But the person on whom Ménéard, both as man and writer, left the deepest mark was Maurice Barrès; Barrès took pleasure in recognising his debt, and always held Ménéard in the deepest affection and respect. Ménéard's personal 'rayonnement' over a wide circle of friends must—if one may judge from the testimony of survivors—have been remarkable; such an influence, however, is difficult to assess in a way that is really satisfying.

(3) Ménéard's work as scholar and historian is principally associated with his interpretation of Greek Polytheism. It was in the study of Polytheism that he had made such a brilliant début, in 1859, with *La Morale avant les Philosophes*; and Greek mythology continued to supply the leading inspiration in that fullest and most artistic expression of his thought, the *Réveries d'un païen mystique*. It was the great effort of his life to explain how such an apparently puerile mythology as that of the Greeks could ever have been devised and accepted by a people so enlightened. Rejecting the rationalistic explanation of Euhemerus and the philological interpretation associated with the name of Max Müller, Ménéard went back to the symbolical method devised by Epicharmes and Metrodorus, developed by the Stoics, and represented in modern times by Kreuzer and Otfried Müller. He modified and developed it; and, while he did not exactly devise anything new, he went further than others by virtue of the poetry and imagination of his style, in fact by his *sensibility*—the sincere piety which he felt for all the gods, a piety which, after all, has become a need of many cultivated minds. It was natural enough that Ménéard should be opposed, in some measure, to Renan, and

violently to Max Müller. His comment on the philological explanation is worth recalling here. He held that to regard mythology as a malady of language, 'c'est à peu près comme si on disait que la fleur est une maladie de la plante. Encore faudrait-il admettre que le langage a donné naissance à la mythologie, comme la plante produit la fleur, ce que, pour ma part, je suis loin d'accorder....Il y a dans les formes vivantes que donne à la religion le génie créateur des époques primitives, quelque chose de plus sérieux qu'une collection de rébus ou de calembours.' It may come as a surprise to the reader that Ménard's religious syncretism was not derived solely from Kreuzer and his disciples; he probably owed it in large part to the painter Chenavard, whose misty, symbolical pictures represented the vast company of divine beings who, in various ages, have sustained and given hope to the human spirit.

There is much in M. Peyre's book of purely biographical interest, such as the story of Ménard's late marriage, and of his daughter, a frail and beautiful creature whose death, in 1898, was a grievous blow to him; and lastly of his own passing, in 1901, when his friends, mindful of the feelings and ideals associated with him, placed in his hand a Greek medal bearing the effigy of Athena, as the obol for Charon who should row him over the dark waters.

M. Peyre's conclusions are moderate: Ménard is not diminished by this close enquiry, but neither does he emerge as a soaring genius. One has the impression of a richly endowed being, of a greater writer than has generally been recognised, greater by virtue of personality, of thought and of style than many 'classical' authors who are regularly republished and studied. But the main impression is of a beautiful personality. Ménard's political views were fantastic beyond expression; but they were generous. He seems to have been one of the kindest, most unspoiled and disinterested of men. Many critics would have succeeded in 'burying' their author under the 528 pages of text which are here accorded to him; but M. Peyre is always interesting, his touch is light and sympathetic; and, for our part, we would not have had his book diminished by a page.

The *Lettres inédites de Louis Ménard*, which supplement the letters used in the above work and also the correspondence with Renouvier which M. Peyre has published in the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* (Janvier-Mars 1932), add new strokes and colours to the picture already given. Some of these were addressed to Barrès (there is an erratum here, in the Greek, on p. 131). Many of them were written to his mother and other members of his family, to whom he was very much attached. In these letters we see Ménard travelling in Germany, Italy and Egypt; and they were worth reprinting, for a certain simplicity of character which they bring out, and also for their qualities of style. Ménard without effort, and perhaps unconsciously, imparts a firmness and grandeur of outline to his picture of the Roman Campagna, which recalls the manner of Poussin; from his description of the little garden and villa at Frascati arises a delicate flavour, that fixes it more deeply in the memory; while the visits paid to Alexandria and Cairo give opportunities for vigorous pen-strokes and brilliant colouring, which show

Ménard at the top of his form. We are very much indebted to M. Peyre for revealing to us so much of interest to the mind, and, equally perhaps, to the heart.

A. LYTTON SELLS.

DURHAM.

Le Familiari di Francesco Petrarca. Edizione critica. By VITTORIO ROSSI. Vol. I. Introduction and Books i-iv. (*Edizione nazionale delle opere di F. Petrarca*, x.) Florence: G. C. Sansoni. 1933. clxxii + 204 pp. 50 lire.

The diligent care which Petrarch bestowed upon the collection, revision and arrangement of his letters *Rerum Familiarum* has been matched by the present editor. Petrarch seems to have first planned this series of letters about 1349 and only seventeen years later, in 1366, he saw it finally completed, thanks to the assistance of Giovanni Malpaghini; Professor Rossi in his turn has given more than twenty-five years of a remarkably busy life to the preparation of this edition; Petrarch aimed also at exhibiting himself as an example to his friends and admirers, and, quite apart from the inherent merit of his performance, Rossi's gigantic undertaking is an example to all scholars to come. It is no exaggeration to say that the world of scholarship must feel grateful to him for the heroic persistence of his fortunate labours quite as much as for the results he has attained. The task he had to shoulder was such as to discourage a lesser man, for there are some seventy-five manuscripts scattered all over the world, and they offer variants the import of which it is only now possible fully to grasp. The financial assistance of the Italian Government has indeed facilitated the work, but, by removing material difficulties, it has also invalidated all pleas of justification—thus setting a standard of absolute perfection which added much to the already heavy responsibility of the editor. In the course of these twenty-five odd years, Rossi himself has from time to time published articles which have been gathered together in 1930 (*Studi sul Petrarca e sul rinascimento*, vol. II of *Scritti di critica letteraria di V. Rossi*. Florence: Sansoni), in which certain preliminary questions were answered, and other scholars, from the tireless Foresti to Cochin, Piur and Wilkins, have either edited some letters, fixed their dates or cleared up references and allusions. It is almost superfluous to mention that no article, however trifling, has been overlooked, precisely as none of the manuscripts has failed to be taken into account, and no early edition to be consulted and evaluated.

Since Petrarch is known to have kept copies of his letters, and to have carefully revised the originals with a view to giving them a more classical appearance in their salutation and to removing such particulars as he considered to detract from the permanent value of his compositions, it is natural that we should possess a few letters in their original state such as his correspondents received and preserved them, either separately or grouped in small independent collections, amid a far greater number of manuscripts in which the letters are preserved in the form in which Petrarch successively arranged them. Thus a certain number of manu-

scripts, we now are made to realise, represent the first attempt at a collection reaching the ninth letter of the eighth book, and others represent the later stage or stages in the assembling and editing of the letters. As human documents and as historical sources the letters in their original form are obviously the most interesting, but no editor could set aside Petrarch's intentions and the results of his later revisions, so that Rossi could not but aim at reproducing the text as Petrarch desired it to be known. Through the study of all the extant manuscripts and early editions, Rossi has been enabled to trace the most reliable among them. In so doing, he has established a rather disturbing fact: namely that Malpaghini did not copy out the whole of the collection *Rerum Familiarum*, but that he only completed the task that earlier scribes had left unfinished. Consequently the value of the manuscripts containing only the first eight, or eleven, books is enhanced, although it appears likely that some slight marginal corrections were introduced by Petrarch on the earlier copy while the later scribes were at work, these corrections and alterations originating a few curious errors in some manuscripts as Rossi felicitously suggests. The upshot is that, instead of aiming at reconstructing, so far as possible, a complete archetype penned by Malpaghini, the editor has been forced to establish his text on the basis of a twofold classification of the manuscripts, one class including the books I-VIII, or rather I-XI, and the other the remaining books.

Each manuscript is fully described, and the grouping is explained in stages with admirable conciseness and perspicuity. This extremely complex work has been carried out on the basis of some 450 critical passages, by the help of which the labour of fully collating all the manuscripts has been rendered superfluous, though of course several manuscripts have been collated in full either on the originals or on photostats. The text is based on the most authoritative manuscripts, and all the significant variants are given in the apparatus, but the editor has frankly undertaken the responsibility of discarding meaningless readings and readings which were evidently due to careless copyists, in the same way he has refrained from giving the reason of his choice whenever, as is generally the case, his previous discussion of each manuscript and of the group to which it belongs, rendered further explanations superfluous. Rossi has thus provided a text which is no less admirable for its accuracy, than the notes are praiseworthy for concision.

There are, however, other points on which it seems well to call attention. Of the few letters which are also preserved in their original state, either the variants are given in the notes or, when the discrepancies from the later form are considerable, the whole text is reprinted as an appendix. A serious problem concerned the spelling to be adopted, for Petrarch attained a certain accuracy and consistency only by degrees. Considering that these epistles were finally revised in 1366, and that none of the manuscripts of the collected epistles is autograph, Rossi has based the spelling of this edition upon such of Petrarch's Latin works as were written during his last years and of which we possess the autographs; and this discriminating decision cannot but be approved. No less ad-

mirable a feature of this work is the identification of practically all the quotations and of a vast number of imitations and echoes which abound in Petrarch's Latin works. This was an enormous task in itself, the accomplishment of which provides help in measuring the extent of Petrarch's scholarship for which students of the Renaissance will be particularly grateful.

It is to be hoped that the publication of the other volumes will now follow with reasonable speed, so that the completed work may be available and the vexed questions arising out of the dating of some letters be thus finally settled. The editor has naturally allowed the vague and often misleading dates prefixed to the letters by Petrarch in the final revision to stand, and he promises to discuss the real dates in the fourth and last volume of this series.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

A History of Aragon and Catalonia. By H. J. CHAYTOR. London: Methuen. 1933. xvi+322 pp. 15s.

Dr Chaytor's title calls for some definition. Following three chapters common to the Peninsula as a whole, that reach till the end of the eleventh century, fifteen chapters bring the story of Aragon and Catalonia from their union in 1150 down to 1474, when Isabel of Castile marrying Fernando of Aragon reunited Christian Spain. The subsequent three and a half centuries are relegated to an epilogue of six pages. The fact that 'Catalonia and Aragon were never really united,' which at times causes the narrative to advance as it were on two legs, is of course equally true of Catalonia and Castile since 1474. The events of 1640 and 1714 stand out only in degree in the long and continuous friction that was to culminate in the autonomy regained by the former under the Statute of 1932, while a year of Spanish centenaries might have reinforced the already valid claims to attention of the *Renaixensa* of 1833.

Dr Chaytor's book is thus a history of Aragon and Catalonia in the later middle ages. Aragon, insignificant in extent when born from the testament of Sancho the Great of Navarre in 1035, had under Alfonso the Battler captured Saragossa in 1118, and gradually absorbed most of the extensive Moorish kingdom of that name. Barcelona under its Count Ramón Berenguer III, who died in 1131, had initiated the conquest of the Balearic Islands and begun the commercial and diplomatic relations with Italy that were soon to dominate Catalan policy and enlarge its canvas till it embraced the whole Mediterranean. Various factors soon determined, however, that one leg should advance with much longer strides than the other. Although Aragon retained its separate Cortes after the union and, possessing the throne, gave its name to the joint territory, the commercial and hence democratic growth of Catalonia at once overshadowed its neighbour and accentuated its greater tenacity of feudalism. Hemmed in between Castile, Catalonia and the Pyrenees, Aragon has thus long been recognised to be of particular interest for the study of the mediæval structure of society. The definitive work on this

aspect is probably still to be written, although Dr Chaytor gives prominence throughout to social organisation. He does not, for instance, relate the *Justicia Mayor*, 'a feature unique in medieval constitutions,' to the *sahibalmadalm* ('judge of injustices') of Moslem Spain.

Another factor tending to crush Aragon out of the picture is the striking contrast in our documentation regarding the two. Catalonia, with a tradition of *anales* and *cronicones* going back farther than the twelfth century, achieved pre-eminence in peninsular historiography in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with the magnificent vernacular quartet of Jaime I, Desclot, Muntaner and Pedro IV, 'els quatre Evangelis de la Historia de Catalunya.' Muntaner figured prominently in the great Catalan adventure in the near East that gives Dr Chaytor perhaps his best chapter. The *Marca Hispanica* with its early independence, that yet maintained intimate contact with France, and its stirring history was propitious to literary activity. Aragon has no historian of its own earlier than the fifteenth century, and its story has to be told as seen through Catalan or Castilian eyes.

A pioneer in English in this field, Dr Chaytor has unfolded his narrative with an array of detail, alike in the great and the small, that will give his work lasting value for purposes of consultation, although it results in a certain lack of relief. It may be noted that he appears to accept the historicity of Bernardo del Carpio.

WILLIAM C. ATKINSON.

GLASGOW.

Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik auf vergleichender Grundlage (I. Teil, *Dialektgrammatik*; II. Teil, *Historische Lautlehre*; III. Teil, *Laut- und Formenlehre nebst Syntax*). Von OTTO MAUSSER. (*Hubers Kurze Grammatiken*.) Munich: Max Hüber. 1932-3. xx+1374 pp. 10 M. 65.

Since the appearance of the Middle High German grammars of Paul, Michels and Weinhold, a mass of information has been acquired on matters of detail and a synthesis was badly needed. Dr Mausser was well qualified for his task. His monograph on *Die deutsche Soldatensprache* was well received, and his work in connexion with the index to the new edition of Schmeller's *Bayerische Grammatik* showed his knowledge of one of the chief groups of German dialects. As a pupil of Hermann Paul he is thoroughly grounded in Indo-European and Germanic philology.

As we should expect, and as the sub-title implies, Dr Mausser lays great stress on the origins of M.H.G. phonology and accent. Naturally enough the dialects receive considerable attention. The syntax is treated cursorily in the paragraphs on accent: this is a tribute to the thoroughness with which Paul dealt with syntactical problems. Those who reap after him find little grain left.

The serious student of M.H.G. cannot but be grateful to Dr Mausser for his account of the dialects, especially old and present-day Bavarian, of which he has a sound knowledge. The contribution to historical grammar is by no means negligible. Dr Mausser is in a position to suggest original solutions of various problems, e.g., the absence of *es*

(gen. sing. masc.) in O.H.G. texts, whereas it appears in the later period. The explanation offered is the desire to differentiate between the masculine and the neuter form. The interesting suggestion is also made that the final *t* in the 2nd sing. pres. ind. of verbs (*du nimist*) is not merely due to the addition of an inorganic *t* from the inverted form, but can be traced from the group *thu nimis thu*, through the stages *du nimis du*, *du nimista*, *du nimiste*, *du nimist*.

It is certainly an advantage to have detailed discussion of such points as the survival of the dual in the Bavarian pronoun or the change of medial *b* to *w* in the same dialect (*awer* for *aber*). The excellent index enhances the value of the work. One distinctive feature of the book is the importance attached to tracing sounds and words back to their Germanic and Indo-European origins. Dr Mausser thus gives us a great deal of matter that is generally to be found in Germanic or Indo-European grammars. A specialist might consider it superfluous in a M.H.G. handbook. Evidently the author wishes his work to be used as a work of reference, and he aims at including in the scope of one volume all that is required for the historical study of mediæval German phonology and accidence. The student can learn all that is to be learnt, say about the relationship between *Knabe* and *Knappe*, without consulting half a dozen different authorities.

Greater conciseness would have been an advantage. A book that runs to over 1300 pages scarcely comes under the heading of 'Kurze Grammatiken.' To take an instance in point: on p. 481 there is a discussion of the labio-velar sounds, their development in the *centum* and *satem* groups and so forth. The only question with which we are really concerned is the treatment of these consonants in M.H.G. The whole question could be summed up thus: in common with most other Indo-European languages M.H.G. tends to simplify the labio-velars. All the rest is irrelevant. Or again, on p. 485, nine lines are devoted to the statement that the final consonant of a verb does not lose its voice (*Stimmton*) before an enclitic pronoun (*gaber* for *gap er*). To say that in such cases there is an 'artikulatorische Einheit' is merely a repetition of what is implied by 'Enklise,' and to make matters worse we find the idea repeated again in the phrase 'Sprechtakteinheit.'

In the section on the weak verb three whole pages are taken up with an account of the origin of the dental suffix in the Germanic weak preterite. We are not spared the most obvious detail, e.g., that the modern *tun* is derived from M.H.G. *tuon*, that M.H.G. *teta* corresponds to O.H.G. *teta* (p. 1200). The plural is given in full in the M.H.G. and O.H.G. forms, and in addition the O.H.G. endings are given in full (p. 1203). Would it not have been better to say simply that the origin of the dental suffix is discussed by Löwe, O. v. Friesen, Brugmann and Collitz? This, with appropriate references, could be given in a footnote.

We are told on p. 892 that the uninflected form of the adjective occurs in seven cases. In a footnote these are enumerated (nom. sing. masc., etc.). But on p. 898 there is a table in which the uninflected forms can be readily seen and recognised. It is a well-known fact that in Riparian

the gen. sing. fem. and gen. plur. of the weak adj. had disappeared and were therefore replaced by the strong forms. How is this fact brought home? First we have a table of the strong inflection of the adj. in Ripuarian, differing only in one small detail from the declension already given as normal M.H.G. (p. 898), and on the following page there is the weak declension of the adjective in Ripuarian also in full. Here again a footnote would have sufficed, or a short paragraph and no tables.

High-sounding verbiage does not always contribute to clarity and the mass of material hinders 'Übersichtlichkeit.' One cannot help comparing the masterly brevity of Paul with the diffuseness of Dr Mausser. In seven pages the former deals with the relations between M.H.G. and modern phonology; the chapter 'Dialektische Abweichungen' runs to nine pages only. The corresponding sections in Mausser have much additional material, but there is no concentration. Over seventy pages are required for 'Gliederung des Mittelhochdeutschen in mittelhochdeutscher Zeit.' In the case of Paul we marvel that he could say so much in such little space, but his pupil leaves us amazed that one simple statement can be made so complicated.

These remarks are not intended to detract in any way from the real value of the work or to belittle Dr Mausser's contribution to his subject. They affect rather the presentation of the material, which would gain immeasurably by drastic abbreviation.

JAMES M. CLARK.

GLASGOW.

Sophie in London, 1786, being the diary of Sophie v. La Roche. Translated from the German with an introductory essay by CLARE WILLIAMS. With a foreword by G. M. TREVELYAN. London: Jonathan Cape. 1933. 307 pp. 10s. 6d.

Until the appearance of Professor J. G. Robertson's article on 'Sophie von La Roche's visit to England in 1786¹,' she was known merely as an imitator of Richardson, as a friend of Wieland and as the grandmother of Bettina and Clemens Brentano. Mrs Williams has now given us a long-needed translation of those portions of the *Tagebuch einer Reise durch Holland und England*² covered by Professor Robertson's article and has thus shown Frau von La Roche's great merits as an entertaining writer of travels³. Of the original, Mrs Williams has translated pp. 162-612 and has omitted as irrelevant pp. 1-161 and 613-740, as these portions deal with the continental part of the tour. Passages concerning English history and other matters accessible in books of reference are

¹ *M.L.R.*, xxvii, pp. 196-203.

² *Von der Verfasserin von Rosalens Briefen*, Offenbach am Main, 1788. The Brit. Mus. does not possess the first edition but has two copies of the second edition published in 1791.

³ For her other works on travel cf. *M.L.R.*, xxvii, pp. 197-8. K. Goedeke in his *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Dresden, 1891, iv, 1, p. 216, has not mentioned the *Tagebuch einer Reise durch Holland und England*, in which omission he has been followed by Kuno Ridderhoff in *Sophie von La Roche, die Schulerin Richardsons und Rousseaus*, Einbeck, 1895.

not translated, but Mrs Williams adds a warning footnote in each case of omission.

By reason of her friendship with the Imhoffs¹ and Steins, Sophie von La Roche was well received and entertained by Frau von Stein's sister-in-law, Mrs Warren Hastings, and her husband who had much to tell their guest about Indian customs such as suttee. It is indeed pleasing to discover that despite her brilliant marriage with the famous Indian administrator, Mrs Hastings was still able to speak German well² and had not forgotten her German relatives³.

Through her correspondent, Madame la Fite, who had two years earlier translated *Fraulein von Sternheim* into French, Sophie von La Roche was invited to Windsor where she met the unwilling Fanny Burney and where she was presented to their Majesties. George III, more gracious than the prejudiced Miss Burney, spoke with enthusiasm of Germany and the Germans:

Er legte hierauf, mit dem Ausdruck schöner mannlicher Wahrheitsliebe, seine Hand auf die Brust, und sagte: 'O! mein Herz wird nie vergessen, dass es von deutschem Blut belebt ist! Meine Kinder sprechen alle deutsch!'

Sophie von La Roche had not the good fortune to meet 'Madame Tralles, nun Piozi,' since the latter was at the time in Italy. She however mentions her twice⁵ in connexion with Samuel Johnson who had died two years before.

Several times Sophie von La Roche alludes to the much shorter work of her predecessor, Carl Philipp Moritz who had visited England four years earlier. As Moritz did not limit his tour to London and its surroundings, he was able to visit such marvels as the Peak Cavern in Derbyshire⁶, and since he travelled on foot he had the opportunity of talking to a greater variety of people. The two works, however, supplement one another. The English reading world should be grateful that both books are now accessible⁷ in translations prefaced by introductions of merit.

H. GORDON WARD.

LIVERPOOL.

Stefan George—Weltbild, Naturbild, Menschenbild. By WILLI KOCH. Halle: Niemeyer. 1933. vii+114 pp. 3 M. 80.

This book presents an account of the motives underlying George's works and simultaneously an indispensable key to the secret of George's 'Maximin' experience. Koch rightly recognises that this 'mythos' was born of a rebellion against an attitude towards life insufficiently rooted

¹ For the descendants of Mrs Warren Hastings by her first husband cf. *Times Lit. Supplement*, 1933, p. 896. 'The last of the Imhoffs.'

² *Tagebuch einer Reise*, p. 495.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

⁵ *Tagebuch einer Reise*, pp. 386-7, cf. p. 545: 'Madame Tralles (*sic*), Freundin des berühmten Samuel Johnson, zu dessen Leben sie Noten voll Scharfsinn geschrieben.'

⁶ *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahr 1782*, edited by Otto zur Linde, Berlin, 1903, pp. 118-25.

⁷ *Travels of Carl Philipp Moritz in England in 1782*. A reprint of the English translation of 1795 with an introduction by P. E. Matheson, London, 1926.

in either earthly or spiritual concepts, and that it cannot be interpreted from a mere psychological or historical standpoint as a defiance of pure æstheticism, but must rather be understood as founded on religious conviction and responsibility. Hence leaving aside all formal problems the author immediately proceeds to investigate George's Weltanschauung with the result that biographical information, or comparisons with Schiller, Holderlin, Nietzsche, Goethe, the Romantic movement, or Dante, could only be lightly touched upon. We owe much to the author's exceptionally sensitive insight and critical ability in explaining the relationship of George's different works. The first chapter deals with 'Das Andere,' the intangible, dread powers that work havoc in our lives. It is in poems such as *Der tote See* that Koch would especially recognise elements which constitute 'Das Andere,' namely formlessness and potency. Morbid horror, magic and the dæmonic mingle with these sub-human forces. Though symbols such as the Greek 'Moiren' or Nordic 'norns' might present themselves to the poet, even George cannot find a fitting name for the inexpressible. We, too, therefore, should not attempt to define the elemental powers by names such as 'Alben.' Perhaps the symbol of the 'Great Foster Mother' is the one best comprehended by the author.

The second chapter is largely dedicated to a study of the mysterious 'Prelude' in which George seeks to compel the Superhuman to earthly shape. Symbol and emblem suggest a Christian origin, but the idea of a personal creator is superseded by that of an all-embracing Spirit, another expression of that 'life beautiful' which according to Koch in his sensitive elucidation of George's works could be claimed as a distinct landmark in the poet's development. Whereas in the *Stern des Bundes* this 'schöne Leben' signifies the consummation of earthly joy, it here represents the spirit of self-sacrifice which leads to painful resignation and solitude. How George tears himself from the 'Brüchigkeitskult' of his spirit's delicate youth and braces himself to the iron discipline of heroism is explained in the following chapters.

The third (*Man and Nature*) treats of his youthful dreams. It is at the same time a valuable contribution to the understanding of pseudo-romantic symbolism. The latter in its satiety, its scorn of life, nature and work, its introspective ultra-sensibility, its disintegrating analysis of emotion and its mannered cultivation of linguistic rarities, its affectation of a spiritually aristocratic restraint, and lastly its destruction of vital beauty can be regarded as the basis not merely of George's early work, but also of that of Hofmannsthal, and might provide profitable ground for comparison of the two poets. Koch is especially lucid when investigating the poet's attitude towards nature, particularly in the 'Primordial Landscape' and the 'Sad Dances.' The park landscape forms a category far removed from the dæmonic 'Andere.' It is a concept of the poet's will. Nature is divided in itself, discordant and unrelated to human feeling and mood. Infinity is sought by the poet not in nature but in the spirit of man. A comparison of Eichendorff's *Mondnacht* and George's non-romantic attitude towards nature in the *Jahr der Seele* concludes this chapter, which forms a valuable supplement to Biese's

outline of 'Naturgefühl.' In the following chapter the author interprets the 'Maximin-Erlebnis.' Maximin requests the suppression of 'Das Andere' and the conception of youth, the consummation of the perfect heroic life in an age of spiritual degeneration. As divine man, in the beauty of strength, freedom and joy he symbolises the 'mythos' of our present day and thus the herald of a new life which shall give man in 'the third Realm' a unity of body and spirit. This belief in Germany as the Land of the Third Realm was conceived by the poet even before the Great War. To-day it lives to quicken the heart of German youth. Koch also touches on the question of the northerner's yearning for the south and the 'blood-mystery.' According to him blood signifies not purity of race but unshaken faith, unexhausted heritage and a source of national unity. He draws parallels between Maximin and classic heroes. Hadrian's minion Antinous, Ganymede, Adonis, Herakles, Hyacinth suggest themselves side by side with characters from the Bible and the myth of Balder. Maximin becomes an intercessor between God and world and the saviour of his country. Out of the night of romanticism and music rises the dawn of a new religious community. Its centre is formal being. The flame is its symbol.

A few misprints should here be mentioned: 'Näherin' instead of 'Nährerin' (p. 11) and 'Sündensehnsucht' instead of 'Südensehnsucht' (p. 107). We shall welcome a continuation of this invaluable study of George's work.

A. CLOSS.

BRISTOL.

SHORT NOTICES

To deliver the valedictory address upon *Charles Harold Herford* (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xvii. London: H. Milford. 1933. 15 pp. 1s.) was a duty for which J. G. Robertson was peculiarly fitted, by the wide sweep of his reading and interests, which ran in so many ways parallel to Herford's. Both were masters of the relations of literatures to one another. They stood together in the forefront of progress in the study of the literatures of Germany and Northern Europe. Robertson had the firmer grasp and the exacter mind. But he forbears criticism, seizing upon the essential quality of Herford's work, the great spirit of a humanist ranging over many fields of thought and art. And both men found content in encouraging effort wherever it appeared. The world is the poorer for the loss of the subject of this address and of his panegyrist so soon after him. In these days of ever-narrowing specialisation it is good to turn to such a record of such a man, and to consider our ways.

C. J. S.

The Pearl...Rendered into Modern English, Verse with an Introductory Essay by Stanley Perkins Chase (New York: Oxford University Press; London: H. Milford. 1932. lxiv+114 pp. 10s. 6d.), 'is not intended

primarily for students [of the fourteenth century]...but for readers of poetry in general.' Mr Chase gives a clear summary of the facts and discussions of the poem in his introduction, and a select bibliography. He thinks that 'the Pearl-Maiden is the poet's own soul in the state of its desired perfection.' His version uses some emendations contained in the Bowdoin edition (1932) of the *Pearl*; and is as close as is possible to the language, metre, and stanza-linking of the original; it is commonly pleasant, and sometimes beautiful. It will give to the general reader a true notion of this 'Pearl of our poetic prime.' Renderings in 45⁵, 53⁷ *premium*, 87⁵ *indefectible* and 98¹⁻³, might be better. Paper, print, and binding of the book are good; its price is too high, if it is to sell to the 'reader of poetry in general.'

C. B.

Professor Huizinga contributes a short preface to what is claimed to be the first translation of Chaucer into Dutch verse in Dr A. J. Barnouw's *Vertellingen van de Pelgrims naar Kantelberg* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon). The translator himself gives a succinct and eminently readable account of Chaucer's life and work, and some interesting matter on the study of Chaucer in Holland, by way of introduction to his translation. He takes the text of the Ellesmere MS. and translates the Prologue and the whole of Group A of the Tales into Chaucer's heroic couplet, using a diction that is a little archaic but never sufficiently uncouth to make his rendering difficult to follow. He takes few liberties with the original and often succeeds in getting into his lines the real Chaucerian idiom. Dr Barnouw must have enjoyed his task; the verse goes with a swing and a liveliness that conveys the translator's enthusiasm as much as the gay lightheartedness of Chaucer himself. There are a few notes at the end of the text, mainly derived from the editions of Skeat, Manly and Koch, of literary and historical rather than linguistic interest.

It is to be hoped that the book will meet with the enthusiastic reception it deserves to have among the Dutch reading public. The Dutch student is certainly to be envied who makes his first acquaintance with Chaucer in the pages of this beautifully printed and handsomely bound volume, a worthy example of Dutch book-production.

O. K. S.

Dr Henry Gibbons Lotspeich's dissertation on *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (*Princeton Studies in English*, No. 9. Princeton: University Press; London: H. Milford. 1932. x+119 pp. 12s.), presented for the Doctorate of Philosophy, is designed to supplement Dr Sawtelle's *Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology*. It is divided into two sections, consisting of an introductory essay upon Spenser's use of classical myth and an alphabetical list of characters with sources and analogues. In his introduction Dr Lotspeich rightly stresses the eclectic nature of Spenser's mythology, which accounts for inconsistencies in the natural philosophy of the *Hymnes* and of such episodes as that of Venus and Adonis in *The Faerie Queene*. He throws new light upon Spenser's

debt to Boccaccio and to Natalis Comes in the process of adapting myth to allegory by making it 'polyseme,' as Boccaccio puts it, of many meanings. The source-list and accompanying notes are systematic and suggestive. As a work of reference the book may be recommended.

B. E. C. D.

Dr Robert Witbeck Babcock's study of *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: H. Milford. 1931. xxviii+307 pp. 13s. 6d.) is a thoroughgoing piece of research which has not quite been digested into a book. The term 'idolatry' obviously needs preliminary definition. 'Super-idolatry' is apparently synonymous with 'the criticism of Coleridge, Hazlitt and Lamb' (pp. xxvii-xxviii). Elsewhere it is termed 'romantic idolatry.' It is stated more than once that textual criticism can 'display idolatry... only statistically.' But there is no more striking display of definable idolatry than the textual criticism, of which there has been plenty, that rejects as spurious whatever appears to the critic to derogate from his notion of Shakespeare's greatness. Dr Babcock has not perhaps quite cleared his mind on his basic idea. So with the form of the book. The process of book-making is too visible in places. And Chapter xv is apparently a series of card entries with their headings transferred to print. There are phrases that detract from the general purity of Dr Babcock's style, e.g., 'the Shakespeare-père-Davenant theory' (p. 21), or 'the early nineteenth century erecting its codex' (p. 211), the meaning of which indeed eludes me.

Of Dr Babcock's solid scholarship within his chosen field there can be no question, and his book is crammed with matter of great interest. There is, for example, an excellent bibliographical guide to his material. We may look forward to the further work promised with high hopes. It is worth doing, and Dr Babcock does it exhaustively. In the meantime, I wish he had had space to relate how William Ireland 'inadvertently got married' (p. 26). Dr Babcock's voyages, recorded in numerous footnotes, must have been diverting as well as informative. C. J. S.

Dr William Bryan Gates in his discussion of *The Dramatic Works and Translations of Sir William Lower with a reprint of 'The Enchanted Lovers'* (University of Pennsylvania thesis, Philadelphia. 1932. 166 pp.) has dealt with a very minor dramatist about whom even he can cherish few illusions. Lower's dramatic works, composed chiefly for his own amusement while sheltering in Holland during the Commonwealth régime, consist of half a dozen translations from the French (two each from Corneille, Quinault and Scarron) and two original plays, *The Phoenix in her Flames: A Tragedy* (1639) and *The Enchanted Lovers: A Pastoral* (1658). All show his lack of any real dramatic sense and his complete inability to write anything but the most pedestrian of degenerate blank verse. His translations reveal, in addition, a very imperfect knowledge of the French language (he could even render 'je suis toujours Femme' as 'I am always firm'), while his original plays, with their puerile farrago

of 'romantic' impossibilities, are almost as weak in structure as in characterisation. Relieved, through the circumstances of his time, from the opportunity or necessity of submitting his plays to public theatrical opinion, he indulged his undistinguished tastes without control, and the resulting work is void of literary or historical significance. Dr Gates says all that can be said for his author, but even he makes no attempt to rank him higher than 'a third or fourth rate writer,' and most people would place him, so to speak, lower. Dr Gates's study in itself is a conscientious piece of work.

F. E. B.

In *Goldsmith and his Booksellers* (Cornell Studies in English, xx. Ithaca: Cornell University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. xiv+119 pp. 7s.) Miss Elizabeth Eaton Kent has written short biographies of Goldsmith's various publishers and stated their connexions with Goldsmith. No original material has been drawn upon; the facts given are already known, but the assembling of them has not been done before.

There are occasional mistakes. It was Ralph not Robert Straus who wrote the book on Dodsley (p. 116); Thomas Seccombe's *Lives of Twelve Bad Men* cannot be dated both 1844 (p. 116) and 1894 (p. 21). References should be to standard editions, e.g., to Professor Tinker's *Letters of Boswell* instead of to the 1908 edition of Boswell's letters to Temple (p. 42). One would like to know the authority for the statement on p. 20 that the 1774 *Life of Goldsmith* was published under Percy's name. A copy in the Bodleian is certainly attributed to Percy in the catalogue, but the copy itself is anonymous. It is unlikely Percy should have been its author: the book is a frail catchpenny publication, 30 of its 46 pages being a padding of quotation, and it contains none of the information which we know Goldsmith dictated to Percy on April 28, 1773. Miss Balderston in her *History and Sources of Percy's Memoir of Goldsmith* (p. 51) attributes it with more probability to Glover.

A. T.

In *An Investigation into the Character of Fanny Burney* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris. 1933. 221 pp. Fl. 3.40) Dr A. A. Overman makes a survey of her life and works, picking out from her own writings and those of her friends the passages which bear more directly upon her character; he concludes by examining her character in the light of modern psychology, summarising and classifying its traits according to the system of Klages, and also giving a 'genetic view' of it. This last part will be of more interest to the professed psychologist than to the student of literature, who will learn more from the main part of the book than from the final summary in unfamiliar technical terms—terms on which apparently even psychologists are not agreed, as Dr Overman finds it necessary to specify the particular translation of Klages' work from which he has taken his terminology. The work is excellently done, however, with sympathy and understanding, and it makes full use of the less familiar sources of information. But it can never take the place of a study of Fanny Burney's own Diary and of her novels.

H. W. H.

Most readers make their first acquaintance with Bartram through references by Coleridge and Wordsworth, and have been instructed in his influence on those two poets by Professor Lane Cooper's essays and Professor Livingstone Lowes's *The Road to Xanadu*. Evidence that the influence was greater than at first appears, and that it was extended to many other poets, is collected in Mr N. Bryllion Fagin's study of Bartram (*William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. 'xii + 230 pp. 13s.'). The book is readable for its own sake, and succeeds in its object of describing the man, his individual importance as a writer, and the reasons for his influence. E. C. B.

Mr Arthur Christy's *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1932. xvi + 382 pp. 26s. 6d.), to quote the author, is 'a study of the beginnings of American interest in oriental thought,' as represented in the careers and writings of the three 'Concordians' Emerson, Thoreau and A. B. Alcott. From an introductory survey of primitive oriental sources—Indian, Chinese and Persian—Mr Christy proceeds to show the nature and extent of their influence upon the three writers under consideration. Emerson's doctrine of the Over-Soul, gradually evolved through emancipation from American Calvinism, represents an eclectic transcendentalism, signs of which can be traced in an early letter to his aunt, Mary Moody Emerson, and which in later years was deeply affected by his oriental interests and studies. Thoreau's retreat at Walden, compared by him with that of a Yogi craving solitude and the inner realisation of God, was an object lesson, supported by his writings, in favour of oriental mysticism as an antidote to occidental industrialism. The propaganda of Alcott as an orientalist, represented chiefly by his conversations and unpublished journals, though now but little recognised, in his own time was hardly less important than that of his two colleagues. In conclusion, Mr Christy summarises notices of Emerson, Thoreau and Alcott by orientals, including a tribute to Thoreau by Mr Gandhi. His book is scholarly and enlightening, though necessarily limited in its appeal. B. E. C. D.

Professor Oliver Elton's Presidential Address to the English Association upon *Robert Bridges and 'The Testament of Beauty'* (Pamphlet No. 83. 1932. 15 pp. 2s.) gives a closely thought out analysis of the main trend of a difficult poem which is still too close to us to find its true perspective. He is too wise a critic to attempt to systematise what amounts to an elaborate act of faith in an outpouring of experience and discursive thought. But the reader of the poem will gain in understanding from the guidance of Professor Elton's exegesis of Bridges' conception of beauty. I do not quite follow in what sense Bridges initiates here 'a new species of poetry' (p. 5). It is clear that he has 'made a new style for English philosophic verse' (p. 14). I could wish that Professor Elton had said his say here upon Bridges' capricious spellings in relation to the general question of form. But a hundred years hence, a hundred

theses will hardly go beyond this short and masterly study in true insight into the poet's mind. We are grateful to the English Association.

C. J. S.

The most valuable portions of the dissertation by Sister M. A. Savoie, *A 'Plantaire' in Honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary taken from a French MS. of the XIVth Century* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America. 1933. vi+211 pp.), are the hitherto unpublished sections of the text. In the MS. (B.N. franç. 12483) the chapters on plants are interspersed among others dealing with animals, precious stones, etc. The author confines herself to the first category, so that her work forms a 'plantaire' or 'herbier.' She reproduces in a palæographic edition, evidently executed with scrupulousness, the descriptive sections of the selected chapters, already published by Raynaud, and the sections, not hitherto published, applying these descriptions to the qualities of the Virgin. The MS. is well known, and the author's notes and her introduction on the date, authorship, etc., do little more than summarise, in English, which in places is too obviously a translation from the French, the conclusions arrived at by Långfors and others. Certain divergences from Raynaud's text are noted, but not all; e.g., some comment seems called for on the reading *leffres*, p. 174, l. 20 (Raynaud, text and glossary, *neffres*). The author's own notes on the text are of a somewhat elementary character; it is superfluous to explain such forms as *sombre* (= *s'ombre* = *son ombre*), *samie*, *tafection*. The index is far from complete, only one reference to each topic being given, and contains some inaccuracies, e.g., Césaire, Job. The reference on p. 13 to *Romania*, XLIV (1915), should be *Romania*, XLI (1911).

C. I. W.

It is for the historians of commerce to consider the value of Dr Gertrude R. B. Richards' *Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1932. viii+342 pp. 23s.), and they will no doubt find in it much that is new, well presented and deserving of praise. From the standpoint of the *Modern Language Review* its weakest side is revealed. The origin and scope of this publication are stated in the introduction: Mr Gordon Selfridge, having purchased a large number of documents from the scions of a younger branch of the Medici family, placed them at the disposal of the Harvard School of Business Administration; but all the most important documents had been withdrawn by order of the Italian Government from the sale, and their exclusion from this book, which has been planned as an introduction to the Selfridge Collection, considerably diminishes its value; no effort appears to have been made to fill the gap by securing photostats of some of the documents which have been retained in Italy. Apart from this deficiency, it was comprehensible that, in order to cater for a greater number of 'business administrators,' a translation should be published instead of the originals; but the reading of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century business manuscripts appears to have proved extremely difficult to the editor and to have cast

a shadow of mystery upon many passages; judging from the facsimiles, this difficulty seems to me to have been somewhat exaggerated, possibly by the lack of familiarity with the script. Unfortunately, if occasional uncertainty as to the precise reading of the document is accompanied by a rather superficial acquaintance with the Italian language of the time and the trade, errors are bound to arise. And that this translation is riddled with grievous mistakes a passing glance will show. A further exemplification of what Messrs Bigongiari and Allen Evans have abundantly shown in their reviews (respectively in *The Romanic Review*, xxiv, p. 1, and in *Speculum*, viii, p. 2) is rendered superfluous by the imposing list of *Errata* which has been inserted in the book. This list is, moreover, far from being complete as its compiler admits by saying (p. 8 of the *Errata*): 'inasmuch as the originals of these articles, together with a number of others, remain available in the interest of specialists [who else, I wonder, is going to read this book?], it has not seemed necessary to indicate in these *Errata* the corrections that study subsequent to the publication of the volume would suggest appropriate.' Early reviews may have provided a stimulus to further study; if not, it would be legitimate to ask why the book was published before completion of the necessary study. A check on the transcription and the translation is only possible where the original passages are reproduced in the facsimiles or printed in the footnotes, and a perusal of these shows that the uneasiness of earlier reviewers was fully justified. For instance, *sarebbe forzata a chalcare di pregio* (p. 110) means 'would necessarily tend to fetch a lower price,' not 'it would force the price down'; *da metervi il suo troppo volentieri* (p. 80) means 'willingly to invest one's own money in it,' not 'to pay too much attention to that line of business.' The glossary contains a large number of words which are and always have been in common use (*chataste di legna*, *carnevale*, etc.), and a galaxy of impossible readings; occasionally it also puts forward wrong equivalents (e.g., *medicata la cosa* is explained as 'arrange matters according to one's liking,' instead of 'having mended matters'). But to insist on such mistakes would give a wrong impression of the value of this book. Students of the Italian language will be interested in the glossary despite its superfluities and inaccuracies, and they must join with economic historians in admiring the immense industry and praiseworthy ingenuity which the editor has shown in carrying out a task of varied and extreme complexity which circumstances have rendered particularly difficult to her.

C. F.

The edition of Micael de Carvajal's *Tragedia Josefina* by Professor J. E. Gillet (*Elvott Monographs*, No. 28. Princeton: University Press. 1932. lxiv+205 pp. \$2.50) is the last and largest of many contributions made by him to the history of the Spanish stage in the epoch before Lope de Vega. The *Tragedia* was printed by Cañete in 1870 from the Toledan text of 1546, which Dr Gillet replaces by that of Sevilla 1545 as presumably closest to the edition of 1535 recorded by Ferdinand

Columbus. Palencia 1540 is a shortened text. The 'Carta del auctor paar el señor Marques' (del Gasto, d. 1546) is noteworthy for its humanistic erudition, containing both overt citations of the Classics and quiet reminiscences. This circumstance, together with the election of a sacred subject and the serious intention conveyed by the word 'tragedia,' makes one surprised that the author should not have composed his play in school Latin. The Senecan influence is marked in the action and language, but Carvajal, like other Spaniards of the epoch, has too realistic a sense of the vernacular to be a convinced classiciser. The Sancho Panza side of his mind is embodied in the Herald, who at once apologises for the serious tone of the prefatory letter, mingling the jargons of the cosmopolitan camps of Charles V, and citing *Amadis de Garula* and the *Demanda del Santo Grial*. In the longueurs of the play one does not receive the pleasurable impression given by Encina or Gil Vicente, with their more spontaneous art, nor the sense of anticipation present in Torres Naharro. The *Tragedia Josefina* appears rather isolated and irrelevant to the history of Spanish drama, even in its biblical seriousness. It has, of course, marks of nationality: realistic touches, an occasionally dramatic phrase, humour, etc. A curious fact is that the author discriminates between Joseph and his brethren by putting in Joseph's mouth the Christian 'Dios' and in theirs the Jewish 'el Dio.' While it is difficult to bring this play into association with the currents setting towards the Spanish *comedia* of the Golden Age, it is equally difficult to rate it highly for its own sake. There is a conspicuous lack of dramatic intensity, the verse is normally undistinguished; and the characters faintly perceptible. Professor Gillet, passing over vaguely worded tributes of older critics, claims our attention to this play on account of Potiphar's wife, here called Zenobia, 'the elemental woman, single-minded, but far from simple; angry or wheedling, threatening, reasoning, in shifting moods of contempt and possessive pride, tired impatience and self-abasement, culminating in a trembling and desperate surrender.' It is scarcely necessary to add, in reviewing a work by Professor Gillet, that this book is executed with consummate care and bibliographical competence. W. J. E.

The figure of Moreto is one of the most difficult to seize in the Pleiad of greater Spanish dramatists. His plays are more regular and suited to our taste than those of greater writers, and such successes as *El lindo Don Diego* and *El Desdén con el Desdén* can be repeated in Madrid without great alteration, eclipsing their originals by Guillén de Castro and Lope de Vega. But he eschews originality as if it were a fault, has no mind for drama outside social comedy, clips the wings of the lyric, and sinks his work into a sea of collaborations, which make his private bibliography almost the most perplexing of a confusing group. It is to the appreciation of this elusive personage that Miss Ruth Lee Kennedy directs her admirable thesis, *The Dramatic Art of Moreto* (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, vol. XIII, Nos. 1-4. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College. 1932. 221 pp. No price stated). Her essay supersedes the

account of Moreto given by Fernández Guerra in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, and is carried out with great care. Circumstances prevented her pursuing the investigation in the libraries of Madrid, with the result that she has been limited to the more scrupulous examination of the facts already reported. It is evident that facts still buried in manuscript copies or unstudied editions may modify her conclusions in detail, and examples are given by Professor Fichter in the *Hispanic Review* (1, 1933, p. 353). But it is unlikely that these will affect matters of moment. An interesting observation is that Moreto emerges with his reputation for plagiarism somewhat diminished. In *El Desdén con el Desdén* he is not revising one play by Lope de Vega, but three; so that this, his best, work is to all intents and purposes an original production. On the other hand, Miss Kennedy imposes narrow limits on his bibliography in the section devoted to plays wholly from his hand, allowing him only thirty-two plays. The remaining forty she considers to be collaborations, or dubious, or frankly apocryphal pieces. It is this discussion of attributions, relegated by the authoress to an appendix, which is likely to have most influence on students of Moreto. The body of her work consists of an outline of his life and work, an analysis of his theatre, and an attempt to estimate his place in literary history. One would suggest that, perhaps, Miss Kennedy's appreciation resembles too closely a computation, particularly in her consideration of Moreto's verse. Literary rank is conferred by instinctive and not by calculated appreciation.

W. J. E.

It is already a far cry from the *modernistas* who revolutionised Spanish poetry a generation ago to the *ultraístas* and *surrealistas* of to-day, but comprehension can now lag so far behind experiment in poetry that a study such as that of Y. Pino Saavedra, *La Poesía de Julio Herrera y Reissig. Sus Temas y su Estilo* (Santiago: Prensas de la Universidad de Chile. 1932. 148 pp. No price given), may still claim to be not only topical but new. The Uruguayan poet (1875–1910), professedly an eclectic and a sybarite whose fantasy, quickened by acute cardiac neurosis, openly defied the uninitiate ('Abomino la promiscuidad de catálogo'), is here subjected to a critical dissection and cataloguing more methodical than has, we think, fallen to any other Hispanic poet. Dr Pino Saavedra gives an impressive bibliography of recent German æsthetic criticism and can say that 'el capítulo de la sinestesia es por completo nuevo en la zona de los estudios españoles.' Certainly the violent conjunction of representations of divers senses is among Herrera y Reissig's most frequent stylistic devices and, analysed, explains much that has been thought wilful obscurity. But the mere classifying of devices, as the author recognises, does not in itself lead anywhere, failing the attempt to surprise their æsthetic content, and it would appear to be unproven as yet that the critic categorical comes any nearer than the intuitive to laying bare the poet's soul, as distinct from the mechanics of his style. Dr Pino Saavedra's essay, very suggestive for the most part,

concludes somewhat lamely with lists of minor syntactical deviations from the norm. Any attempt to make criticism more of an exact science is nevertheless of importance, both as infinitely salutary in the field of Spanish letters and as in accordance with the increasing preoccupation of the poets with technical artifice.

W. C. A.

Professor César Barja is avowedly a modernist. His *Libros y Autores Clásicos* embraced six centuries of Spanish literature; *Libros y Autores Modernos*, of which a second, revised, edition has now appeared (Los Angeles: Campbell. 1933. 446 pp. \$2.25), is of almost equal length and covers two; and that which we understand is still to come, on *Contemporáneos*, will doubtless fill as substantial a volume with the last thirty odd years. The chief modification in the volume before us is the omission of excerpts in order to include new chapters on 'Clarín,' Palacio Valdés (fortunately still alive) and Blasco Ibáñez. Sr Barja's criticism is essentially personal, and in that stimulating. His titles, and his initial disclaimer in 1922 of any intention of writing still another didactic, historical manual of literature, give him the right to be arbitrary, which he exercises in favour of the student whose interest 'tiene por principal estímulo el gusto, la delectación literaria, y no dura más de lo que aquel gusto y esta delectación duran.' Those who read less for immediate pleasure than for the study of the evolution of literature, i.e., perhaps the majority of students, are therefore forewarned. Sr Barja is well aware of the importance of the eighteenth century for the reabsorption of Spain into the European current, but since no one pretends to read, say, Luzán or the elder Moratín with gusto he gives this half of his period a mere one-sixth of his space, and Jovellanos receives less attention than *Los Cuatro Jinetes del Apocalipsis*. At times a more rigorous criterion would have helped, as when an exposition many pages long of Campoamor's theories leads to the conclusion that his poetry is for the most part 'retórica, palabrera, vulgar y prosaica, sin más fondo de ideología que la de un descolorido burguesismo.' This, the current estimate, could have been attained more directly. But whenever an author interests Sr Barja he makes him interesting, and that, to the student, is much.

W. C. A.

The theme of regional differentiation in Europe is proposed for a composite work in Polish (*Ruch Regionalistyczny w Europie*) of which Professor Eugenjusz Frankowski's *Regjony Hiszpanji* (Poznań: Institut Etnologii Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego. 1933. 114 pp., 16 photos) is a section in advance. The author has written with authority on Spanish ethnology and prehistory for more than a dozen years, and in this work he gives a clear and well-informed summary of the regional geography, climate, rural industries, population, ethnology, languages, dress and architecture of the twelve principal regional divisions of Spain, illustrated with sixteen photographs of gala costumes. In accounting for the primitive inhabitants of Spain, he makes a welcome suggestion that the word Ligurian

should not be unduly extended beyond the classically attested seats of Ligurian tribes. Like Sr Bosch Gimpera, he holds that the Basques are Pyrenean people pre-Celtic and pre-Iberian, whereas the Iberians are to be considered as invaders from Africa, akin to the Kabyles, who began to penetrate the Peninsula in the Neolithic period. It would be idle to say that philologists are agreed on the Basque problem, but one finds probably more assent than formerly to the view that Basque descends from 'Iberian' and is akin to the Berber dialects, though differentiated by millennia of separate evolution. It is hard to refuse the evidence for their wider extension offered by Iliberris, Ilerda, and similar place-names. No doubt it is possible the Basques may have learned 'Iberian' from the African invaders; but there is at least a *prima facie* case for supposing that linguists and ethnologists are using pretty much the same evidence to arrive at opposite conclusions.

W. J. E.

Dr Fritz Loewenthal of the Göttingen library has provided a handy bibliography of works relating to Germanic philology in his *Bibliographisches Handbuch zur deutschen Philologie* (Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1932. xii+217 pp. 9 M.). Beginning with a list of works of encyclopædic and bibliographical character he catalogues in turn those dealing with early history, mythology, folklore, general and special linguistic problems including place-names and dialects, and then proceeds to those dealing with literature and the history of ideas in Germany, Scandinavia and the Netherlands. The author is selective rather than exhaustive, but no serious omissions have been noted, at least among the German works. On p. 49 (General Linguistics) it would now be possible to add such important works as W. L. Graff, *Language and Languages* (New York and London, 1932), and L. Bloomfield, *Language* (New York, 1933). On p. 54 R. Loewe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*, was reissued in 1933 in a much revised edition, and on p. 72 we could now quote the third edition of Zoega's English-Icelandic dictionary. Of omissions in the author's power to rectify the most surprising are the neglect (on p. 77) of the publications of the English Place Name Society and (on p. 158) of Archer Taylor's excellent work *The Proverb* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931).

W. E. C.

It is gratifying to note that the University of Giessen has conferred distinction on an English scholar, Dr C. C. Barber, for a meritorious investigation within the field of Primitive Germanic entitled *Die vorge-schichtliche Betonung der germanischen Substantiva und Adjektiva* (Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1932. xi+232 pp. 9 M.). The author adopts the formulation of Verner's Law advocated by his teacher H. Hirt and by de Saussure, viz., the voiceless spirants *f*, *þ*, *χ*, *χw* and *s* were regularly voiced in Germanic except when occurring (a) initially, (b) before voiceless sounds, and (c) medially before voiced sounds whenever the Indo-European main 'accent' [*Hauptton* being neutral as between tone and stress] immediately preceded. The greater part of the work consists of a useful 'catalogue raisonné' of relevant Germanic stems classified ac-

cording to their Indo-European 'formantia' as consonantal, *ɣ*-, *es-/os*-, *i*-, *u*-, *ā*-, *o*-, *jo*- and *n*- stems. Under each reconstructed stem, e.g., *maltaz* 'malt' within the *es-/os*- stems, representative forms of the various Germanic languages are given and Indo-European cognates appended. Sampling tests show that the work has been done very thoroughly and reference is made easy by extensive word-lists in alphabetical order. It would be interesting to know the author's views on such words (not in the index) as O.E. *cofa*, O.N. *kofi*, N.H.G. *koben* (in view of γόπη); O.E. *lætt*, *læþþa* (O.Ir. *slat*); O.E. *deaw*/O.N. *dogg* (Skt. *dhāvate*); Sylt Frisian *uurs*/O.N. *vār* 'spring.' However, he has done well to concentrate on the relatively known rather than the problematical. W. E. C.

Kurt Schmidt's doctorate thesis, *Die Entwicklung der Grimmschen Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Hermaea*, xxx. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1932. xii+384 pp. 15 M.), is a model of successful method. The work is well planned, thorough and well presented. It aims by an examination of the manuscript and successive editions of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* at discriminating between the respective contributions of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and showing exactly the method and degree of elaboration which the form of the stories underwent at their hands in the course of the successive editions. The only misgiving at the end of it all is whether the immense amount of careful work necessary to produce the treatise does not resemble the mountain's labour pangs, for the final result most of us could have guessed without this meticulous survey, viz., that the Grimms did not aim at an exact reproduction of folk-tales as orally collected after the manner now demanded, but that their essential fidelity to their originals represented a great scientific advance in their day. It is true that all facts which can be established about important works and interesting people have their interest, but modern research sometimes forgets that facts may differ in importance. It is much to be hoped that Dr Schmidt will now turn his undoubted gifts of exact scholarship to something which really matters. W. R. H.

In *Ferdinand Freiligraths Verbannungsjahre in London* (*Germanische Studien*, Heft 126, herausg. von E. Ebering. Berlin. 1932. 104 pp.) Dr G. W. Spink deals with a poet whose work bears the imprint of the political strife of the nineteenth-century Germany which ravaged the poet's spirit and led him to seek refuge in England. Apart from the lyric *O lieb, so lang du leben kannst* his verse has almost been lost in the storm of years. Yet the memory of the poet's combative spirit remains. Dr Spink's study on the subject is founded largely on W. Buchner's *Dichterleben in Briefen*. He is also dependent on the *Engels-Marx Briefwechsel* and other sources. Sidelights on Freiligrath's family life, wanderings and friendships give colour to biographic details, but a certain lack of unity mars the book. It was probably not the author's intention to enter more profoundly into the question of Freiligrath's relation to the 'Jungdeutsche Bewegung,' his use of a technique which now and again almost foreshadows naturalism, or to give a psychological

analysis of his peculiar admixture of eroticism, pathos and realism. On the other hand the book gives much information regarding Freiligrath's English, Irish and American acquaintances and his connexion with the British press and with Germans in London and his importance as critic and translator. A. C.

In the miscellany of Goethe papers gathered in *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, New Series, vol. ix (*Papers read before the Society 1931-1933* edited by L. A. Willoughby. Printed for the Society at the University Press, Cambridge. 1933), Professor Willoughby leads off with an account of recent German and English Goethe criticism in which he sorts out the accumulation of books, articles, and notices, incidental to the Centenary, and supplements his bibliographical notes on Goethe in the last *Yearbook of Modern Studies*. A useful contribution. But is he not a little too kind to Gundolf, whose *Goethe*, though one good chapter follows another, remains a book without a core? Professor Bruford's sociological examination of *Wilhelm Meister*, while scarcely likely to lead deep into Goethe, has its value for the period and might well be extended to include the rest of the social books, e.g., the French Revolution group and the *Wahlverwandtschaften*. Dr A. Gillies continues his Herder studies with an essay on Herder's conception of Weltliteratur, in which he shows him again cloudily anticipating Goethe. 'It was Goethe who crystallized these elements into something definite and tangible, and gave it a name.' A misleading sentence on p. 52 of this paper about Goethe's and Schiller's views on art and morality is corrected by a more explicit statement on p. 64. Mr T. D. Jones writes entertainingly on a lighter theme—'English Contributors to Ottilie von Goethe's *Chaos*,' including Carlyle and Thackeray—and Dr D. Yates follows with a note on the 'cryptic S' in Goethe and Grillparzer which, though inconclusive, makes it plain that the S in Goethe's letter to Charlotte of September 6, 1780, and in Grillparzer's 'Briefe an Marie' was rich in mysterious associations. Perhaps the history of occultism would throw a further light here. B. F.

To his important *Nordfriesische Studien* the Swedish philologist E. Löfstedt has added a further series in *Beiträge zur Nordfriesischen Mundartenforschung* (Lund Universitets Arsskrift. N.F. Avd. 1, Bd. xxix, Nr 2. 1933. 100 pp. Kr. 5.50) consisting of (1) a study of the vowels of the Schobüll dialect, one of the southernmost of the Gosharden dialects and represented by a single Frisian speaker; (2) an article (illustrated with some ancient maps) assigning the Dörpum and Högel dialects to those of the North Gosharden; (3) a study of the treatment of Gmc. *a* before a palatal spirant in a syllable originally closed, e.g., *hagl-*, *nagl-* in the Möhringen (Bockingharde) dialects; (4) the development of Old Frisian *e* throughout the North Frisian dialects of Schleswig, to which the author has appended a most useful table of equivalences arranged in twenty-three columns representing varieties of the leading sub-dialects (Gosharden South, Central and North; Karrharde; Möhringen; Wiedingharde). W. E. C.

Written entirely in the Norwegian landsmål a miscellany presented to Olav Midthun on his fiftieth birthday, *Helsing til Olav Midthun* (Oslo: Noregs Boklag. 1933. 216 pp.), consists partly of philological articles, e.g., the etymology of the town names Maløy, Harestua and Hagletjern by G. Indrebø, the meteorological expressions in certain Nordhordland districts by N. Halland and an historical survey of the Austlandsmål by S. Kolsrud, and partly of such literary articles as that on the indirect relation of Holberg's *Peder Paars* to a certain motive in Don Quixote and on the early experiences embodied in Bjørnson's story *Faderen*. A. Bergsgård discusses the relation of the group and the individual in the Viking period, E. Skard gives an appreciation of Halvard Gunnarsson's *Chronicon Regum Norvegiae*, K. Liestøl deals with the localisation of folk-songs and Nils Lid has a contribution on the method of folk-lore investigation.

W. E. C.

The first volume of *Nordische Brücke*, a new series of German studies of Scandinavian themes, is *Die Darstellung der Gemütsbewegung in der isländischen Familiensaga* (Hamburg: Friedrichsen de Gruyter. 1933. 62 pp. 3 M.), a dissertation by Dr A. Goedecke. It shows how the saga-writers, by no means prone to give direct expression to inner states, convey nuances of emotion by depicting the facial expression, gestures, physiological reactions (fainting, convulsions, illness) and passionate deeds (especially of vengeance) and recording the words, minatory, cynical, laconic or exclamatory of the characters portrayed. By a careful registration of much linguistic material, the author leads up to his conclusion that the style of the sagas is determined by a representation of the heroic standing out from a 'realistic' background.

W. E. C.

Students as well as teachers of modern languages will find many valuable observations, well planned and checked by statistical methods, in *Language Learning—Summary of a Report to the International Auxiliary Language Association by the Division of Psychology, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University* (New York: I.A.L.A. Office, 415 Lexington Avenue. 1933. 59 pp. \$0.75). Based upon a discussion of the functions of language of which the conveying of information is held to be the most important for an auxiliary language, the investigators, under the direction and supervision of Dr Thorndike and Dr Laura Kennon, deal with the rate of achievement in learning Esperanto, compared with that of learning certain national languages, and tell us that 'forty hours of teaching and practice will equip a student in grade 7 or 8 to understand and use Esperanto as well as two hundred hours of teaching and practice will equip him in French or German.' The relative value of regularity in word-formation and construction, of systematisation of the 'correlatives' etc. is carefully discussed. Data are furnished in connexion with experiments with an artificial language as a propædæutic for the subsequent study of French, Latin and English. The third section contains some useful criticism of certain details of the

structure of 'constructed' languages such as might well be considered by their linguistic committees; even the ideally best language synthesised from existing features of the chief European languages is not likely to be 'more than one-and-a-half times as good as Esperanto' (p. 41). There is much of interest to the general linguist in this little work as well as to the teacher.

W. E. C.

PROPOSED MEMORIAL TO PROFESSOR J. G. ROBERTSON

THE Committee of the Modern Humanities Research Association and the Editors of the *Modern Language Review* cordially endorse the following appeal issued by the Robertson Memorial Fund Committee. Professor Robertson, as its Chairman of Committee and as founder and editor of the *Modern Language Review*, has placed the Association and modern language scholars under a heavy debt of gratitude.

'The services of the late Professor J. G. Robertson have been such as to place in his debt all who care for the literature and culture of Modern Europe. He has devoted a lifetime to recording and commenting in a number of standard works the thought of Germany, and has actively fostered the study of Scandinavian and Dutch literatures. He has exerted a still wider influence on all modern literary studies by imposing an exalted ideal of scholarship, distinguished by delicacy and sureness of judgment.

'To commemorate so noteworthy a career it is considered that a Fund might be collected, and used for the encouragement of study and research, principally in Germanic subjects. A committee has been formed, and would welcome assurances of support. Contributions or promises of contributions may be sent to Miss PURDIE, Bedford College, Regent's Park, London, N.W. 1.'

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THE PROVERBS IN THE 'ANCREN RIWLE'

THE author of the *Ancren Riwe*¹, in accordance with the counsel of Aristotle and the practice of the mediæval moralists, introduces a number of proverbs into his work. Under the term 'proverb' the mediæval writer himself would doubtless have included all quotations from the Scriptures and from the Fathers, for the term *proverbium* seems to have been used in the Middle Ages to denote any quotation from a patristic or classical authority. Without unduly limiting the term, one may expect a proverb to be short enough to be easily memorised (otherwise it could not be a popular saying) and to make some comment on life, whether cynical, didactic, or commonplace. Many of the so-called *proverbia*, however, fulfil neither of these conditions. The *Proverbia Patrum* in St John's College, Cambridge, MS. B 20, includes long extracts from the works of the Fathers, of a purely theological interest and presumably intended for citation in theological works. A consideration of such quotations belongs rather to an examination of the sources of the *Riwe* than to a study of proverbs.

There are, however, in the *Riwe*, a number of popular sayings, some of which have persisted to the present day, while the frequent citation of others by mediæval writers entitles us to consider them proverbs. Most of these are introduced by the formula 'men say,' in itself an indication that a proverb is to be quoted. They can be classified in groups according to their origin, in the Scriptures, classical literature, or popular tradition.

SCRIPTURAL.

Direct Scriptural quotations, which are extremely numerous and include many proverbs from the Wisdom literature, need not be listed here. But there are a certain number of proverbs whose content shows such a striking similarity to certain Scriptural sayings that one may assume them to have arisen through the inspiration of the Scriptural text.

(1) pp. 8 and 10: 'þe isihð þene gnet and swoluweð þe vlige (þat is makeð muchel strencoðe þer as is lutel).'

Though a direct quotation, this is interesting for its commentary which entirely ignores the significance of the second half of the proverb. In this may lie the explanation of the incorrect quotation noted by

¹ Reference throughout to Morton's edition.

Macaulay¹, and explained by him as due to the author's dislike of the Oriental hyperbole. He notes that the correct version is given in the Latin text. Possibly the author only quoted and commented on the first half of the proverb, and the second half was added, carelessly and incorrectly, by the scribe of the English text, but accurately by the scribe of the Latin text, who would naturally fall into the language of the Vulgate.

(2) p. 80: 'gif hope nere, heorte to breke.'

This is a variant of 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick' (Prov. xiii, 12) and of the saying in Cato's *Distiches*, 11, 25, 'Spes una hominem nec morte relinquit.' In the form used in the *Riwe* it is found in three Early English proverb collections:

Rylands Latin MS. 394, f. 21 (fifteenth century)².

Douce MS. 52 (fifteenth century)³.

R. Hill's *Commonplace Book* (early sixteenth century)⁴.

I have been unable to trace it elsewhere in this particular form.

(3) p. 90: 'Ubi amor, ibi oculus,' is in substance the same as 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also' (Matt. vi, 21). It occurs frequently in mediæval writings, and in the twelfth-century Tractate of Nigellus *Contra Curiales*⁵ it occurs in the form 'ubi amor, ibi oculus, ubi dolor, ibi digitus.'

With this proverb can be linked the proverb on p. 96, 'ever is þe eie to þe wude leie, þerinne is þet ich luvie,' which is apparently unique. Bramlette (*Anglia*, vol. xv) has suggested an interpretation of 'wude leie' as 'mad flame,' but this does not seem to shed much light on the problem. It seems clear that there is some reference to a story similar to the *Nut-Brown Maid*. A wood is the obvious hiding-place for the outlaw-lover, and figures largely in the romances as a convenient meeting-place for lovers. Probably this saying, like the 'j'ay tout perdu mon temps et mon labour,' preserved by Chaucer, and the 'Bele Ales matin se leva' and 'Atte wrastlinge' preserved in Middle English sermons, is a quotation from some lyric either in French or English⁶. The nearest parallel to the actual words of the saying that I have noted is in the *Comédie des Proverbes*⁷ (seventeenth century), Act III, Sc. v:

'Les amoureux ont toujours un œil aux champs, l'autre à la ville.'

¹ *Modern Language Review*, vol. ix.

² See *Bulletin J. Rylands' Library*, xiv, p. 1.

³ Ed. Forster in *Festschrift zum XII Allgemeinen Deutschen Neuphilologentage in München*, 1906 (ed. E. Stollreither).

⁴ Ed. R. Dyboski, E.E.T.S.

⁵ *Anglo-Latin Satirists*, Rolls Series.

⁶ See Carleton Brown, *English Lyrics of the thirteenth century*, Introduction, p. xi, note 2, for the suggestion that the 'proverb' is a fragment of a folk-song.

⁷ Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des proverbes français*.

The extraordinary continuation in the Cotton Cleopatra MS., 'and þe halte bucke climbed þeruppe. twa and þreo hu feole beoð þeo. þreo halpenes makeð a þen' does not seem to have any connexion with what precedes it, in spite of Macaulay's suggestion that the origin of the proverb was in the idea of an enclosed wood in which the does were kept apart from the bucks.

(4) p. 340: 'Betere is þo þene wo,' in the Latin 'melius est tunc quam nunquam,' and given in the other English MSS. as 'O þenne no.'

This probably goes back to the parable of the two sons (Matt. xxi, 30). In the Tractate of Nigellus it occurs as:

'melius est enim sero quam nunquam incepisse.'

It appears in the Rylands MS. as 'Bettur ys late thanne never.'

(5) p. 360: 'vor betere is finker offe þen he eke ever.'

This is parallel in thought to the saying in *Piers Plowman*, Pro. B, 195:

'bettur is a litel losse than a longe sorowe,'

which had already appeared in Nigellus as:

'Et resecare semel praestat quam saepe dolores,
Et breve tormentum quam tolerare diu.'

It is, of course, from the Scriptural 'it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed' (Matt. xviii, 8).

This proverb seems to contradict the saying of Hendyng 'Betere is eye sor, then al blynd,' though the ultimate thought of each is that the lesser evil is to be chosen.

(6) p. 408: 'luve bindeð.'

A variation on the passage in Hosea xi, 4, 'I drew them with bands of love.'

CLASSICAL.

(i) *Aristotle.*

(1) p. 336: 'þe middel weie of mesure is ever guldene' is, of course, from Aristotle, as, ultimately, are the other references to 'mesure.'

(ii) *Horace.*

(2) p. 178: 'Vor ever so þe hul is more and herre, so þe wind is more þeron.'

p. 226: 'Ever so herre tur, so haveð more wind.'

These are variations on a proverb in Horace, *Carm.* II, 10, 9:

'Saeptus ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus, et celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres.'

It was probably popularised through its inclusion in the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius. It occurs in Old English in a homily of Wulfstan, and in the twelfth century in Alexander of Neckam's *De Vita Monachorum* and the *Anticlaudianus* of Alanus¹.

(3) p. 120: 'Wreþþe is a wodschiþe,' is another quotation from Horace, *Ep.* 1. 2. 62:

'Ira furor brevis est.'

(iii) *Seneca*.

(4) p. 364: 'Ne wene non mid este stien to þe steorren.'

Seneca, *Her. fur.* 441: 'Non est ad astra mollis e terris via.'

(5) p. 140: 'þet coc ['cur' in other MSS.] is kene on his owune mixenne.'

Seneca, *Apoc.* 7: 'Gallum in sterquilinio plurimum posse.'

Reinsberg-Düringsfeld² notes versions of this proverb in all the European languages including mediæval Latin. The version with 'cock' is probably the earlier.

(iv) *Juvenal*.

(6) p. 150-2: 'þe þet bereð tresor openliche in one weie þet is al ful of þeowes and of robbares. and of reavares, him luste leosen hit and beon irobbed.... A sopare, þet ne bereð buten sope and nelden, remð and zeieð lude and heie, þet he bereð: and a riche mercer goð forð al stille.'

This is an expansion of a passage in Juvenal, *Satira* 10, 22:

'Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.'

The same thought occurs in Boethius, and is often quoted in Middle English literature. It occurs in the *De Contemptu Mundi* of Bernardus and the *Tractate* of Nigellus.

(v) *Fronto*.

(7) p. 124: 'þer ase muchel fur is, kindeliche hit waxeð mid winde.'

Fronto, *Principia Historiae*, ed. S. A. Naber, pp. 202-3: 'sicut ignem, quamvis magnum vel levis aura si adflaverit, adiuverit.'

¹ *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the twelfth century*, Rolls Series.

² I. von and O. von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter der Germanischen und Romanischen Sprachen*, 1872-5.

(vi) *Lucretius*.

(8) p. 54: 'Of lutel wacseð muchel.'

p. 296: 'Þe cwene seide ful soð þet mid one strea brouhte o brune alle hira huses, þet muchel kumeð of lutel.'

Lucr. *De Rerum Natura*, 5, 609: 'Accidere ex una scintilla incendia passim.'

This proverb is much quoted by classical Latin writers and by the Fathers, notably Ambrose, *Enarr. in psalm.* i, 27; Jerome, *Ep.* 127, 10; S. Valerian (Migne 52, col. 711)¹. It occurs in the thirteenth-century collection of proverbs in MS. Trin. Coll. Cambridge, O.II.45, as 'ex minima magnus scintilla nascitur ignis.'

(vii) *Cicero*.

(9) p. 404: 'on neil driveð ut þen oðerne.'

Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 35, 75: 'tanquam clavo clavum eiciendum.'

This proverb, which was known in Greek literature, was quoted in later Latin literature.

Jerome, *Ep.* 125, 14: 'quasi clavum clavo expellere.'

Felix II (Migne XIII, vol. 37B): 'palo, secundum vulgarem fabulam, excuteri palum.'

I have not noted it in Middle English, apart from the *Riwle*, but Reinsberg-Düringsfeld notes an Old German version:

'Ein nagel den andern dringet unz ern von stete bringet.'

The rhyme suggests that this was literally a popular saying.

The Distiches of Cato.

There are two proverbs which appear in the distiches of Cato, but which may go back to an earlier classical source so far unnoted.

(10) p. 120: 'Impedit ira animum, ne possit cernere verum.' Cato II, 4.

(11) pp. 296, 338: 'hwo ne deð hwon he mai, he ne schal nout hwon he wolde.'

Cato IV, 45: 'Quam primum rapienda tibi est occasio prona,

Ne rursus quaeras iam, quae neglexeris ante.'

This is very widely quoted. It occurs in a sermon of St Augustine (Migne, XXXVIII, p. 1095), in an Old English homily (*Herrig's Archiv*, CXXII, p. 259), and generally in Middle English, Anglo-French, and mediæval Latin writings—examples:

English—*Moral Ode*, l. 22, ed. E.E.T.S.

Rylands MS. f. 24v.—*Handlyng Synne*, ll. 47, 95, ed. E.E.T.S.

¹ Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Concursus*.

Anglo-French—Gower (*Mirour*, l. 5668), and W. of Waddington's *Manuel des pechiez*.

Latin—Jocelin of Brakelond¹.

In a Middle English version of Cato², the popular form is added to the translation of Cato's distich.

POPULAR.

There remain a number of proverbs which cannot be traced either to Scriptural or Classical sources. Some of these evidently formed part of a common European stock of proverbs, since they are found in most of the early literature of Europe. Most of them are found in other Middle English works or proverb-collections. I have been unable to find parallels to a few sayings, which nevertheless have the proverbial ring, and are therefore listed. A careful examination of early Teutonic, Celtic and Romance literature may ultimately establish a source for these, though in dealing with a proverb there is always the possibility of its existing long before its appearance in literature, which may be quite fortuitous.

(1) p. 12: 'vrom the worlde witen him elene and unwemmed her inne is religiun and nout iþe wide hod ne iðe blake.'

Reinsberg-Düringsfeld gives the mediæval Latin: 'Habitus non facit monachum,' with a classical Latin parallel: 'Barba non facit philosophum,' which may have been the ultimate source. There is possibly a patristic source for the monastic version. It occurs in the twelfth century life of Bartholomew the hermit³ (p. 301):

'Non in veste scilicet sed in corde monachi omnem vigere consummationem mandatorum Dei.'

There is an old French version, noted by Le Roux de Lincy, 'Li abis ne fait pas le religieux, mais la bonne conscience.'

(2) p. 52: 'Ofte a ful hawur smið smeoðið a ful woc knif.'

This sounds proverbial, but I have so far been unable to find a parallel to it.

(3) p. 60: 'Hund wule in bliðeliche hwar se he ivint hit open' (MS. Nero). 'Hund wile in at open dure, þer man him ne wernes' (MS. Titus).

In this form the proverb is only recorded by Reinsberg-Düringsfeld in a German dialect: 'Find't de Hund den Putt apen, so stickt hee de snuut henin,' and in Scotch: 'At open doors dogs ga ben.'

There are other proverbs to do with the inadvisability of leaving doors open, in Danish, Swedish, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish.

¹ Ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series, *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, vol. I.

² E.E.T.S., *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, II, p. 608.

³ Symeon of Durham, *Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series, vol. I.

(4) p. 72: 'Moni mon weneth to don wel þ he deð alto cweade.'

This proverb is quoted in *Lazamon*, ll. 8283-4:

'Moni mon deð muchel uvel al his unðankes,'

and in the *Rylands MS.* f. 2 v. 22.

(5) p. 86: 'evere me schal þene cheorl pilken and peolien; vor he is ase þe wiðl þet sprutteð ut þe betere þ me hine ofte croppeð.'

This is surely proverbial. It links up with the numerous proverbs to be found throughout mediæval Europe warning men to do no good to the villain, and also with the familiar

'A woman, a dog and a walnut tree,

The more they are beaten, the better they be.'

The first type of proverb is summed up in the story of the man who rescued a thief from the gallows and was afterwards mercilessly treated by him; and in the mediæval Latin proverb:

'Rustica gens est optima flens et pessima gaudens: ungentem pungit, pungentem ungit.'

The second actually has two parallels in Spanish introducing the villain:

'El villano y el nogal a palos dan lo que han.'

'El almendro y el villano el palo en la mano¹.'

(6) p. 88: 'me seið ine bisawe—Vrom mulne and from cheping, from smiðe, and from ancre huse, me tiðinge bringeð.'

I have been unable to trace this proverb elsewhere. It sounds as though it might originally have had a metrical form, as has a mutilated version found in the sixteenth century *Trésor des Sentences* of Gabriel Meurier:

'Qui veut ouir des nouvelles

Au four et au moulin on en dit de belles.'

(7) p. 98: 'se lengre se wurse lokede blind hors and wudemones echze orn al ut.'

I am inclined to think that this is an interpolation due to the 'se lengre se wurse' with its association in the mind of the scribe with the proverb, which occurs only in the *Cleopatra MS.*

The *Rylands MS.* has 'Ever lengre þe wers lokes [hopes] þe blynde hors,' and in Latin 'semper cecus equus peius videt (salit) et puto peius.'

It occurs also in the proverb collection in *MS. Douce 52* (fifteenth century), but I have been unable to find an earlier example.

The phrase 'wudemones echze orn al ut' I take to be another proverb

¹ Reinsberg-Duringsfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 177.

on the same theme of 'se lengre se wurse,' meaning that the woodman's axe only succeeds in destroying itself. There may be some story behind this concerning a blunt axe.

(8) pp. 118, 238: 'Let lust overgon and hit te wule liken.'

This is one of the proverbs of Hendyng. It occurs also in the *Moral Ode*, l. 15 (not, however, in the Egerton MS.) and in *Death's Wither-Clench*¹, ll. 44-5.

(9) On p. 122 there is a passage which appears to be an amplified proverb: 'To woc heo is istrencðed þæt a windes puf of a word mei avellen, and aworpen into sunne... Understondeð þis word. Seint Andreu muhte iðolien þæt te herde rode hef him towearð heovene,' followed by the examples of Saint Lawrence and Saint Stephen.

In the Tractate of Nigellus² occurs the couplet:

'Nemo satis firmitus quam levis aura movet.

Quid facient enses, si te levis aura cruentet?'

The passage in the *Riwe* seems to be an expansion of this proverb. This would explain the introduction of 'understondeð þis word' before the examples of martyrdom—'understand what is meant by the second half of the proverb.'

There is a similarly paraphrased proverb from Juvenal, as noted above, on p. 152.

(10) p. 208: 'nis he fol chepmon þæt, hwon he wule buggen hors oðer oxe, 3if he nule biholden bute þæt heaved one?'

This can be compared with the proverb concerning a 'pig in a poke,' and with the proverb in the Trinity College collection:

'Ne bigge no man cat, bute he ideo þe clifres.'

(11) p. 246: 'a muchel wind alið mid a lutel rein; and te sunne þer efter schineð þe schennure.'

This is made up of two separate proverbs. 'A muchel wind alið mid a lutel rein' has parallels in Old French and Old Flemish:

Old French: 'Grant vent chiet a poi de pluie.'

Old Flemish: 'By cleynen reghene light den grooten wint.'

It is in MS. Rowl. C. 641: 'Grant vent petite pluie abat.' The evidence seems therefore to point to a French original. The second part is the Latin 'blandi post nubila soles' and 'Post nubila Phoebus.'

It exists in Old French as 'Après la pluie, le biau tans.'

(12) p. 256: 'a lute clut mei lodlichen swuðe a muchel ihol peche.'

I have been unable to find an exact parallel in words to this proverb,

¹ Carleton Brown, *op. cit.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

but there are many parallels to its thought. *Lambeth Homilies*¹: 'A lutel ater bitteret muchel swete.' The Rylands MS.: 'O skabbed shepe shendith alle a flok' (and in *Speculum Stultorum*). Chaucer, *Cokes Tale*, l. 42:

'Well bet is roten appel out of hord
Than that it rotie al the remenaunt.'

(13) p. 268: 'Betere is liste þen luðer strenče.'

This, so far as I can discover, appears to be peculiar to mediæval England, though it is in spirit connected with many of the Hebrew proverbs. It occurs in *Lazamon*²:

'Hit wes yare iqueðen
That betere is liste
Then ufele strenthe'

and in the *Owl and the Nightingale*:

'ne mai no strengthe ayein red.'

(14) p. 324: 'þe hund þet fret leðer, oðer awurieð eihte me beate him anonriht.'

Though not actually a proverb, this passage is of interest for its connection with an Old German proverb:

'Als men den hunt henken wil, sô hat er leder gezenen,'

with a modern German equivalent:

'Soll der Hund Schläge haben, so hat er Leder gefressen.'

It is, of course, a variant on 'Give a dog a bad name and hang him.' If the proverb in its German form existed in England, it may have suggested the exact wording of this passage.

(15) p. 398: 'me seið bi large monne þet he con nout etholden. þet he have þe honden, as mine beod, iðurled.'

This was presumably a mediæval version of the modern saying that 'money makes a hole in his pocket.'

(16) p. 422: 'water þet ne stureð nout readliche stinkeð.'

This rather obvious remark is noted by Reinsberg-Düringsfeld in German, Danish, Swedish, Italian and Dutch, but without any very early examples. I have been unable to trace it in English earlier than Draxe's *Treasure of Adages* (1616).

One noteworthy fact emerges from an examination of these proverbs. The mediæval writer habitually adorned his prose with quotations from the Latin poets; even Matthew Paris was not free from this fault, though he abstains from calling his quotations 'proverbia' as they were normally

¹ Ed. E.E.T.S., O.S. 29, 34.

² Ed. Madden, II, p. 297.

called in the collections¹. There are none of these quotations in the *Riwe*. With the exception of moral platitudes introduced from the Fathers, the proverbs are genuinely popular sayings.

The author of the *Ancren Riwe* cannot claim to have been the first to introduce popular proverbs into serious literature; in that he was only following a long-established tradition; but he can claim to have introduced only vivid and relevant proverbs, which form an integral part of his work, and add to the persuasive force of his writing.

D. V. IVES.

WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA.

¹ In Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS. 238, thirteenth century, there is a typical collection of 'proverbia' from the Latin poets.

IZAACK WALTON'S COLLECTIONS FOR FULMAN'S LIFE OF JOHN HALES

IN addition to writing his five *Lives*, Izaak Walton also collected material for the lives of John Hales and Ben Jonson. The Hales collections are the more important since Walton was attempting something larger than gathering facts together; he was attempting a short biography. The manuscript (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Fulman MS., vol. 10, ff. 79, 80) is therefore the only manuscript which survives of Walton's literary work; and since it more nearly resembles a rough draft than a fair copy it enables us to watch him in the act of composition.

Fulman MS. 10 is a quarto volume containing the collections of William Fulman, an Oxford antiquary of the seventeenth century, for the lives of Sanderson, Hammond, and Hales. The Hales collections consist of three drafted openings for a biography, miscellaneous facts about Hales's life, transcripts of some of his letters and shorter works, his will, his epitaph, and the autographs of letters from men who were ready to supply Fulman with information about him. One of these is from Walton (f. 78^r), addressed to his publisher, Richard Marriot:

[M]^r Marriot

I haue receud Bentiuolio¹ and in it m^r Her^s Life. I thanke yo^u for boeth. I haue since I saw yo^u receu'd from m^r Milington so much of m^r Hales his life as m^r ffaringdon had writ: and, haue made many inquiries concerning him of many that knew him, namely of m^rs Powny of windesor (at whose howse he dyed) and as I haue heard so haue set them downe that my memory might not loose them, m^r mountague did at my being in windesor promise me to summon his memory and set downe what he knew of him. this I desyr'd him to doe at his best leasure and write it downe, and he that knew him and all his afares best of any man is like to doe it very well, because I think he will doe it affectionately. so that if m^r ffulman make his queries concerning that part of his life spent in oxford he will haue many, and good, I mene trew informations from m^r ffaringdon till he came thither, and by me and my meanes since, he came to Eaton.

This I write that yo^u may informe m^r ffulman of it, and I pray let him know I will not yet giue ouer my queries, and let him know, that I hope to meite him and the parliament in health and in London in october, and then and their d^d vp my colections to him. in the mene

¹ A translation of Bentivoglio's *Historical Relations of the United Provinces* by Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth, was published by Moseley in 1652, and was followed two years later by Carey's translation of Bentivoglio's *History of the Wars of Flanders*.

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time I wish him and you health, and pray let him know it ether by yor
writing to him or sending him this of mine. god keipe vs all in his fauor

his and yr freind to serue you

nchr¹ 24^o

Izaak Walton

August

'73.

Anthony ffaringdon, or Farindon, was a friend of Hales, who had meditated writing his life, but had died before accomplishing it: Milington was one of his executors.

Walton's next communication is addressed to Fulman himself and is dated October 20, 1673. It is transcribed in full at the end of this article with the kind permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College². The abrupt opening suggests that part of the MS. is missing; if so, it was Fulman who decided to include only the latter part in his collections, for the folios are numbered throughout in Fulman's hand, and none are missing. Walton is addressing Fulman, and he is conveying information; he naturally adopts the style of the *Lives*. 'The lecturers and their followers were so transported with Brightmans opinions that the[y] swallowed them without chawing and all thought simple that aprou'd him not'; 'when m^r Ha had heard him reade and heard him make his queries or scruples, he told him, he was mistaken in taking him for a fit man to satisfie his contience, and that if he wood be satisfied he must goe to some of the yong deuines now about london and not come to so old a deuine as he was, but they wood doe it readily': the manner of such sentences as these is quite authentic; it is Walton at his best. So is the anecdote about Hales in hiding in paragraph 9; and the stylistic corrections throughout, but especially in paragraph 4, show that Walton was attempting to write as well as he could. The MS. represents a stage beyond the notes mentioned in the letter to Marriot. Yet he is conscious that he is not writing for publication, for he could scarcely have permitted in print the grammatical roughnesses, the abruptness of paragraph 6, and the absence of continuity in the latter part of the account. It is inadvisable therefore to treat this MS. as though it were a MS. of one of Walton's major works and to argue from it to them without caution; but it is very likely that it resembled the MSS.

¹ I e., Winchester.

² Sir Harris Nicolas printed a version of it in his edition of *The Compleat Angler* (1836), pp. clu-clv. As well as making a large number of errors in transcription, Nicolas neglected Walton's corrections and incorporated some of Fulman's work, imagining it to be by Walton.

of the major works in many particulars, and it is worth while attempting a few deductions.

The MS. confirms what is known from collating the various editions of the *Lives*. It shows that Walton found some difficulty in expression and in satisfying himself with what he had written. Consequently his pen did not flow with the facility which Heminge and Condell so much admired in Shakespeare. Collations could only prove Walton's stylistic dissatisfaction when correcting, or suggest a gradual change in his standard. Here is proof of dissatisfaction while composing, and perhaps proof of awkwardness, too.

The spelling is highly unconventional and in marked contrast to the spelling adopted in contemporary printed editions of Walton's works. We must suppose, I think, that the compositor ignored Walton here, rather than suppose that Walton was more careful when writing for the press, an improbable alternative. On the other hand, the punctuation offers no more difficulties than that of the printed editions of the *Lives*.

It is impossible to decide whether Walton was more diligent when collecting material on his own account than when collecting for another. All that can safely be said is that Walton's methods show less care here than in the *Lives*. What he writes is from personal knowledge of Hales or from hearsay; when he gives his references they are to the memories of his friends, and these on his own admission he has not recorded accurately, for Fulman can obtain certain anecdotes more perfectly from Mrs Powney or Mr Mountague. He has omitted to note the year of Hales's death, but suggests that Mrs Powney might supply that too, though the parish register would probably have been less fallible. The Eton records have been neglected altogether.

Walton mentioned in his letter to Marriot that Milington had supplied him with Farindon's MS. of his projected biography. All that is known of Farindon's MS.—a single sheet of paper, which is now lost—is what can be read in the *Sufferings of the Clergy* (1714, ii, 94) by John Walker, who had the MS. from Archdeacon Richard Davies of Saperton, who in turn had it from the Fulman papers. The anecdotes which Walker relates from the MS. are not to be found in Walton's account. Probably Walton sent it to Fulman, and therefore would not need to repeat what Farindon had to tell.

The rejected openings of Fulman's *Life* of Hales suggest that it was not likely to be anecdotal, and the deficiencies of Walton's account would thus be more apparent to him than its virtues. He therefore wrote to Nathaniel Ingelo, a fellow of Eton College, for confirmation on certain

points. Ingelo's reply makes ff. 81 and 82 of the same MS.; it is dated October 29 [1673?] and closes with his 'hearty respects' to Walton. The following items from the letter seem to bear directly upon Walton's account:

ad 1^m. Mr Hales went to the Lady Salters sometime after Bpp. King, and about a year after his ejection from the College¹.

ad 2^m. The same order w^{ch} carried Mr farringdon from his [preaching?] in Londō removed Mr Hales frō the Lady Salters. He affirming that he would be gone lest he should mischief his Friends...¹.

ad 4^m. My Lord Falkland came often to him but my Lord Bacon never with him as far as any here can remember².

ad 5^m. Symon powney and Hannah powney.

ad 6^m. Mr Mountague says that he gave an Explication of his Belief concerning the Trinity to Mr Salter, according to the Doctrine of the church of England³.

In the following transcript, Walton's erasures are printed within square brackets and his interlineations in smaller type. His carets have been preserved.

I haue told yo^u that he satisfied many scruples. and, in order to what followes, I must tell yo^u that a yeare or⁴ two after the beginig of the long parliament, the citisens and many [^] yong Lecturers, (scollers of their zeale, and pich for learning, and prewdence:) had got m^r Brightmans booke or coment [^] on [of] the Reuelations to be reprinted [^] and greatly magnified: in w^{ch}, was so many gros [mista] errors and obsurd conclusions about gouernment by [bi] Bishops, and [^] other aplications [or and aplicacion to the] to the humors and the present ring leaders of the then parliament, (all w^{ch} of Brightman is now prou'd false, and that partie not yet asham'd) [^] with which [the the] [^] [parliament] the lecturers and their followers wereso transported with Brightmans opinions that the swallowed them without chawing [^] and all thought simple that aprou'd him not.

about this time comes to m^r Hales [^] a friend (being a neighbor [a] genttelman) [migh] and requests [^] that a kinsman of his that was troubled with some sad thoughts and scrouples might obtaine a conferance with him [^] in order to the quieting of his minde: which was redyly g^ranted by m^r Hales.

when the perplext partie came to him at the howre apoynted: m^r Ha hauing taken him into his study and shut the dore in order to a priuate and lang discourse with him. the [^] perplext partie [gent] being set down [desyr'd to h] takes out of his pocket [^] a bible turnes to the profit daniell reades a part of one of the chapt^{rs} asks the meaning of that, and how it was to be recocild with a ~~part~~ of the reuelation of S^t John. When

¹ In reference to Walton's 4th paragraph.

² In reference to Walton's 14th paragraph.

³ In reference to Walton's 17th paragraph.

⁴ A heavy deletion here.

m^r Ha had heard him reade and heard him make his queries or scruples, he told him, he was mistaken in taking him for a fit man to satisfie his contience, and that if he wood be satisfied he must goe to some of the yong deuines [^] now about london and not come to so old a deuine as he was, but they wood doe it readily.

About the time he was forc't from the lady Salt^{rs} that ffamily or collage broke vp, or desolu'd¹, [the] a littel before w^{ch} time, they were resolut to haue m^r Ha picture taken, and to that end, a picture maker had promis'd to atend at Richking^s to take it, but faild of his time; and m^r Ha [^] being gone thence dyed not long after. the not hauing his picture, was lamented [and] very much, by the sotietie, in w^{ch} nomber the Bish^s sister (once m^{rs} Anne king now the lady [^] How) [how] vndertooke boeth for theirs and her owne satisfaction to draw it, and did so, in black and white boeth⁵ [very well] [^] exlently well as [to the finenes] to the curiosnes, [and] [and very like him and] and as well as to the likenes.—but before she wood shew it to any that knew ether him or her selfe, she writ vnderneath it, this which she ment to be an Apologie for her vndertaking it

Though by a sodaine and vnfeard surprise,
thou lately taken wast from thy friends eies:
Euen in that instant, when they had design'd
to keipe thee, by thy picture still in minde:

f. 79 v.

least thou
least thou like others lost in deths dark night
shouldst stealing hence vanish quite out of sight;
I did contend with greater zeale then Art,
This shadow of my phantie to impart:
which all shood pardon, when they vnderstand
the lines were figur'd by a womans hand,
who had noe copy to be guided by
but Hales imprinted in her memory.
Thus ill cut Brasses serue vppon a graue
which less resemblane of the persons haue.

You may take notice that she [^] is a most [a] generose and ingenious lady—greate friendship 'twixt her and m^r Ha. she has told me he told her [^] he had lu'd 14. days with bere and bred and tosts, in order to try how littel wood keipe [^] him if he were sequesterd—she told me he wood eate² very fully at a diner and of the strongest or coursest mete rather then the finest

she told me, he was neuer out of Humor but alwayes euen, and humble, and quiet, neuer disturb'd by any news, or any losse, or any thing that concernd the world. but much affected if his frends were in want, or sick.

alwayes redly to resolute questions, with such wilignes and clerenes as to be wonderd at.

at his being at Richkings [to] towards his later end when he was alone [^] he was vsually reading Tho a kempis w^{ch} of a small print [^] he [was] read without spectacells.

he kept his opinions to himselfe, espetially towards his later part of his life. and wood often say the peace of the church was to be preserud.

¹ A heavy deletion here.

² A heavy deletion here.

he burnt many papers and wood often say their was plainnes in all ncessary trowths.

he was Bowser¹ [at] [^] about that [a] time when in the contest [^] began betwixt the King and parliament [^] and boeth armies had sequesterd the collage rents: so that he could not get mony to pay wages to [pay] the seruants [wages] or for victuels for the scollers. but after 9 weiks hiding himselfe to preserue the Collage writings and keyes [^] he was forc'd to apere. at the end of which time the [wom] old woman that concea[^]ld him, demanded but. 6^d. a weike for his browne bread and bere. [and] w^{eh} was all his mete, and he wood giue her —12^d. this concelement was so nere [those that] the collage or [hag] highway, that [^] he said after pleasantly those that searcht for him might haue smelt him if he had eaten garlick.

this was told me by m^s powny from whome or m^r montague it may be had more perfectly.

he liud—5—years after he was sequesterd he dyed the 19^o of may Anno—q—m^{rs} powny and was by his [^] owne comand buried next day in the church yeard.

he

f. 80r. he had a monument made for him (by some frend) w^{eh} is now in Eaton church yeard

[he had vndertaken] he was not good at any contriuance to get or saue mony for him selfe; yet he vndertoke to doe it for [^] his freind S^r H. Wotton who was a neclecter of mony, and m^r Ha. told [^] me he had got 300^{li} to gether at the time of his deth a some to which S^r H. had long beine a stranger and wood euer haue beine if he had manag'd his owne mony-buissines. it was hapily got together to bury him, and [^] inable him to doe [then] some offices of honor, and Justice and gratitude, and charitie.

m^s powny told me S^r ffra. Bacon and the lord ffalkeland came one day purposly from london to sup and discourse with him, and returnd early next morning

m^r Ha. like paule at damascus, eate not in 3 dayes

I think he [gau] bought and gaue the howse in which he dyed to m^s pownyes [his] husband who had beine his honest seruant. of which—q—

I haue heard that m^r Ha being sposed to hold some hethrodox opinions he to testifie the controry did in his sicknes (which was not long) declare his beleife to his pupell the lady Salters son [which] which he tooke in writing from his owne mouth, this m^r Salter (who is now dead) told me long since, and promisd me a copie of it.

m^r mountague formerly the scole m^r of that collage and now fellow 'tis like has it, and he hath promisd me to write and giue me what materiall passages he can rend^r concerning him and he will giue them to m^r marryot² if the be cald for.

he or m^s powny will answare all the q as to the yeare of his deth, and who was at the charge of his monument, how long he lay sick his behavior then: and what ells is defectiue in these collections gatherd by me.

¹ I.e. Bursar.

² A heavy deletion here.

m^rs powny dwells nere the collage, and m^r mountague is constantly in it, being now sickly [malancolly and sickly].

As yo^u reade this make y^r que, and let them be giuen to me to m^r marryot [^] who may get a resolution for you. I: W

octo^r 20^o. 73.

I think the lady Salter did many years since tell me she had the profession of the beheise¹ taken by her son² Salter from m^r Hals mouth. if she haue it, I will indeuor to get it of her. Her Husbands name was Sr William³. her sons, name Emund. but

Ther was told [^] this by m^r Antony ffarngdon, and haue heard it discourst by others: that m^r Thomas cary a poet of note and a [biber] great libertine [libertine] in his life and talke | and one that had in his f. 80 v. youth beine acquainted with m^r Ha: sent for m^r Hales to come to him in a dangerose fit of sicknes and desyrd his aduise and absolution w^{ch} m^r Ha vppon a promise of amendment gaue him (this was I think in the country.) but m^r cary came to london fell to his old company and into a more visable Scandalus life and espetially in his discourse and be taken very sick that which prou'd his last and being much trobled in minde procur'd m^r Ha to come to him in this his sicknes and agony of minde desyring earnestly after a confession of many of his sins to haue his prayers and his absolution. m^r Ha, told him he shood haue his prayers, but wood by noe meanes [giue] giue him then ether the sacrament or absolution.

Thomas Brightman's book, which Walton refers to, was *The Revelation of Saint John, Illustrated with Analysis and Scholions. Wherein the sence is opened by the Scripture: and the Events of things foretold, shewed by Histories. Together with A most Comfortable Exposition of the last and most difficult part of the Prophecy of Daniel*, reprinted at Amsterdam in 1644.

Lady Salter, according to Wood, was the sister of Bishop Duppa. She lived at Richings (or Richkings) Lodge, near Colnbrook in Buckinghamshire, where she afforded hospitality to Bishop Henry King and his sister Anne, as well as to Hales. Sir R. G. Howe of Great Wishford, Wilts, was Anne King's second husband. Her first husband was John Dutton of Sherborne, Gloucestershire. Walton bequeathed her a ring in his will (King's *Poems*, ed. Hannah, 1843, pp. cii-ciii, 173-6). Her portrait of Hales no longer survives. More may be read of Mrs Powney and her house in Aubrey's *Brief Lives* (ed. Clark, I, pp. 280-1).

JOHN BUTT.

LONDON.

¹ I.e. belief.

² A gap left here.

Or, perhaps, Willis.

'CUMNOR HALL': THE ANALOGUE OF SCOTT'S 'KENILWORTH'

THROUGHOUT his life Scott appears to have displayed a keen interest in the poems of William Julius Mickle, the translator of Camoens's *Lusiad*. 'There is a period in youth,' he wrote in the Introduction to *Kenilworth*, 'when the mere power of numbers has a more strong effect on ear and imagination, than in more advanced life. At this season of immature taste the author was greatly delighted with the poems of Mickle and Langhorne, poets who, though by no means deficient in the higher branches of their art, were eminent for their powers of verbal melody above most who have practised this department of poetry.' The influence of Mickle's 'verbal melody' on Scott's own poetry I propose to discuss at a later date. For another reason, however, one poem claims immediate attention.

Lockhart cites one of Scott's contemporaries at the High School, Edinburgh, as recollecting the eagerness with which he made himself master of Evans's *Ballads*, shortly after their publication in 1784. Another companion, John Irving, 'remembers, in particular, his rapture with Meikle's (*sic*) *Cumnor Hall*':

After the labours of the day were over...we often walked in the *Meadows*... especially in the moon light nights; and he seemed never weary of repeating the first stanza—

'The dews of summer night did fall—
The Moon, sweet regent of the sky,
Silvered the walls of Cumnor Hall,
And many an oak that grew thereby¹.'

Scott's early enthusiasm for this ballad—he was only fourteen—continued undiminished until he used the legend as the basis for *Kenilworth* in 1819, wishing indeed to call the novel by the same name²; and after forty years he admitted that the force of the 'peculiar species of enchantment,' which the first stanza had for his youthful ear, was 'not even now entirely spent³.'

Since the publication of *Kenilworth* in 1821, Scott's unhesitating ascription of the poem to Mickle has apparently passed without question. It is rather startling, therefore, to discover that there is no external evidence in support of this contention. *Cumnor Hall* was first published anonymously in Evans's *Old Ballads* in 1784. Mickle himself never claimed the

¹ *Life*, 1902, I, p. 148.

² *Ibid.*, VI, p. 244.

³ Introduction to *Kenilworth*, written at Abbotsford, March 1, 1831.

poem. Sim, his friend and literary executor, did not include it in his edition of Mickle's poetical works in 1806. Investigation unfortunately reveals independent testimony to show that Mickle was not the author.

How far Mickle contributed towards Evans's collection has been a matter of controversy. Thomas Evans, the publisher of *The Morning Chronicle* and *The London Packet*, was perhaps the first bookseller to take advantage of the taste created by Percy's *Reliques*. His collection of *Old Ballads with Some of Modern Date* (2 vols.), 1777, proved immensely popular, and in 1784 he projected under the same title a new edition, which was twice the length of the first and avowedly intended as a supplement to Percy's collection. The first two volumes contain for the most part authentic fragments of old poetry, not of a very high order; the two latter contain a large number of pieces, which, while tricked out with ancient orthography, language and metre, are evidently more modern. Between the genuine ore and the spurious alloy Evans made no distinction, although he admitted the inclusion of the latter by his title and a prefatory Advertisement:

I trust the modern ballads will not be displeasing to the Reader, when he sees among them the productions of a Goldsmith, a Percy, a Blacklock, a Mickle, and others of distinguished merit.

The only ballad professedly 'written by William Julius Mickle' was *Hengist and Mey*, but *The Prophecy of Queen Emma* was 'said to be written' by him.

Evans died in the year of publication, Mickle four years later. In May, 1791, a Dublin correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine* asserted that 'Mickle was employed by Evans, in the hour of necessity, to fabricate some of the *old ballads* which he has given in his Collection¹.' The implied censure was answered in June by one 'R.':

Mr Mickle wrote no ballads whatever in Evan's Collection, except *Hengist and Mey*, printed originally in Pearch's Collection; . . . he never was employed by Mr Evans in any manner, nor had any communication, at any time, on a literary account, with him, except so far as regarded the publication of the first edition of the *Lusiad*; that when the third and fourth volumes of these Ballads were printed, to which only the charge can refer (the first two containing nothing original), Mr Mickle had ceased to have any intercourse with Mr Evans for several years, and at that time he was far from being in distressed circumstances².

The writer then asserted that the ballads were written by 'another person, whose name, which I do not consider myself at liberty to disclose, I was told at the time by Mr Evans himself.'

According to 'R.C.' who may be the Richard Clarke who subscribed

¹ *Op. cit.*, LXI, i, p. 402.

² *Ibid.*, p. 504.

to the *Lusiad*, Mickle once made a solemn declaration to him that 'he was not the author of these Ballads¹.'

This evidence with all its weight of contemporary authority would seem to indicate very definitely that Mickle's contribution to the collection was limited to the two poems already cited and that another author for *Cumnor Hall* has yet to be found.

The question of authorship, however, was raised again by Southey in 1810 when a new edition of the *Old Ballads* appeared, revised and enlarged by R. H. Evans, the son of Thomas Evans. In his review of this work for the *Quarterly* Southey reconsidered the previous edition and discerned among seventeen ballads in that collection 'a sort of family resemblance which indicates a common parent².' These were *Bishop Thurstan and the King of Scots*, *The Battle of Cutton Moor*, *The Murder of Prince Arthur*, *Prince Edward and Adam Gordon*, *Cumnor Hall*, *Arabella Stuart*, *Anna Bullen*, *The Lady and the Palmer*, *The Fair Maniac*, *The Bridal Bed*, *The Lordling Peasant*, *The Red-Cross Knight*, *The Wandering Maid*, *The Triumph of Death*, *Julia*, *The Fruits of Jealousy* and *The Death of Allen*. These ballads presuppose one author. The majority are set at the same sentimental pitch and receive a kindred lachrymatory treatment. Several, such as *Bishop Thurstan* and *Cutton Moor*, or *The Bridal Bed*, *Julia* and *The Wandering Maid*, have a similarity of subject, while others are written round cognate themes. Compare the opening stanzas of *The Murder of Prince Arthur* with those of *Cumnor Hall*:

No more was hearde the voice of man,
Soft slept each wearied hinde:
No sound—save hapless Arthur's sighes,
That murmur'd with the winde.
From an old tow'r of dreary heichte,
Forlorne, thro' Gothic grate,
The hapless prince look'd o'er the floode,
And mourn'de hys wretched fate,

and the virtual confinement of the countess of Leicester:

Nowe noughte was hearde beneath the skies,
(The soundes of busye lyfe were stille),
Save an unhappie ladie's sighes,
That issued from that loneylie pile.

Another common link between these ballads lies in the author's adoption of an archaistic spelling (from which encumbrance the contiguous ballads are free). But, as Southey sapiently remarked, 'these injudicious marks of imitation can no more render a modern ballad like an ancient than a decoction of wallnuts can convert the features of an European into those of an Asiatic,' and the majority of the ballads were omitted from

¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1791, LXI, ii, p. 801.

² *Op. cit.*, III, p. 484.

the 1810 edition, Robert Evans realising that they were not authentic. Southey, at this time unaware of the earlier correspondence in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, could not 'suppress a suspicion that these legendary pieces flowed from the pen' of Mickle. In 1814, when reviewing Chalmers's *English Poets*, his attention was directed to the existence of this correspondence, but by this time his suspicion had hardened into belief and, without troubling to consult the original letters, he concerned himself solely with refuting at second-hand the charge of attempted deceit¹. Scott apparently accepted Southey's opinion as final, and that which originally had been mere surmise became definite statement in the note appended to *Kenilworth* in 1821: 'The ingenious translator of "Camoens," William Julius Mickle, has made the Countess's tragedy the subject of a beautiful elegy, called *Cumnor-Hall*.' Scarcely less dogmatic were Scott's subsequent allusions to these ballads, although in 1830 he referred to them more cautiously as 'understood to be the production of William Julius Mickle².' The success of *Kenilworth* apparently established the authorship of *Cumnor Hall*, satisfied Southey, and side-tracked all immediate scholarly investigation of the subject. In 1822, the year after the publication of *Kenilworth*, *Cumnor Hall* (but not the other sixteen ballads) was received into Mickle's poetical works for the first time, in the Chiswick *British Poets* (vol. LXVI). In 1825 Allan Cunningham—*Experto crede!*—reprehended the poet for encumbering his poems 'with all the idle garnishing of superfluous letters,' realised that this arose from 'a desire to let them win their way as the works of the antique Muse,' and concluded by 'rendering back to departed genius the ornaments of which it too carelessly despoiled itself³.'

Before dismissing Mickle's title to *Cumnor Hall*, it is perhaps desirable to consider how far the circumstantial evidence may be held to corroborate Southey's æsthetic judgment, inasmuch as it was endorsed by Scott, Wordsworth⁴ and Cunningham. Internal evidence suggests that these ballads have much in common with Mickle's acknowledged work. The knowledge of history which they display argues that the poet was also an antiquarian. Mickle's interest in ancient poetry, after 1765, is exemplified in *Sir Martyn*, which is indeed tricked out with similar archaic phraseology. The imitative ballads of *Hengist and Mey*, *The*

¹ *Quarterly Review*, July, 1814, xi, p. 501.

² *Introductory Remarks on Ballad Poetry*, 1830, prefaced to *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 1830, ed. T. F. Henderson, 1902, i, pp. 41-2. See also iv, p. 16; and the Introduction to *Kenilworth* (1831), 1833.

³ *The Songs of Scotland*, i, pp. 226-7.

⁴ Letter to Cunningham, November 23, 1823, *Letters of the Wordsworth Family from 1787 to 1855*, ed. W. Knight, 1907, ii, p. 210.

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Sorceress, and *The Prophecy of Queen Emma* illustrate his interest in the legends of old romance. After the example of Percy, several of the ballads are prefaced with explanatory extracts from Guthrie's *History*¹, with which work Mickle is known from his notes on *The Lusiad* to have been acquainted. Those ballads, moreover, which treat of Scottish history, are related from the point of view of a Scotsman rather than that of an Englishman. And about this time, Mickle was apparently studying ancient Scottish history and heraldic records².

Secondly, although the ballads bear many marks of hasty composition, they have the same harmony of versification, simplicity of expression and facile fluency to be found in Mickle's known work, notably in the poems already cited.

A more detailed examination of the ballads reveals a number of facts, which, while individually insufficient to justify Mickle's title, are in the aggregate highly suggestive. The scene of *Bishop Thurstan* is laid in 'the fayre countrie of Tiviotdale'; this was country with which Mickle was acquainted in his youth, and he had already written of 'the fairy dales of Teviot' in *Mary, Queen of Scots*. In the other Border ballad of *Cuton Moor*, reference is made to the river Tees, to the men of Galloway, and to 'Dunfries towne' in Mickle's native shire. *The Lady and the Palmer* and *The Triumph of Deathe* have for their first verse a quotation from a song or lament, a motif paralleled by the fragment 'Upbraid me not, nor thankless fly,' found among Mickle's papers³. *Cumnor Hall*, *Arabella Stuart* and *Anna Bullen* lament the fate of feminine nobility, a subject of which Mickle's muse was particularly fond, as witness his treatment of the fate of Mary, Queen of Scots, of Lady Mey in *Hengist and Mey*, of Queen Emma, of Inez de Castro in *The Lusiad*. The theme of *The Fair Maniac*, which treats of feminine madness, also had a peculiar fascination for Mickle, who introduces it at the conclusion of *The Siege of Marseilles* and in a fragment beginning 'Tell me, gentle Echo, tell,' where the language is vaguely reminiscent of the ballad:

While the full moon's paly ray
Sleeping on the hill side lay,
Thus to Echo, through the glade,
The lovely maniac talk'd and stray'd;
... She saw—or thought she saw, her love
Lie bleeding⁴.

¹ *A General History of Scotland from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*, by William Guthrie, 10 vols., 1770.

² See a letter from Boswell (not collected by C. B. Tinker), *Universal Magazine*, N.S., XI, p. 386.

³ *Poetical Works*, edited by J. Sim, 1806, p. 126.

⁴ Uncovered by John Ireland, *Poems and a Tragedy*, by W. J. Mickle, 1794.

The Red-Cross Knight would be a title likely to appeal to a Spenserian enthusiast such as *Sir Martyn* and *On the Neglect of Poetry* show Mickle to have been, and *Julia* would perhaps be suggested by the family name.

Cumnor Hall is the ballad on which the main argument rests. The story of the fate of the countess of Leicester who was murdered at Cumnor Hall in the reign of Elizabeth was related in Ashmole's *Antiquities of Berkshire* (1719), and this was a source of the poem, as its prefatory note indicates. Mickle's position at Oxford may have made him familiar with Ashmole's work; but the pictorial vividness of imagination reflected in the poem suggests that the author had a peculiarly sympathetic interest in the subject. The opening stanzas are strongly reminiscent of certain descriptive passages in *The Lusiad*¹, and other verses express similar ideas variously treated in *Mary, Queen of Scots* and *Hengist and Mey*. When Elizabeth is condemned for her persecution of Mary because

Dark politics alone engag'd thy view,
in *Cumnor Hall* Leicester is reproached because

Ambition's gilded crowne
Makes thee forget thy humble spouse.

In the penultimate stanza of *Hengist and Mey*:

All clad in robes of white,
With many a sigh and tear,
The village maids to Hengist's grave
Did Mey's fair body bear,

and in the corresponding stanza of *Cumnor Hall*, though terror of the unknown produces a different effect, the same machinery is employed:

The village maides, with fearful glance,
Avoid the antient mossgrowne walle;
Nor ever leade the merrie dance,
Among the groves of Cumnor Halle.

The 'atmospheric' device of ominous suggestion, which is skilfully used in this ballad (and in *The Murder of Prince Arthur*), is found in other poems of Mickle. Compare the mastiff's howling here with the 'dismall yell' of the dogs in *Almada Hall*: the 'aerial voyce' with the 'shrill-voiced howling' of a passage interpolated in *The Lusiad*²: and the use of the raven and 'dismal screech-owl' as birds of ill-presage in other poems³. While these are natural concomitants of this mode of ballad writing, they indicate that the author, like Mickle, was fully aware of their potentialities. Lastly, the village of Cumnor was only four miles from Oxford, and Mickle must have known of the tradition connected

¹ Cp. first ed., 1776, pp. 23-4, 204, etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 339.

³ Cp. *The Sorceress*, 33-4; *Hengist and Mey*, 37, 61, etc.

with the ruined Hall¹, which he probably visited on one of his rambles into the surrounding country². During his residence at Oxford he can hardly fail to have seen the stone to Amy Robsart in St Mary's.

'If Mr Mickle,' wrote Southey, 'should have been a friend of the elder Mr Evans, as we believe, we consider that circumstance, joined to internal evidence, as sufficient to ascertain his property in the ballads in question³.'

It is extremely doubtful whether this decision may be reconciled with the positive assertions of 'R.' and 'R.C.' that Mickle was not the author of these poems. Perhaps the answer is to be found in the provocative tone of the original letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. 'R.' obviously read in the word 'fabricate' an accusation of dishonesty and wrote to defend his friend against the charge of imposture. But, as Southey says, 'there was no attempt at deceit in the case, and nothing but a spirit of malignant stupidity could extract from it an accusation against the author⁴.' Moreover, in the heat of the moment 'R.' failed to observe the syntax of the original statement. It was not Mickle who was then 'in the hour of necessity⁵,' but Evans himself, who, having promised a collection in four volumes, found that Percy had already collected nearly everything of worth, leaving for him only inferior remnants. Under the obligation of completing his work, Evans had recourse, as he confessed, to the poems of Percy, Goldsmith, Mickle, Blacklock and others to supply the deficiency. Lastly, 'R.'s evidence may be discounted as not infallible, for he asserted emphatically that *Hengist and Mey* was Mickle's only contribution to the collection, when *The Prophecy of Queen Emma* was also included.

The assertion of 'R.C.' is more serious, because he claims to have lived with Mickle 'for nearly thirty years in habits of the most strict and unreserved intimacy⁶.' But his chief anxiety is to refute one PHILARKAIOS who declared the ballads to be an 'unprincipled forgery⁷,' and it is clear from the context that he is concerned only with the defence of Mickle's character and not with the problem of authorship. He is not consistent with 'R.', for he states that Mickle 'was very intimate with the late Mr Evans, to whose pleasantries he was obliged for

¹ Cp. his interest in the tradition of Milton's residence at Forest Hill.

² *The Lusad*, 1776, p. clvi, and J. R. Bloxam's *Registers of Magdalene College, Oxford*, 1853, I, p. 193.

³ *Quarterly Review*, 1810, III, p. 487.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1814, XI, p. 501.

⁵ Mickle was at this time (1784) a member of the London Exchange and partner in the largest mercantile house in Lisbon. He owned property at Wheatley and was more affluent than he had ever been before.

⁶ *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXI, II, p. 801.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 628-9.

many a cheerful hour¹,’ and he admits that the poet had ‘all the requisite ingredients for a successful imposition of this kind.’

Mickle’s anonymity in publishing *Sir Martyn* and his reticence in acknowledging himself as the author of *The Lusiad* show that he was not necessarily prepared to admit himself as the author of any of his works. At the time when he was questioned by Clarke on the subject, Evans’s failure to distinguish between the ‘old’ and the ‘modern’ ballads was arousing some adverse comment. Even the gentle Dr Maty drily wished that he ‘could have perceived more of the true *rust*².’ After publication, therefore, Mickle, who probably had no desire to own these ballads, many of which were poor productions, obviously written in haste to oblige Evans, can have had no option but to refuse to acknowledge himself as party to a possible literary fraud, however innocent he may have been in original intention.

Mickle either did or did not write *Cumnor Hall*. I have set out above, as impartially as I can, the arguments for and against his title. The character of the evidence indicates which alternative I favour and suggests the high probability that Mickle did, in fact, write the ballad, despite the assertion of ‘R.’ and ‘R.C.’ If this judgment be correct, the poet must be held responsible for the remaining sixteen ballads³. ‘We do not want, and nobody ought ever to have wanted, such stuff,’ wrote the late Professor Saintsbury, summing up Evans’s collection as ‘the scum of the fermentation which Percy had introduced⁴.’ This censure, justly applicable to some of the ballads, is too sweeping an assertion to make of the whole collection. *Cumnor Hall*, important alone for its influence on Scott, is intrinsically worthy of the author of *Christabel*. The ballad of *The Red-Cross Knight*, which also appealed strongly to Scott, has furnished the words for the glee by John Wall Callcott⁵. And there are other pieces ‘of great merit⁶,’ more suggestive of flying spume than of floating scum. It is to be hoped that further evidence will be brought to light to establish beyond all doubt the identity of their author.

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¹ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, LXI, II, p. 801.

² *A New Review*, by H. Maty, v, p. 158.

³ As these were ‘first printed’ together in the collection they cannot have been the work of an imitator.

⁴ *A History of English Prosody*, 1908, II, p. 528.

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, 1896, 8th series, IX, p. 352.

⁶ Scott, *Introductory Remarks on Ballad Poetry*.

‘ENEAS’ AND THE ‘AENEID’

THE importance of the so-called ‘romans imités de l’antiquité’ in the evolution of mediæval French romance has been progressively recognised of late years, and their position from an historical point of view, as a kind of bridge between the earlier epic poems and the later romances, would seem to justify this importance. The *Eneas* particularly, on account of its worthy subject-matter and a certain modicum of artistic value, merits the place it has been given. It is, in fact, a kind of pivot, a kind of Mr Facing-both-ways, and for a moment one might feel doubtful as to the direction which the subsequent stream of literature might take. But a glance at the production of the next few decades leaves us in no doubt as to which tendency proved the stronger.

It has often been said that the author of *Eneas* succeeded in combining Virgil and Ovid. How is it, then, that he succeeded in killing the one and ‘launching’ the other so far as the literary taste of his day was concerned? After the *Eneas* Virgil falls for the time being into oblivion and Ovid’s influence in polite literature remains supreme. The romantic conception of love, the psychology of its incipience and its power, had little place in the national epic; the discovery of Ovid had the advantage of novelty, of interesting situations, of psychological problems, and it carried all before it. But this was not the only reason for the eclipse of Virgil. M. Pauphilet has pointed out that the historical and traditional side of the *Aeneid* would have no interest for a French audience¹. Nor would the pagan background touch any chord in the hearts of the mediæval hearers. And yet, if the translator had treated his model fairly and, besides giving the dry bones of the narrative, had reproduced the human details, the evidences of tender affection and the delicate touches with which Virgil abounds and which have endeared him to the hearts of generation after generation, it is quite possible that the result might have been different, and perhaps the harm done by the excessive admiration for Ovid would have been mitigated. People were probably tired of the heroes of the *Chansons de geste*, their outlook on life, their ‘pietas’ (or the reverse), and their deep religious convictions, for it is remarkable what a complete change in this respect has already taken place in the *Eneas*—the stalwart warrior has become the fastidious cavalier, the valiant matron has degenerated into a simpering maiden, the ingenuous youth has turned into a precocious moraliser, the religious

¹ *Romania*, LV, p. 195 (1929).

background has disappeared and has not yet been replaced by the chivalrous ideal.

And yet it is not the change in characterisation and outlook so much which marks and seems to devitalize the Old French poem. It is the absence of the human element, the prevalence of mere narrative which renders it so different from the original, indeed so different that it has been suggested that the translator (or adapter) did not work on the original at all, but on some prose version based on Virgil's poem. It is noticeable that Virgil's name is not once mentioned in *Eneas*¹. But a close examination of the text puts it beyond doubt that the author had the text of Virgil before him. In spite of the many divergences, the numerous omissions and additions² which have often been noted, the author has (especially in the early part) frequently translated the Latin text almost word for word, in some cases actually rendering the Latin word by the same word in French even when the meaning is not identical. This literalness is most noticeable in the Dido episode in which the translator adheres very closely to the original—much more so than in the rest of his work. The following examples, chosen out of many, in Book iv, after the recital of Aeneas's wanderings, will suffice to illustrate how literal the translation is:

iv, 4.	haerent infixi pectore vultus verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.	1222.	de lui comence a penser, en son corage a recorder son vis, son cors et sa faiture ses dis, ses faiz, sa parleur; ne fust por rien qu'ele dormist.
	83. illum absens absentem auditque videtque	1245.	cuide que cil qui ert absenz anz an son lit li fust presenz.
101.	ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem	1270.	De mortel rage estoit esprise; molt l'angoissoit le fous d'amor
328.	si quis mihi parvulus aula luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret	1739.	se j'eusse de vos anfant qui vos sanblast ne tant ne quant
308.	nec moritura... Dido	1703.	Dido qui'n estovra morir
438.	fertquerefertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur fletibus.	1989.	la suer i vet et vient sovent, mais cil ne mue de noiant lo corage que il avoit.

In the description of 'fama' we find just the same process. The Latin *tot vigiles oculi...tot linguae, totidem ora sonant* (iv, 183) has been rendered by *mil boches...mil ielz...mil orailles*; its unscrupulousness regarding the truth is described in the same words: *tam ficti pravi que tenax quam nuntia veri* (iv, 188) corresponds to *altresi tost fet ele acroire* |

¹ Cf. *Eneas*, édité par J.-J. Salverda de Grave, Introd., p. xxii.

² For a full discussion of the sources of these additions, cf. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans français du M.-A.*, Paris, 1913.

la false chose com la voire (1554). The conversations may be a little more diffuse, a few moralisings are thrown in, the order of events may be slightly changed, but the author follows the original far too closely to allow of any possibility of an intermediate text. So verbal is the transliteration at times that words are wrested from their meaning. The Latin *pendent* (= *manent*) *opera interrupta* (iv, 88) is reproduced by the French *pendent li mur antrerompu* (1424)!

Thus for the Dido episode the translator has, with great profit to his work, adhered closely to his text and has reproduced for us faithfully the passionate, love-sick Dido and the cool unemotional Aeneas. Dido sums up truly:

Nos sentons molt diversement:
ge muir d'amor, il ne s'en sent,
il est en pes, ge ai les mals;
amors n'est pas vers moi loials.

The slight alterations the author has made in the text have not materially changed the episode; Dido has not been rendered grotesque by a conventional description of her charms, nor ridiculous by a long-drawn-out unconvincing monologue. There is hardly a trace so far of Ovid's influence, so close is the author's adherence to his original. The same faithfulness as regards detail may be noted also in the portion of the poem corresponding to Book vi (Book v has been almost entirely omitted). The well-known passage beginning *facilis descensus Averno* (vi, 126 f.) is neatly translated by the lines:

2299. L'antrer an est asez legier
mais molt est gries lo repairier,
...lo revenir fait l'an a poine.

Even the human touch contained in the words of Aeneas addressed to the shade of the unhappy Dido: *nec credere quivi | hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem*, is reproduced tolerably well in the Old French:

2647. Quant ge de vos me departi
ne cuidai pas qu'il fust ansi
ne trovesiez aucun confort
qui vos pleust mielz que la mort;

though, as M. Pauphilet has pointed out, the Christian attitude towards Dido's behaviour is quite different from the Pagan. In Book vii the French poet was confronted with the difficulty of disposing of a great deal of supernatural matter. For the Fury which takes possession of Amata, causing her to rave and inaugurate a truly Bacchic scene, he has substituted rather skilfully a long monologue of the queen in which she embroiders on the theme of the 'perfidious Trojan.' Otherwise the book

is reproduced in its main elements, though we would gladly have dispensed with the conventional description of Camilla and her ridiculous horse.

Possibly it was the amusement which the author allowed himself in this description which demoralised him, for, from this point, the translation deviates more and more from the original and makes more and more concessions to the taste of the times. The episode of King Evander in Book VIII exemplifies this change very clearly. This episode in Virgil is full of beautiful, human details. Evander is old and poor (cf. *obsitus aevo*, 307; *res inopes Evander habebat*, 100; *pauperis Evandri*, 360); his city is insignificant and his suite small (*rara domorum tecta vident*, 98, etc.). He has one son, his Pallas, a brave, impetuous, lovable youth, the hope and comfort of his old age, his sole remaining joy (*spes et solacia nostri*, 514; *mea sola et sera voluptas*, 581). He receives Aeneas and his Trojans generously, promises them all the help he can give and, placing them on a grassy seat, bids them share his humble fare. His courtesy is beautiful as he beguiles the journey to the city with his entertaining talk (*varioque viam sermone levabat*, 309), and his words, as he introduces Aeneas beneath his humble roof, attain to the sublime:

364-5. Aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
Finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.

With the true soldier's spirit he sends his son to learn the art of war under the experienced Aeneas, although at the last embrace he collapses at the mere thought that a cruel fate might possibly overtake him.

What have we of all this in the French translation? Not a trace remains of all that renders the episode so beautiful. Aeneas pays a visit to a friendly disposed king whom he succeeds in persuading to lend him twenty thousand men. Evander is quite commonplace and no longer poor; the simple fare has been replaced by numerous dishes and a variety of wines:

4778. Ne sai conte dire des mes
qui sovent vindrent et espés,
ne des bons vins et des herbez.
mais il an orent tuit asez.

The meal is followed by a display of tumblers and magicians and Trojan games to entertain the king and his people. The next morning Pallas is knighted in the conventional manner and Evander sends them off cheerfully with a huge army, a hundred ships and enough food to last them for thirteen months (4820)! The skeleton of the story remains but every bit of flesh and blood has been removed from it.

The next episode in which such a contrast presents itself is the touching story of Nisus and Euryalus in Book IX. Here, perhaps, Virgil excels

himself in the beauty of human detail and the pathos which he introduces into the narrative from the start. The very description of Euryalus (*ora puer prima signans intonsa iuventa*, ix, 181) enlists our sympathy for the beautiful youth (*quo pulchrior alter | non fuit Aeneadum*, etc., 179). The reluctance of Nisus to let his young friend share his danger and thus be a cause of grief to a doting mother; the last request of Euryalus to Ascanius to look after his mother to whom he had omitted to say good-bye (*hanc ego nunc ignaram huius quodcumque periculi est | inque salutatam linquo*, 288) because he could not bear to see her grief; the distracted grief of the mother when she sees the grizzly sight of her boy's head stuck upon a pole—these are the details which make the episode so unforgettable and haunting. Yet these are precisely the details that the French author omits. The description of the two young men has been suppressed—a bald *Nisus ot nom, se fu molt proz* introduces the one and *Cil avoit un suen compaignon | Eurialus avoit a non* the other. The similarity of taste and love of adventure which united the two Trojan youths (*His amor unus erat pariterque in bella ruebant*, ix, 182) is expressed in the colourless lines:

4918. l'uns ne savoit sanz l'autre rien,
ne ne avoit joie ne bien.

All reference to the mother of Euryalus has been omitted. When Euryalus blames his friend for having thought of going alone and insists on going with him, the reply of Nisus, so beautiful in the original with its reference to the tender age of his friend and the devotion of his mother, is boiled down to the feeble lines:

4958. Pas ne m'en poise, ainz m'en est bel,
se tu i vels aler o moi
molt par m'est bon et ge l'otroi.

The few poignant words uttered by Nisus when he discovers that Euryalus has not followed him in his flight are swelled out into forty lines of sentimental rhapsody:

5166. Mais ge quit bien verairement
n'est ancor pas morz mes amis;
ge sent mon cuer, il est toz vis;
se il sentist dolor mortel
mes cuers le sentist altretel;
bien puet estre que il l'ont pris,
mais il ne l'ont noiant ocis.
unc ne firent tel cruelté
que par mal l'aient adésé.
Qui tocheroit tel criature? etc.

A speech which, incidentally, must greatly have delayed the return of

Nisus to look for his friend. The death of Euryalus calls forth no comment from the French poet, merely the brief line *al damoiseil trencha lo chief*, and there is no hint of pathos in spite of the beautiful simile which Virgil inserts here. In this episode, if in any, we might have been inclined to explain the differences by means of an abridged intermediate source had it not been for a certain verbal similarity, as, for instance, in the passage where Nisus seeks to exonerate his young friend in order to save his life:

Eneas, 5226. Cil n'a ne po ne grant forfet,
 mais ge sols ai tot le mal fet.

Aeneas, ix, 428. O Rutuh! mea fraus omnis; nihil iste nec ausus,
 Nec potuit....

Once again we have to admit that the mere colourless narrative has been reproduced, slightly swelled out by two monologues of Nisus, who twice laments his friend in unconvincing fashion:

5231 f. Molt a dur cuer quel tochera,
 quil velt ocire onques n'ama;
 unques de bone amor n'ot cure
 qui tochera tel criature.

Certainly the author of *Eneas* did his best to make Virgil unpopular when he substituted such sob-stuff for the true pathos of the original. Or did he accurately gauge the taste of his audience?

In Book x the outstanding characters are the two warlike youths on opposite sides (in the usual parallel fashion)—Pallas, fighting on the side of the Trojans, and Lausus, the loyal son of the godless Mezentius. It is almost heartrending here to compare the two texts. Instead of the touching description of a slender youth, greatly daring like David, opposed to a fierce Goliath (cf. *iuvenis tum iussa superba | miratus stupet in Turno corpusque per ingens | lumina volvit*, x, 445 f.), the Old French poet gives us a purely conventional description of a single combat between two evenly-matched knights:

Eneas, 5719. Pallas lo fiert parmi l'escu
 que tot li a frait et fendu,
 et lo halberc li desmailla;
 pres del costé li fers passa,
 li cous s'an escola defors,
 qu'il nel navra noiant el cors, etc.

In the end Turnus is victorious and the author remarks irrelevantly about Pallas:

5753. Morz est, ne li puet mes chaloir
 qui que puisse la femme avoir,
 ou l'ait Turnus ou Eneas.

Once again it would be hard to believe that he had Virgil's text before his eyes were it not for the words at the close of the episode:

5771. Puis fu tels jor, se il saust,
que ja bailhez par lui ne fust,
se il s'en peust repentir
car par l'anel l'estut morir;

which correspond verbally to the passage: *Turno tempus erit*, etc. (x, 503 ff.), allowing for the fact (which has been often noted) that the author of *Eneas* has for some unaccountable reason substituted an 'anel' for the 'balteus' of Virgil. The episode of the death of Lausus has undergone the same transformation. In the *Aeneid* the young man is overcome with grief at seeing his father badly wounded. He rushes up and, getting beneath the threatened blow of Aeneas' sword, protects his wounded father:

x, 796-9. proripuit iuvenis seseque immiscuit armis,
iamque adsurgentis dextra plagamque ferentis
Aeneae subiit mucronem ipsumque morando
sustinuit.

His comrades are moved to applause at this filial act, and even Aeneas is touched by the valour of the heroic youth and, after killing him, utters a tribute to his noble nature. But there is no trace of these human feelings in *Eneas*. It is not Lausus here who tries to ward off the sword from his wounded father, but the followers of Mezentius who rush up in scores:

1873-4. a la rescosse sa gent corent,
il an i ot cent quel secorent;

nor is there a hint of the sincere pity felt by Aeneas at sight of the dying boy nor of the attempt he made at amends. On the contrary, Aeneas appears in a savage light not altogether in keeping with his character:

5909. Eneas est sailliz an piez;
maltalent ot, molt fu iriez,
sus el hiaume tel li dona,
desi es denz li brans cola;
estort son cop, mort l'abati.
Vet al destrier, si l'a saisi
(cel dont estoit chaoiz Lausus),
de ploine terre sailli sus
et vait avant bataille guerre;
celui lait mort gisant a terre.

Nor, earlier in the narrative, does the adapter think it of interest to introduce the description of Lausus, the handsome boy (only less handsome than Turnus himself, cf. vii, 649), riding beside his sullen father, unworthy of such a son, nor of Pallas, nestling to the side of Aeneas on

board the ship and plying him with questions about the stars and the tides (x, 160). What incredible omissions! The lack of interest in character and human personality strikes us perhaps most in the case of these young men whom Virgil describes with such sympathy. Book xi (in the translation) is a good example of what the mediæval author really enjoyed. The funeral cortège of Pallas is described with evident relish, and the conventional 'regret funèbre' is indulged in to such an extent that even Evander's dead wife is resuscitated in order to pronounce her oration, though the touching episode of Pallas's charger walking behind the bier with big tears streaming down its face is, characteristically, omitted. The long description of the embalmment and tomb of Pallas is a noteworthy indication of the taste of the time. The council with its clash between Drances and Turnus is followed with a certain fidelity, though the author indulges in a rather exaggerated taste for sarcasm. This is seen too in the Camilla episode, where we positively blush for the taste of author and audience. The romantic story of Camilla's childhood is omitted; Camilla the Amazon appears as a kind of Lady Godiva:

6931. la coife del hauberc fu faite
 en tel maniere qu'ele ot traite
 sa bloie crine de defors
 que el li covri tot le cors:
 derriés li vantelot aval
 des que sor lo dos del cheval.

Most disgusting taunts are put into the mouth of Tarchon, and Camilla deigns to answer them; her death is made the occasion for a moralization on covetousness, and the episode closes with the description of a sumptuous and phantastic erection on her tomb.

One can hardly speak of omissions or additions as regards Book xii as this part of Virgil's work has been entirely rewritten. The clash of character which gives such a human interest to the book has been ignored. There is no contrast here between the staid 'middle-aged widower' (Aeneas) and the hot-blooded, unstable youth (Turnus) whose feelings alternate between elation and depression and whose exultant pride ends in an ignominious appeal for mercy. In this part of his work the author definitely turns his back on Virgil and, completely under the influence of Ovid, gives us the classic description of the genesis of love in the human breast which was to set the fashion for some years to come. In Virgil Lavinia occupies scarcely half a dozen lines, although she is in the background as the promised bride of Turnus. The brief but delightful description of her as she blushes at her mother's words in the presence of Turnus¹,

¹ *Aeneid*, xii, 64 ff.

with the flaming up of desire in the passionate young man as he looks at her, are the only concession to the susceptibilities of youth, and we are left uncertain to the end as to the actual state of Lavinia's affections. But in the French poem a quarter of the whole work (*circa*. 2500 lines) is devoted to this episode in which the initial pains of love, the languishings, the regrets and the fears which accompany it, are described at length. There is no need to dwell on this well-known episode except to point out the contrast between the living, passionate account of Dido in which the author adhered closely to his source with such success, and the sentimental episode which he has evolved out of his own mind under the influence of his alternate master, Ovid, who clearly weighed down the balance of favour in the author's mind as he proceeded with his work. And so he passed by the beauties of Virgil unheeding and failed to hand them on to his unsuspecting hearers.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MONTAIGNE'S 'JOURNAL DE VOYAGE' IN RELATION TO HIS 'ESSAYS'

MONTAIGNE was not only one of the great thinkers of the sixteenth century, but one of the great travellers. The Diary of his Journey to Italy¹ is of immense importance to the readers of his *Essays*. Montaigne, as a traveller, often enlightens us on the workings of his mind as a thinker.

Montaigne's *Essays* are the portrait of the author by himself. In his Journal (which in his will he ordered to be destroyed, and which not even Mademoiselle de Gournay thought of publishing), the author is not thinking of his portrait or of his public. The effects are unstudied, the thought is sketchy, the narration spontaneous. He gives us his impressions first-hand, and before his mind has set to work on them. That is why, from the pen of a man who in his *Essays* is more conscious of himself than any other writer, this Journal is a valuable document.

Montaigne could not have said of his Journal what he said of his *Essays*: 'Je n'ai pas plus faict mon livre que mon livre m'a faict.' The *Essays*, before moulding the thoughts of generations, shaped in the first place the mind of the author. The Journal is not that kind of book. It does not express the universal range of the author's mind. But it brings out certain characteristic and instinctive predispositions which determine the trend of his thoughts.

'I am myself the subject of my book,' said Montaigne in the Preface to his *Essays*. In the Journal he does not play the same part; we merely catch a glimpse of him as a spectator of many curious scenes and customs. He is not writing to make an 'essay' of his judgment, but merely to note down, before he forgets them, the events he has witnessed and particularly all the intimate details of his state of health, for the object of his journey was to visit the watering places of Germany, Switzerland and Italy in order to seek a cure for gall-stones. Montaigne scorned the medical science of his day, but saw no harm in the use of thermal waters. What really attracted him in Plombières, Baden, Lucca, etc., was not so much the efficacy of the waters and the hope of a cure as the entertaining life he found in those places.

Whatever may have been the excuse he gave for setting off on June 22, 1580, for a long and adventurous journey, it is probable he was impelled above all by his love of change. To leave all the familiar scenes of his

¹ *Journal du Voyage de Michel de Montaigne*, published for the first time in 1774 from a MS. found in the Château de Montaigne.

life behind him, to study his fellowmen in their own environment, to set forth in joyous anticipation of all the influences he might encounter by the way, these were things Montaigne adored. The call of the unknown was always in his ears, drawing him farther and farther away. He tells us he loved being free to linger, or to hurry on, to sit in his room in an inn with a book, or to walk about with the most noted people he met in each place. Then there were the shops, the churches, the squares, the movement; and all that, he says, gave him ample opportunity for satisfying his curiosity.

The Journal is therefore a kind of register of all that happened during his travels. He kept his register of events as he might have kept a register of expenses. It was not part of his occupation as a writer, but was one of his duties as a traveller. It was even an irksome duty, so irksome that he made his valet do it and only took it in hand himself when the said valet was dismissed. Besides, the hasty character of the Journal, compared with the leisured pace of the *Essays*, shows clearly enough that Montaigne's usual method of working was incompatible with the conditions of travelling at that time. For his *Essays* he needed long hours of reflection; above all, he needed solitude, that solitude which brought him into communion with his chosen sages of antiquity.

Each generation has a curiosity of its own. Its travellers seek, and find, something which other generations will hardly notice, or may even despise. Montaigne, being of the sixteenth century, was one of those men for whom the storms of life are centred in outward events, and not in their own minds and emotions. Hence he studies, not his own intimate reactions to life, but the 'humeurs' and the 'façons' of various nations. For him, a journey is a much prized opportunity of bringing his mind into contact with other minds.

The questions which arouse his curiosity with regard to his fellowmen are of two kinds, firstly, how men live, and secondly, what they think of life. No one could be more conscious than Montaigne of the differences between men, and of the influence that those differences may exercise on their way of thinking. He is very much aware of the fact that a man who eats from a pewter plate has neither the same sensations nor the same ideas as the man who uses painted earthenware; or that the habit of warming oneself at a Swiss stove instead of in French fashion can create differences which affect not only people's physical sensations but their thoughts. That is why Montaigne is passionately interested in knowing exactly how men live, how they sleep, whether they have beds with curtains and with canopies, windows with or without glass panes,

whether they drink their wine with or without adding water, whether they use a fork and a spoon or just their fingers. In a certain inn he is thrilled to learn that the floors are cleaned with boiled sawdust. In another, he notes that the pewter is kept as bright as his own pewter at home. Or, again, he is struck by the way in which salt-cellar and candle-sticks are arranged on a table so as to form a Saint Andrew's cross. In short, we feel he is always on the look-out for visual sensations; for him, the shape of a window or the colour of a cover, even in memory, is a thing of importance.

After the practical details of ordinary life, he is eager to know all that goes beyond outward appearance. He is never tired of asking people what they think about life. What doctrine, what faith, old or new, is behind their interpretation of life? Those, for instance, who share the point of view of Luther or Calvin cannot look on life as he does, and he is eager to know just how far their way of thinking is modified by this new orientation of their faith. In Germany he frequently dined with celebrated theologians and discussed with them the new Protestant doctrines. He spared himself no pains in order to distinguish between the followers of Calvin, Zwingli, etc., and on one occasion he notes with interest that some of them, according to report, still cherished their old Roman religion in their hearts. He is not interested in weighing up the different doctrines, but in watching what goes on in the mind of a Protestant and in examining that peculiar and extraordinary phenomenon, a change of religion.

Everywhere Montaigne tries to draw people out and to make them talk on the subject they are most interested in. This untiring curiosity is evident on every page of the *Essays*, but sometimes in the *Journal* we get a glimpse of Montaigne, a somewhat fussy Montaigne, very busily engaged in collecting information, and puzzling the inhabitants with his questions, as, for instance, on the day he arrived in a certain Italian town where, according to what Pliny had said fifteen hundred years before, there was a kind of earth which softens with heat and dries in the rain. Without wasting any time, as soon as he arrives, Montaigne questions the natives on the subject, but he is disappointed. They know nothing whatever about it, and are only puzzled by his eagerness to verify such an ancient statement.

The Montaigne of the *Essays* tells us how ignorant he is of all the practical side of life. But the Montaigne of the *Journal* is fascinated by it. In the *Essays* he reminds us that he does not know the difference between one seed and another, that he can scarcely distinguish a cabbage

from a lettuce, that he does not know even the names of the various agricultural instruments. But, as soon as he leaves behind him his familiar château and the horizons of home, as soon as he is among strangers, nothing is too prosaic or too humble to attract his attention and arouse his interest. In his native Périgord he does not know what it means to make wine ferment. But in Italy, at Carrara, he carefully notes down how the natives clarify new wine 'avec des copeaux de bois et des blancs d'œufs de manière qu'ils lui donnent la couleur du vin vieux.' At home he is unaware of the fact that leaven is used in making bread, and, as for all the different kinds of fruit, wine and meat, he tells us he knows nothing whatever about them. But in the neighbourhood of Florence he is better informed; there he knows that melons are ripe as early as July 15. At Pontremoli, he will tell us all about an Italian meal of cheese followed by olives served with oil and vinegar like a salad and after the fashion of Genoa. At Constance he knows what the workpeople's dinner consists of: 'Des fouasses fort plates, où il y a du fenouil, et au-dessus de la fouasse des petits lopins de lard hachés fort petits et des gousses d'ail.' We hardly expect such precise culinary details from the man who said he was so helpless that he was quite capable of starving even with all the resources of a kitchen at his disposal: 'Qu'on me donne tout l'apprest d'une cuisine et me voilà à la faim.' Or, again, in spite of his utter ignorance of the buying and selling of goods, he knows the price of the straw hats which are made at Pistoia. He warns us also that in Germany one must reckon one crown per day for the journey of a man and a horse.

This difference in attitude towards the practical things of life according as they are his own, or other people's concern, is very characteristic of Montaigne. In his *Essays* he alludes to this 'erreur d'âme' which makes him despise whatever is within his own reach and admire what belongs to others. 'Je hausse le prix aux choses d'autant qu'elles sont étrangères, absentes ou non miennes.' If his neighbour's house or horse is equal in value to his, he likes it better than his own, just because it is not his own. Montaigne, like those who live by their imagination, is always attracted by a new perspective, by seeing things from a long way off or from a new angle. He finds no charm in local usages, but he cannot help liking 'les mœurs lointaines.' In his own life, when he is 'au dedans de la besogne,' he finds no joy. He can only bear to contemplate his own affairs 'de loin et en gros.' For him, new scenes, not familiar ones, are pleasing. Like Diogenes, he tells us the best wine in the world is the wine he drinks in another man's house.

In this tyrannical desire which urges him to seek a change of perspective, there is an element of sadness. It is because he nowhere finds a permanent resting-place for his thoughts that he is constantly seeking the reassuring prospect of a new horizon. He always seems ready to give himself up to new influences, to renounce his personality in order to be possessed of a new one. Everywhere he adapts himself to new customs. New surroundings give him a new soul. He never feels himself to be a foreigner. All men, he says, are my countrymen. He denies that one's native air is sweeter than any other. To esteem what one has known from birth, and that only, is, he says, to shut oneself up in a prison. It is to make the mistake of the Persian kings who would only drink of the water of one river and who, consequently, as far as they were concerned, 'dried up all the rest of the world.' With Montaigne, it was a rule in life never to give up his right to drink of all waters and all rivers. And in this respect the Montaigne of the *Journal* throws a new light on the Montaigne of the *Essays*, for, in ideas as in life, his attitude is the same. He welcomes all theories, all imaginings. He delights in them as he delights in the places where he breaks his journey but from which he knows he will soon set off again. He tells us that, when he is travelling, he is like someone who is reading a fine book and who is afraid of suddenly coming to the end of it. Finality has no appeal for him. In ideas as in travel he constantly needs new horizons. There is something in his mental make-up which corresponds to his physical need for movement. For him a state of rest is a state of uneasiness. In the seclusion of his château he satisfies his need for movement, for new horizons, by a journey throughout the ideas of all times and all countries. His mind delights in exploring every doctrine and every theory, but no doctrine or theory ever becomes the final port of his thoughts. His familiarity with Stoic thought makes him a Stoic, but only in the same way as his stay in Italy, coupled with his enthusiastic desire to adopt Italian ways, makes him an Italian. And he is no more a real Stoic than a real Italian.

In this extraordinary facility which Montaigne showed in adapting himself to new environments, there is something more than a mere accidental trait of his intelligence. In fact these changes of attitude come easy to him because they are the outcome of an instinctive need. It is not the facility which creates the desire for change, but the need for movement and change, inseparable from a mind like his, which creates the facility.

There is therefore a parallel between the instinctive tendencies of the traveller and the ultimate character of the thinker's mind. None of the

places he visited as a traveller, however much they may have fascinated him, could keep him long. And no philosophy, however deeply it may have influenced him, could attach him for ever. He delights in each and passes on.

Therefore, for certain fundamental characteristics of his thought, the traveller explains the thinker. Montaigne might have said of the life of his thought what he said in respect to his travels, namely, that he had no other aim but 'se promener par des lieux inconnus.' To stop, according to him, is to shackle oneself. In thought, as in travel, he does not aim at arriving at any particular destination and staying there. What matters is not the end but the road.

Such was the attitude of Montaigne towards all the theories and ideas and beliefs which he encountered and of which he treats in his *Essays*. That is to say, in regard to all the achievements of human thought which he spent his life contemplating, his attitude is not so much that of a great philosopher as that of a great traveller.

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INFLUENCE OF GEORGE BORROW IN NORWAY AND SWEDEN

It is significant that the first of Borrow's books to attract much attention in Sweden should be *The Bible in Spain*. About the middle of the nineteenth century there were in that country strong religious movements which awakened sympathy with such missionary work as that of Borrow among the Spaniards. Accordingly, in the newspaper *Aftonbladet* there appeared between July 8 and August 9, 1854, a series of copious extracts from *The Bible in Spain* under the title of *En Bibelkolportör i Spanien*¹.

The extracts are preceded by a biographical sketch. It begins with a long passage based on E. H. D. E. Napier's description of his meeting with Borrow at Seville in 1839². Next comes an account of Borrow's family and childhood, which can be traced ultimately to the early chapters of *Lavengro*³. The article tells also of his passion for languages and his habit of carrying a tame viper on his walks⁴; it likewise mentions his acquisition of Romany and his knowledge of the gipsies⁵, an intimacy which won for him the name of 'London Caloron,' or the gipsy from London. Then, after a reference to his extensive journeys in Europe and Asia, there follows an outline of his doings in Spain. The writer points out that at the time war was raging from the Pyrenees to Andalusia and continues:

That the man had to possess courage who in these circumstances dared, as he expresses himself in one place, to open a Bible campaign in Spain, is incontrovertible; however, he soon saw himself interrupted in his activity by the efforts of the fanatical hierarchy, was even thrown into prison, and finally had to leave Spain, without having been able to carry out his plan on any extensive scale.

However, in spite of the interest thus displayed in *The Bible in Spain*, *The Zincali* exercised a greater influence. Here again the religious motive was not without importance. This may be seen from the work of the

¹ Nos. 155-6, 158, 160-1, 163-70, 172-3, 175-6, 179-82.

² *Excursions Along the Shores of the Mediterranean*, London, 1842, II, pp. 81-91. The article erroneously attributes the meeting to the year 1843. It contains another curious mistake, since it confuses this Napier with his stepfather, Admiral Sir Charles Napier. The latter was in command of the fleet sent to the Baltic during the Crimean War. He had boasted that within a month of his arrival off the Russian coast, he would be in Cronstadt or in heaven. Such sentiments appealed to the Swedes, and the writer in *Aftonbladet* not only declares his sympathy with Napier but also expresses the hope that he will win victories over the Russians comparable to those of the great Swedish general Jacob de la Gardie. In point of fact, Napier had no success, which was attributed by his critics to his excessive potations of Scotch whisky.

³ The author of the article, however, by some means or other had found out the year and place of Borrow's birth, which *Lavengro* concealed.

⁴ Based on *Lavengro*, ch. IV.

⁵ Based on *Lavengro*, chs. V, XVI and XVII.

Norwegian Eilert Lund Sundt, of whom, before considering his relation to Borrow in detail, it will be advisable to give some account. After taking his degree in theology in 1846, Sundt gave religious instruction to the inmates of the house of correction at Christiania, and early in 1847 discovered among them a man whom he suspected to be a gipsy. At that time Sundt knew little of these people. As a boy, he had once seen a fight between two rival bands, and the memory of their ungoverned fury still haunted his mind. On this occasion, he was struck by the cringing manner of the prisoner, whose roving eyes and restless air betrayed his uneasiness. Sundt made enquiries about his past and with the facts in his possession subsequently interviewed him in private. At first, nothing would induce the gipsy to break his silence, but when Sundt asked if it were true that he and his brethren spoke a rogues' language, invented to deceive simple peasants, he became transformed and with great eagerness defended his native tongue. The Romany words, some twenty in number, which Sundt heard from the gipsy and wrote down, puzzled him, for they were unlike Lapp, or Finnish, or any language that he knew. On consulting a friend, he was amazed to find that they were akin to Sanscrit. Desirous of learning more, he returned to his gipsy. The latter, however, deterred by the menaces of his fellows, would reveal nothing more. Sundt felt himself confronted by a wall and wondered what horrible mysteries were hidden behind it.

His curiosity was fired, and when he heard of another gipsy who was undergoing penal servitude at the fortress of Akershus, he hastened to see him. This man, Fredrik Larsen Hartman, had no scruples about instructing Sundt in the speech and customs of his race. For one year Sundt pursued these studies and, though he sometimes doubted Hartman's veracity, later investigation corroborated his statements. Thus Hartman became his chief authority for all kinds of information about Norwegian gipsy life.

Not content with this, in 1847 Sundt made two tours in different parts of Norway to obtain new light on these strange people, and in the summer of 1848, with the aid of a government grant, he undertook a still longer journey to examine their state and mode of life. Whenever possible, he approached the gipsies themselves, but if, as sometimes happened, he was unable to meet their wandering bands, he questioned government officials and the folk of the countryside about the ways of these nomads. Finally, in 1850, thanks to the funds received from the Department of Justice, he was able to publish his report in the form of a book entitled *Beretning om Fante- eller Landstrygerfolket i Norge*.

Fascinating though the study of the gipsies might be, Sundt never lost sight of his original purpose—their religious, moral and social improvement. The knowledge of Romany was for him primarily the key to the confidence of those who spoke it. To win this, he told the inmates of the house of correction at Christiania about the miracle of Pentecost, and, after explaining its meaning, said that the word of God should now be proclaimed in Romany. Thereupon, not without some fear, he gave ‘in this almost godless tongue’ a translation, made with Hartman’s help, of the parable of the prodigal son. In this way he gained a power over the prisoners which he had never wielded before. Nevertheless, he was too clear-sighted to attach great value to their professions and, indeed, at times he almost lost hope of doing them any good. The more deeply he looked into their ways, the more he realised how difficult it was to devise effective means of rescuing them from their misery. Still he persevered, trusting that their hearts might some day be moved at the memory of such glimpses of the truth as had been vouchsafed unto them. Those familiar with *The Zincali* will recall that Borrow made a similar attempt, which was attended by a like want of success. He too consoled himself by looking to the future:

I cannot say that I experienced much success in my endeavours; indeed, I never expected much, being fully acquainted with the stony nature of the ground on which I was employed; perhaps some of the seed that I scattered may eventually spring up and yield excellent fruit¹.

And just as Borrow believed that the gipsies were human beings with immortal souls and wrote ‘in the humble hope of drawing the attention of the Christian philanthropist towards them²,’ so it was with the desire to awaken the sympathy of the cultured Norwegian for this ‘wild, degenerate, wretched race’ that Sundt devoted much of his time to a people among whom ‘brutality and abomination³’ prevailed.

One can understand, therefore, that there was a natural affinity between Sundt and Borrow. Yet there was a difference. Sundt never mingled with the gipsies as did Borrow. He never forgot that they moved in a ‘low sphere,’ and to him it was no compliment, when he learnt after a while that he was reputed among them to be one of their own race, who had risen to rank and honour. In consequence, he never possessed the completeness of Borrow’s gipsy lore. The less adventurous Sundt was

¹ Pt. II, ch. 8, p. 289 in the Norwich edition of Borrow’s Works, London, 1923, to which later references will also apply, except in one instance where the edition used by Sundt diverges. Cf. also the preface to the first edition of *The Zincali*.

² *The Zincali*, Introduction, pp. 3–4

³ *Op cit.*, Indledning, p. III.

fully aware of Borrow's superiority on this score and, as may be seen from the following passage, admired him greatly:

This Borrow is a remarkable man. As agent for the British Bible Society he has undertaken extensive journeys, and, having already become familiar not only with many European languages, but also with the Romany of the English gipsies, he delighted in seeking out the gipsies everywhere and became a devoted missionary to them. His studies had made him so intimate with their customs, that he soon passed as 'one of their blood'; he slept in their tents in the woods of Russia and Hungary, visited them in their robbers' caves in the mountainous regions of Italy, lived about 1840 for fully five years with them in Spain, where, on account of his attempts to spread the Bible in this Catholic country (he had himself translated and had printed the Gospel of St Luke in the dialect of the Spanish gipsies and the New Testament in Basque), he even lay under arrest with the worst of them for a time in the prisons of Madrid; and finally he crossed over to North Africa and searched for his gipsies there too. So there is probably no one, who like Borrow has brought himself to associate with this both brutal and wretched people; but in doing so, he has also been enabled to depict the many mysteries of this caste better than any one else, and the many editions which his book has gone through in a short time show with what interest the English public has received his lively descriptions¹.

It will readily be understood, therefore, that Sundt found *The Zincali* a storehouse of information, upon which he drew again and again in the preparation of his book, honestly acknowledging his indebtedness. Borrow's work gave him a background, against which he could set his own observations of the Norwegian gipsies². Thus, in his chapter on the history of the race as a whole, he speaks of its wide diffusion and quotes Borrow's remark: 'their tents are alike pitched on the heaths of Brazil and the ridges of the Himalayan hills, and their language is heard at Moscow and Madrid, in the streets of London and Stamboul³, and when one of his Norwegian informants described the great distances covered by his tribe, he found corroboration in Borrow's gipsy, who was wont to visit his brethren in India, Java and Malaya⁴. Sundt was impressed by the persistence of this people through so many centuries, despite the cruelty of early times and despite the Christian wisdom and charity of a later age, and he cited the motto from Firdusi which appeared on Borrow's title-page: 'For that which is unclean by nature, thou canst entertain no hope; no washing will turn the Gypsy white.' However, like Borrow, he held that in his day there was a tendency for the gipsies to lose their distinctive race and become absorbed in the surrounding peoples. The great bond of union was their language, and Sundt gives the striking instance, mentioned in *The Zincali*⁵, of two soldiers during the Napoleonic wars, one in the Spanish, the other in the French army,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 23 n.

² Of course, he consulted other authorities too, but Borrow was especially useful. The edition of *The Zincali* which he read was the third, published in 1843.

³ *The Zincali*, Introduction, p. 4

⁴ *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 36-7.

⁵ Pt. II, ch. 1, pp. 199-200.

who grappled together in deadly combat. The Spaniard, seeing himself about to be bayoneted and meeting the eyes of his foe, shrieked 'Zincalo, Zincalo!' whereupon the other recognised in time that he was on the point of slaying a brother-gipsy. They sat together on a knoll, discoursing on matters pertaining to their own people and watched the aliens fight their battle till the sun went down. Sundt also touches on the awe which the supposed magic powers of the gipsies formerly used to inspire, even in the highest circles, as, for example, when two women penetrated into the apartment of the sister of Charles XII in the palace at Stockholm and were richly rewarded for predicting the King's death. To this he discovers a parallel in Borrow's acquaintance Pepita, who, with her daughter, contrived to interview the regent, Queen Christina, and prophesied that her daughter would soon die, leaving the way clear for her to become Queen of Spain, in return for which Pepita obtained the release of her son from prison¹.

The devices of the gipsies to procure a living at the expense of their neighbours were another theme of interest to Sundt. To some extent he excused their predatory habits, because of the abetting which they received from Christians, for 'even at the present day, according to Borrow's account, an abbot in Castile will buy from a gipsy for a ridiculously low price the horse which he stole a few days before in Andalusia².' In discussing this topic, he refers to their reputation for curing cattle which have been bewitched, and this leads him to praise Borrow's chapter on the evil eye in *The Zincals*³. Such a reputation was easily won, for, as Sundt's gipsy friends in Norway told him, they were in the habit of administering a poison secretly, so that the subsequent illness of the animal might appear to be due to a curse, and, knowing the cause, they had no difficulty in restoring the animal to health by means of a suitable antidote. Sundt considered this all the more credible, because Borrow described a similar procedure on the part of the English and Spanish gipsies⁴. Sundt discovered also that it was a common practice among the Norwegian gipsies to poison a pig and then obtain the body from the

¹ *The Zincals*, pt. II, ch. 6, pp. 268-9.

² In point of fact, Borrow does not give this instance in *The Zincals*, but possibly it is a modification of the following passage in pt. I, ch. 4, p. 78: 'And, above all, what availed it to the plundered party to complain that his mule or horse had been stolen, when the Gitano robber...was at that moment actually in treaty with my lord the corregidor himself for supplying him with some splendid thick-maned, long-tailed steed at a small price, to be obtained, as the reader may well suppose, by an infraction of the laws? The favour and protection which the Gitanos experienced from people of high rank is alluded to in the Spanish laws, and can only be accounted for by the motives above detailed.'

³ Cf. pt. I, ch. 8, pp. 122-9.

⁴ For the English gipsies, cf. *The Zincals*, Introduction, pp. 18-19; for the Spanish, *ibid.*, pt. II, ch. 6, pp. 276-7.

owner, and he, pitying folk driven to eat such carrion, would give them bread and other provisions, without their even asking. They, on the other hand, knew full well that the poison affected the brain only and not the rest of the body. Here again, there was corroborative evidence in Borrow's experiences among the English gipsies¹. The most elaborate stratagem of all, however, was a kind of confidence trick, by which an over-trustful peasant might sometimes be duped, and Sundt tells how a woman lost a chest full of silverware in this fashion. This *baro kokkipá*, as the Norwegian gipsies called it, had its counterpart in the *hokkano baro* of their Spanish brethren, and Sundt followed eagerly the detailed exposure which Borrow was able to make of it, as a result of the knowledge which he had acquired in Spain².

In the execution of their plans, it was often of great service to the gipsies to be in touch with another band. Hence they invented methods of communication, so that they might at once be aware if other gipsies were in the vicinity. Thus in Norway, as Hartman informed Sundt, it was their custom in winter to make with their whip a figure in the snow resembling a sack tied together, and in summer they would place at cross-roads three small fir twigs on the right side of the way taken by the band. This sign was called a *patron*, a name which Sundt easily perceived to be identical with the *patterans* mentioned by Borrow. He says:

In Borrow, who is perhaps the first to tell of it, I found the means of communication described exactly in the same manner and with the same name. He thanks his dear gipsies very much for this signal of theirs, which many a time in Russia, in France and elsewhere, when he was tired and hungry, had led him to a gipsy camp in the forest and there, without introduction, obtained for him a good reception³.

Sundt is not quite accurate here, for Borrow confines this experience to a single episode, which occurred in the south of France, and the wood exists only in Sundt's imagination⁴.

Such communication implies a sense of loyalty and kinship uniting the gipsies and, indeed, both our writers lay emphasis on the bond which joins these wanderers together against the stranger. But the strongest link of all is that of the family. Borrow stresses this again and again. He even explains the word *Romany* as meaning 'the husbands, or that which pertaineth to them,' and argues that it is singularly appropriate for those 'who have no love and no affection beyond their own race; who are capable of making great sacrifices for each other, and who gladly prey upon all the rest of the human species⁵.' Sundt, who had read this passage⁶, was greatly impressed by the strength of the family tie, the

¹ *The Zincali*, Introduction, pp. 18-19.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 136-7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, pt. II, ch. 6, pp. 270-4.

⁴ Cf. *The Zincali*, Introduction, pp. 33-4.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 62 n. and 119.

passion for chastity and the keen sense of racial purity among the gipsies. Hartman's statements lent support to this impression, but it was founded chiefly upon the authority of Borrow in *The Zincali*.

'The most surprising thing,' he says, 'in Borrow's descriptions of the life of the Spanish gipsies, who after all are so depraved, is probably the fact that while he does not hesitate to present them as people to whom nearly all other virtues, diligence, honesty, piety, etc., are unknown things, he maintains with equal confidence that no other people attaches greater importance to loyalty in marriage nor punishes more severely any transgression of this fundamental law of family life; this virtue is of course especially required of a woman and whether she is already a gipsy's wife or not, any connection between her and a man who is not of gipsy blood, is considered a crime to be punished. The Spanish gipsy mothers do not rest content with mere admonitions to their daughters; more effectual means, which we cannot enter into in detail here, are also taken to help the admonitions and make it impossible for the young maiden to offend against the obligation of chastity. Nor is it easy to find the like in other peoples of such a multiplicity of wedding ceremonies as Borrow describes from the time of his stay among the gipsies of Spain¹. It is, however, easy to discern how the gipsies could nevertheless acquire the same evil repute here as elsewhere; to earn a silver coin a Gitanilla is quite willing to perform the most wanton dances to feast the eyes of the young Spanish noblemen², and a young gipsy mother is ready to serve an abbot by enticing to him the prettiest girls of the district³; but, for all that, between them and the men of "the white blood" a deep gulf is fixed. Something similar is also found among the English gipsies. Borrow reproduces their old rules or the fundamental law of their gipsy life in the following three paragraphs: I. Separate not from the husbands (that is, maintain the custom and the wandering life of the gipsies), II. Be faithful to the husbands (i.e., have nothing to do with men of alien blood), and III. Pay your debts to the husbands (but pay no heed to what you owe others). The whole existence of the gipsy people depends chiefly on the loyal observance of the second paragraph; the whole race must vamsch with the fidelity of gipsy women. The fact that as a result of this even at the present day the skin of the English gipsies is as yellow-brown as when the race entered the country three hundred years ago, that they still resemble their distant Persian brethren to so striking an extent, is, as Borrow points out, a good testimony to the way in which these gipsy women have maintained this virtue of loyalty both to their husbands and their race⁴.'

As might be expected, one of the subjects about which Sundt enquired with special care, was the religion of the gipsies, and in this connexion also he studied Borrow closely. He arrived at the conclusion that while they were in the habit of assuming the religion of the land in which they dwelt, this was a mere outer wrapping, which could be readily discarded. Indeed, Sundt even claimed as typical the attitude of certain gipsies near Moscow, who told Borrow frankly 'that they did not believe in a God⁵.' In point of fact, Borrow put the matter rather differently, for he said:

¹ Cf. *The Zincali*, pt. II, ch. 7, pp. 281-8.

² For references to lascivious gipsy dances cf. *The Zincali*, Introduction, p. 36, pt. I, ch. I, p. 49, pt. II, ch. 7, p. 285, and especially, for a close parallel to Sundt's statement, pt. I, ch. 4, pp. 76-7.

³ Allusions to the chastity of gipsy women, in spite of their acting as procuresses, will be found in *The Zincali*, pt. I, ch. 7, pp. 107 and 114, and pt. II, ch. 6, p. 278. Other important passages, omitted from the Norwich edition of *The Zincali*, will be found in the third edition of 1843, which was the one Sundt used, I, pp. 325, 328 and 333-7.

⁴ Cf. *The Zincali*, Introduction, pp. 29-32.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

'The religion which these singular females externally professed was the Greek, and they mostly wore crosses of copper or gold; but when I questioned them on this subject in their native language, they laughed, and said it was only to please the Russians¹.' However, as Sundt knew well, Borrow had often heard the Spanish gipsies deny the existence of a deity and pour the utmost contempt on everything holy, but he had also found that even the most wicked and hardened individuals were not utterly godless and sooner or later revealed this in their conversation. As an example, Sundt quotes the case mentioned by Borrow of an utterly reckless and dangerous woman, La Tuérta, who would stick at nothing and yet feared to repeat a prayer to the Virgin Mary, which she had learnt in her childhood².

The question whether the gipsies had retained any portion of their primitive beliefs engaged the attention of both Sundt and Borrow. It occurred to the latter that the gipsies, while outwardly conforming to the Christian religion in European countries, might secretly be pagans, worshipping Asiatic gods of whom they had preserved some knowledge. But search as he would, Borrow never chanced upon any trace of such an earlier faith and the conclusion to which he came was this:

They brought with them no Indian idols, as far as we are able to judge at the present time, nor indeed Indian rites or observances, for no traces of such are to be discovered amongst them. All, therefore, which relates to their original religion is shrouded in mystery, and it is likely so to remain. They may have been idolaters, or atheists, or what they now are, totally neglectful of worship of any kind; and though not exactly prepared to deny the existence of a Supreme Being, as regardless of Him as if He existed not, and never mentioning His name, save in oaths and blasphemy, or in moments of pain or sudden surprise, as they have heard other people do, but always without any fixed belief, trust, or hope....But it is evident that they arrived at the confines of Europe without any certain or rooted faith. Knowing as we do, with what tenacity they retain their primitive habits and customs, their sect being, in all points, the same as it was four hundred years ago, it appears impossible that they should have forgotten their peculiar god, if in any peculiar god they trusted. Though cloudy ideas of the Indian deities might be occasionally floating in their minds, these ideas, doubtless, quickly passed away when they ceased to behold the pagodas and temples of Indian worship, and were no longer in contact with the enthusiastic adorers of the idols of the East; they passed away even as the dim and cloudy ideas which they subsequently adopted of the Eternal and His Son, Mary and the saints, would pass away when they ceased to be nourished by the sight of churches and crosses³.

Holding these views, Borrow laughed to scorn the apocryphal tale which the mediæval gipsies related and which gained for them the favour and support of the Pope, that they came originally from Egypt and were doomed to wander, because their ancestors had denied hospitality to the

¹ *The Zincali*, Introduction, p. 9.

² Cf. Sundt, *op. cit.*, p. 67 and Borrow, *The Zincali*, pt. II, ch. 8, pp. 290-4.

³ *The Zincali*, pt. I, ch. 9, pp. 131 and 133-4. Sundt alludes to this passage on p. 103.

Virgin and her child on their flight from Palestine¹. Sundt also discredited this story as a cunning fable² but, on the other hand, he was disposed to think that among the Norwegian gipsies some vestiges of a pre-Christian faith had survived. His informant was Hartman, who told him of a moon-cult practised by his brethren. According to him, they had a myth about the moon, which they worshipped under the name of Alako as the mighty god of victory. The gipsies of Norway, Sweden and Russia each had a chief, who kept carefully a stone image of Alako, and it was their custom to assemble all their people at midsummer in the remote wilds of northern Scandinavia or Finland and there worship the god. All newly-wedded couples were given consecration under the protection of the god and all newly-born children were named, or, if they had received baptism, re-baptised in the name of Alako. In the presence of the images of Alako a song was chanted. Hartman was able to reproduce the tune quite well but could translate only a few words, and Sundt was inclined to regard it as a hymn of great antiquity or a fragment of such a hymn, the meaning of which had become lost, just as the ancient Christian prayer mentioned by Borrow in the process of time had become unintelligible to the Spanish gipsies³.

In the face of Borrow's authority, Sundt evidently had some qualms before lending credence to Hartman, but where his statements could be checked, this man was always proved trustworthy and, moreover, Sundt obtained evidence from other Norwegian gipsies which, slight as it was, induced him to believe in this story about the cult of Alako, though he doubted its survival to his own day. The resemblance of the name to a Finnish word led him to assume that the Norwegian nomads had borrowed it on their migration through Finland from Russia. The fact that they belonged originally to the Russian section of the gipsies seemed to support the authenticity of Hartman's tale, for on the steppes the old traditions and the peculiarities of the race had been better preserved than in any other branch. In confirmation of this view, Sundt was able to call upon Borrow himself, who had claimed that a collection of Russian gipsy songs would probably throw more light on the history of this people than anything which had been published up till that time⁴.

It was unusual for Sundt to diverge from Borrow's opinion, but now and again, as on this occasion, he did so. He doubted, for example, whether there were gipsies in Brazil, as Borrow and others had asserted⁵,

¹ *The Zincah*, pt. I, ch. 9, pp. 134-7.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

³ Cf. *The Zincah*, book II, ch. 8, pp. 293-4.

⁴ Cf. Sundt, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-10 and Borrow, *The Zincah*, Introduction, p. 9.

⁵ Cf. Sundt, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-4 and Borrow, *The Zincah*, Introduction, p. 4.

and whereas Borrow held that the original home of the gipsies was Multan in the Punjab, Sundt considered them to be the descendants of tribes living on the slopes of the Himalayas¹. Lastly, they disagreed about the origin of the rogue language with which Romany is sometimes, though wrongly, confused. Borrow contended that it arose in Italy at the end of the Middle Ages, whence it spread over Europe, for at the beginning of the fifteenth century 'the artists and artisans of Italy were to be found in all the countries of Europe, from Madrid to Moscow, and so were its charlatans, its jugglers, and multitudes of its children, who lived by fraud and cunning².' Sundt, on the other hand, thought that it had sprung up in those districts where the beggars and disbanded soldiers of the Middle Ages could pass over the frontiers with least impediment, that is, where France, Germany and Italy meet, and that it was vagabonds such as these who had afterwards carried it to other nations³.

Viktor Rydberg, one of the most prominent figures of Swedish literature in the nineteenth century, was also attracted to the gipsies and wrote about them in more than one form. His knowledge, as we shall now try to show, was derived in the first place from Sundt, though indirectly from Borrow too. In the summer of 1858 he made a tour in Norway, which he described in a series of articles in *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, and among them he gives an account of the Norwegian and Swedish gipsies in particular and of the race in its entirety. In the article which appeared on October 30⁴, after contrasting the more romantic gipsies of Spain with their brethren of the north, he proceeds to single out the traits which distinguish this people the whole world over. Incidentally, he speaks of their homes and mentions, as Borrow had done, though Sundt had cast doubt on it, Brazil as one of their haunts. Then he points out how the gipsy's mind is exclusively directed to the physical need of the moment, in consequence of which he is inaccessible to religious and other ideas. In addition, Rydberg lays stress on the gipsies'

strict exclusiveness towards strangers and the phenomenon, most remarkable in such people, of a firm and close family tie: a loyalty between husband and wife till the grave, passionate feelings of love and reverence between parents and children, which however bear the mark of the most vehement natural impulse, untouched and unnobled by moral consciousness.

There follows an historical survey, based mainly on Sundt, of the treatment of the gipsies in Europe, and here Rydberg mentions the legend, touched on by Borrow as well as Sundt, which attributed to them an

¹ Cf. E. H. D. E. Napier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 83; Borrow, *The Zingari*, pt. I, ch. 7, pp. 106, 109 and 111, and Sundt, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-2.

² *The Zingari*, pt. III, ch. 2, *On Robber Language*, pp. 358-9.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 178-9.

⁴ No. 252.

Egyptian origin and explained their roaming life as a chastisement inflicted upon them for their lack of hospitality to the Holy Family in the hour of need. Having dealt with the gipsies in Norway and Sweden, Rydberg discusses the language spoken by these vagabonds of the north and distinguishes between their Romany and the 'Rodi' used by non-gipsy vagrants. He seems to accept Borrow's account of the latter, for he says that it was 'invented within the extensive thieves' guild, which towards the end of the Middle Ages had spread from Italy over the continent of Europe.' Romany, on the other hand, as Sundt in agreement with Borrow had claimed, was descended from Sanscrit.

Another article by Rydberg, on November 2, continues the subject¹. He concludes from their language that the original home of the gipsies was the western part of the Indian peninsula, this being nearer to Multan, for which Borrow argued, than to the Himalayas, in which Sundt believed. However, no vestige of historical tradition about their origin can be found, he says, for

the Englishman Borrow, the zealous apostle to the gipsies, who, Bible in hand, went in quest of them in the towns of Spain, in the wastes of Siberia, in the forests of Brazil, who spent a large part of his life among these people and was honoured by them with the name of the Gipsy King, for years made vain attempts to find traces of such a tradition and in the end despaired of its existence in a people, who live only in the low enjoyments of the moment, when finally, among wandering gipsies of the Russian steppe, he succeeded in picking up the legend mentioned above.

There are several errors in this passage which call for comment. In the first place, Borrow had never been in Brazil; Sundt had merely alluded to this as one of the countries which, according to Borrow, gipsy bands had inhabited. Nor was he named 'the Gipsy King.' This may be an exaggeration of the 'London Caloron' in *Aftonbladet*, but more probably it is a free interpretation of Sundt's statement that 'his studies had made him so intimate with their customs, that he soon passed as "one of their blood."' As for the legend of which Rydberg speaks, he obviously means the story of the lack of hospitality on the part of the ancestors of the gipsies towards the Holy Family. But Borrow does not state that he heard this in Russia, nor does Sundt report it of him. Apparently Rydberg's assertion is due to a misreading of a passage in Sundt. The latter says that all efforts to obtain knowledge of a secret heathen religion among the gipsies had failed, not even Borrow having been successful, and then in a footnote he refers, with some doubt regarding its authenticity, to a report at the end of the eighteenth century about a traveller who claimed to have met gipsies between Reval and St Petersburg.

¹ No. 254.

burg wearing images, supposed to be those of Russian saints, but which he considered to be those of Kalmuck idols¹.

Rydberg was greatly interested in this question of the gipsies' religion, but he followed Sundt rather than Borrow by accepting the account of the Scandinavian gipsies' belief in Alako, the moon-god, though he too was sceptical as to the continuance in his own day of those secret meetings for worship, of which Hartman had told. This topic brings him to speak of the gipsy chiefs, and, while uncertain whether these leaders were still chosen in Scandinavia, he recognises their existence in England, where, under their guidance, assemblies were held to expel unworthy members of the band. In addition to this information, derived from Sundt², Rydberg independently illustrates the succession of such rulers by alluding to that Gipsy Queen who visited the great exhibition of 1850 in state, attended by 'a numerous guard of honour consisting of police-constables, who were ordered to watch closely the fingers of Her Majesty and her courtiers.'

Finally, towards the end of the article, Rydberg describes the signals used by the gipsies and once more refers to Borrow, although, misled by Sundt, he locates the incident of his seeking out their camp by this means in Russia instead of in France. He says:

The same custom is found among the gipsies of Russia, and the Englishman Borrow more than once on his wanderings in the forests of that country, had to thank his knowledge of such signs for night quarters by their fires³.

In these letters there is no trace of that didactic intent which underlay Borrow's *The Zincali* and Sundt's *Beretning om Fante- eller Landstrygerfolket i Norge*. Nor is there any such purpose in the most important of Rydberg's writings in which the gipsies appear—*Singoalla*. This romance was published in book form in 1865, but it appeared at Gothenburg as early as 1857, that is, in the year preceding the tour in Norway which gave rise to the letters just discussed. The contents are these:

About 1340, Erland Måneskold, a young Swedish nobleman, when returning from hunting one summer day, encounters a beautiful, exotic maiden. This is Singoalla, the daughter of a gipsy chief who, with his band, happens to pass near Erland's castle. Singoalla vanishes, leaving Erland full of longing. The following spring the gipsies come back and this time their chief asks leave for his people to erect their tents in the neighbouring woods for a few days. Erland's father, impressed by the story of the gipsies' wanderings as a punishment for the inhospitality of their ancestors to the Holy Family and by the fact that they have a letter of safe-conduct from the Pope, readily gives his consent. Erland and Singoalla meet again and soon are deep in love. Their secret meetings have all the more charm, because Erland's parents

¹ Sundt, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 121 note. Sundt quotes v. Heister, who, in his turn, gives an extract from *The Times* in 1842, describing a meeting of three or four hundred gipsies in the New Forest.

³ *Vide ante*, p. 302.

wish him to marry the daughter of a neighbouring knight to whom he feels little attraction, and because Singoalla is wooed by Assim, the son of him who was chief before her father. An attempt by Assim on Erland's life is defeated and the lovers pledge themselves to each other as man and wife.

The gipsies prepare to depart. By stealth they rob the neighbouring monastery of all its gold and silver, and Erland, determined to throw in his lot with Singoalla, but, like her, ignorant of the crime, joins the band. On the discovery of the sacrilege, the monks appeal to Erland's father and he with his men rides after the culprits. The gypsy chief orders a soporific to be administered to Erland and, when the band is overtaken, threatens to kill him, unless the pursuit is abandoned. The gipsies continue their way unmolested and then Singoalla, because she has loved one of alien race, is expelled from the band, Assim's mother, a hateful old hag, exulting in the judgment. Singoalla wanders towards the castle but is driven back by a hail of arrows from the retainers. Assim, on the pretext that Erland is dead, induces her to come with him. Nor is the statement far wrong, for Assim's mother has poisoned him and only the care of the monks saves his life. A dim memory of Singoalla lingers, but now it is associated with feelings of horror and fear.

Ten years pass, Erland's parents are dead, he is married and holds sway over the castle. One evening, a strange child appears and is taken into the service of Erland. Though the latter is unaware of it, Sorgbarn (Child of Sorrow) is his son. The boy has hypnotic power and at night compels the sleeping knight to rise and accompany him through the woods to Singoalla. Thus the lovers renew their former happiness. But when he awakes, Erland is ill at ease and the old horror comes upon him. One night, he feigns the hypnotic state and then, in a mood of abnormal suspicion, kills the boy. No longer in full possession of his senses, he wanders about the woods. In the meantime, Assim murders Erland's wife and child in the castle. The plague breaks out, Erland is smitten and, after caring for him in his last hour, Singoalla also dies. The romance ends with these words: 'Dost thou long for everlasting beauty, stainless innocence, imperishable happiness, seek it not on earth, but put thy trust in eternity¹!'

In *Singoalla* many influences are at work, but in the blending of gipsy lore with a mediæval setting, we may observe Scott and Borrow converging. The position of the gipsies in the book is important and Rydberg makes skilful use of his knowledge about them. In such a romance too realistic a portrayal would have been inappropriate and, moreover, Rydberg had to be careful that the less sympathetic traits in the gipsy character should not destroy our liking for the heroine. The remoteness of the gipsies in point of time lends an air of mystery, which is enhanced by their wild and exotic garb and demeanour, and Rydberg is on his guard against anything which might detract from this impression. In the chapter entitled 'The Strangers from the Land of Egypt,' they perform their bizarre dances before the castle and there can be little doubt but that Rydberg had in mind those lascivious dances which Borrow and Sundt had described², but lest this should in any way reflect on Singoalla, he excluded all suggestion of impropriety. Similarly, he took pains to dissociate her from the members of her band who plundered the monastery. It is obvious that the account of the gipsies owes a great deal to

¹ This was in the first edition. Later, Rydberg modified the close so as to make it less tragic.

² *Vide ante*, p. 303, n. 2 and cf. Sundt, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-9, 120 and 126.

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Sundt and, indirectly, to Borrow. The gipsy worship of Alako is drawn from the Norwegian writer, while the description of the hatred felt by the gipsies for marriages with those of alien blood, which causes the tragic parting of the lovers, is largely inspired by *The Zincoli*.

However, there is nothing, either here or in *En Vandring i Norge*, to warrant our believing that Rydberg was acquainted at first hand with Borrow, though in his admirable study of *Singoalla*¹ Dr Victor Svanberg has sought to draw a parallel between certain incidents in the story and certain episodes in *Lavengro*. He suggests that the poisoning of Erland by the fierce mother of Assim recalls the poisoning of Borrow by the hag-like Mrs Herne; that the curing of Erland by Pater Henrik is not unlike that of Borrow by Peter Williams, the wandering preacher, and that, in each case, an attempt is made to heal the soul at the same time as the body. Indeed, says Dr Svanberg, 'the similarity goes so far that in *Lavengro* there is also a parallel to Pater Henrik's fear of the spirits of nature. When Borrow talks with delight about the dances of the fairies in the England of olden days, the preacher replies that these creatures were probably devils in disguise.' We do not find this convincing, for Sundt had written about the use of poison by the gipsies² and had described furies not unlike Assim's mother and Mrs Herne³. As regards the work of Pater Henrik, it was surely but natural that in the Middle Ages a monk should be called in to attend the patient and equally natural that, seeing the mental anguish of his former pupil, he should try to heal the mind as well. The other parallel is in all likelihood a mere coincidence.

Nevertheless, even if it were exerted through the medium of Sundt, Borrow's influence was by no means negligible. True, the finest things in *Singoalla*, the lyrical beauty of the love episodes, the pictures of the unspoilt loveliness of the northern forests, lakes and streams, and the living terror of the plague scenes, are the creation of Rydberg's genius. But in the direction already indicated, Borrow without question contributed powerfully to the shaping of this romance.

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¹ *Rydbergs Singoalla, en studie i hans ungdomsdiktning*, skrifter utgivna av svenska litteratursällskapet, No. 25, Uppsala, 1923, p. 161.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 154-7, 160 and 166-7.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 139, 220-1.

'ART' AND 'NATURE' IN GERMAN BAROCK

THE meaning of the concepts 'Kunst' and 'Natur,' and their relationship, present one of the most complicated problems in the æsthetic theory of the seventeenth century in Germany. It is a commonplace of the time that art consists in the imitation of nature; it is a commonplace too that art is the direct opposite of nature. Borinski, in his excellent account of the literary theory of the Renaissance¹, points out many of the difficulties and anomalies involved in the use of these concepts. Later writers on the Barock age, however, tend to ignore the problem. Cysarz, for instance², over-stresses the emotive intensity of the Barock age to the point of disdaining the intellectual structure it created; and Ermatinger³, in his attempt at giving a unified picture of the 'Wesen' of this period, glosses over its contradictions, its struggles. But to understand the 'Wesen' of any age we must understand the relationship of its thought to its artistic expression, we must understand the principles upon which concepts are assimilated and adapted to its needs. This is especially true of the Barock age. For the culture and the art of this period were based largely on conscious imitation of foreign cultures. The culture of the German Barock affirmed itself only slowly as a result of the assimilation of models. And less than other cultural epochs did it achieve a definable unity. The heterogeneity of its elements demands that we should examine with the greatest care what was the significance for the contemporaries of the terms they used. Their vague and uncertain use of the terms 'art' and 'nature' gives us, for example, a valuable opportunity for examining the true 'Wesen' of the Barock age.

In Opitz we have an extreme case of the purely formal, perfunctory use of concepts forged by others. At the outset of his Poetics he states that the art of poetry has already been adequately defined by Aristotle, Horace, and Scaliger, and restricts his task to putting together a few remarks culled from them⁴. So he takes over, without further consideration, such ideas as 'die Poeterey war eine verborgene Theologie.' But such borrowing does not take place without distortions, conscious or unconscious. This is nowhere more evident than where Opitz writes of poetical invention. Ronsard, from whom he largely quotes, had written: 'le but du Poëte (est) d'imiter, inventer, et représenter les choses qui

¹ Karl Borinski, *Poetik der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1886.

² H. Cysarz, *Deutsche Barockdichtung*, Leipzig, 1924.

³ E. Ermatinger, *Barock und Rokoko in der deutschen Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1928.

⁴ Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, 1624 (in Braune's *Neudrucke*), p. 8.

sont, qui peuvent estre, ou que les Anciens ont estimées comme véritables¹. Scaliger had understood invention in the sense of the imitation of the ideas of things. But Opitz introduces a new idea when he says that 'die gantze Poeterey im nachäffen der Natur bestehe, und die Dinge nicht so sehr beschreibe wie sie sein, als wie sie etwan sein köndten oder solten².' These latter words contradict any naturalistic interpretation of the idea 'imitation of nature'; and the word 'solten' introduces a different principle from that involved in the conceptual interpretation of nature. According to what idealistic principle are we to create 'things as they ought to be'? Opitz does not say. We can understand, however, from his whole critical work that art is fundamentally to be distinguished from nature, the prosody of poetry different from that of prose, the elements of poetry gathered from some other realm than that of experience.

Opitz' work was authoritatively to initiate the new poetry, to justify poetry morally, and to define literary genres. The critics who followed him saw the need of clarifying some of the problems raised, and came nearer to dealing with questions of æsthetics. August Buchner, the close friend and admirer of Opitz, deals more carefully than his friend with poetical invention³. The Platonic influence visible in Scaliger is evident in him too. Poetical creation reflects the ideas of things. But the function of poetry lies essentially in the *representation* of these ideas. Thus he refers to the Aristotelian distinction between the poet, the orator, and the historian, and makes the characteristic of the poet the method of invention, the decoration ('Schmuck'). We prefer, he says, the imitation to the real thing; æsthetic pleasure arises from the perception that the work of art is an artificial creation. Thus the stress is transferred from the naturalness of the work to the intellectual activity to which it owes its origin. This change of stress is of the utmost significance for Barock poetry and corresponds to the delight in ornament which is one of its main characteristics. The method by which Buchner comes to this theoretical justification of ornament upon the basis of the statement that art is the imitation of nature is also characteristic of the method of Barock thought. Actually Buchner's application of this theory shows us how he justified it. By 'nature' Buchner thought of moral truth. The 'ideas of things' he understood as a moral statement. This forms the basis of a work of art. The peculiar function of the artist is then to

¹ Ronsard, *Abbrégé de l'Art Poétique François*, 1565.

² Opitz, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

³ August Buchner, *Kurzer Wegweiser zur deutschen Dichtkunst*, Jena, 1663, based on first (lost) version of 1632-4 (see Borinski, *op. cit.*, p. 133).

link out a scene, an action, which illustrates this moral statement; the work of art is the illustration, the ornament. When the actual problem of the relationship of the elements of description to natural objects obtrudes itself, Buchner tends to balk the issue by referring to pictorial art—imitation being there understood as the ‘counterfeiting’ of objects of experience¹. This type of theory of art finds its most apt counterpart in the *Emblemata* of the time. The emblems illustrate some statement, and consist of natural and artificial elements (ships, armorial bearings, etc.) combined in a rationalistic but often completely unnatural way².

No one in the Barock age treats of the relationship of art and nature more explicitly than Schottel in his gigantic work, the *Teutsche Haupt-Sprache*³. In his magisterially vigorous language he defines the task of the poet—firstly, the aim, the formation of a literary language, the opposite of natural speech (*Kunstgebäu*, *Kunstwörter*); secondly, the method, which is based on the use of natural elements. Here is expressed the realisation that the culture and poetry aimed at were art not because they were founded on imitation of nature, not because they illustrated a moral truth, but because they were the opposite of nature. But to achieve this art it is necessary to imitate nature. What is meant by nature? Schottel arrives nearer than most of his contemporaries to explaining this riddle.

It is as a philologist that he tackles the problem. His immediate aim is to create a poetic language. Many of his principles he takes from Ronsard—the use of technical expressions taken from common occupations, from law, etc.; the rediscovery of ancient terms. He makes a dictionary of words used by recognised German authors—he pays great reverence to Luther. But he differs from his foreign predecessors, as from Luther (whose *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* he admires), in his attitude to custom (‘l’usage’). Luther had culled his literary language from the mouths of the common people, from the artisans and housewives; Malherbe had recommended his disciples to learn of the porters. Schottel’s method was quite contrary. He reckons up the number of dialects, of modifications and mixtures of these dialects, in Germany. Custom shows itself a misleading guide, it is ‘blind’ and ‘wanckelnd.’ He adduces in favour of his argument the fact that no one criticises Cicero or Virgil

¹ ‘Poema est loquens pictura; pictura est tacitum poema’ is the matter prefixed to his manual of poetry. This confusion was general at the time. Authors did not tire of prescribing subjects for painters in the greatest detail. Cf. Zesen’s *Die adriatische Rosemund*, Harsdorffer in many works, etc.

² Cf. many of the *Emblemata* in Justus Reiffenberg, *Emblemata Politica*, 1632.

³ Justus-Georgius Schottelhus, *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haupt-Sprache*, 1663. The first part appeared 1643.

because they did not imitate in their style the speech of peasants. We must fashion a model, he says; create 'der gute Gebrauch' in place of 'der Gebrauch.' It must be 'fest und *kunstlich* gepflantzet¹.'

How is this to be done? We must brush aside what custom seems to make necessary—'die Zwanggrenze seiner vermeinten Notwendigkeit,' as he vigorously puts it. We must not take language at its face value, but analyse it and lay bare its 'Hauptgesetze.' Custom we can accept, except where it infringes a 'Hauptgesetz,' for then it is a 'missbräuchliche Verfälschung,' not a 'Gebrauch².' Good language is to be deduced from the 'Wurzelen der Sprache'—we must penetrate to the roots. Thus Schottel's main task was to compile a grammar of the German language, to define the methods of forming words and sentences. The German language, he does not tire of telling us, is full of art and subtleties; these we must understand before we can claim to make any judgment (Schottel has a pedantic intolerance of ignorance). And he says outright, no judgment can stand against reason. We must understand the natural laws of language, to which we arrive by reason. Imitation of nature means for him acting in accordance with reason³. Schottel does not extend his theory from language to poetry, and thus he is spared the difficulties which arise. But he is a firmer thinker than most of his contemporaries, in spite of the many assumptions on which his conception of 'reason' rested.

In Harsdörffer, the most artificial of the Barock poets, the contemporary conceptions of art and nature are expressed in their most crass form. He was more conscious than the others of building a new society—he attempted to introduce the ritual of a new society, the Italian ceremonial, into the 'Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft,' and his *Frauenzimmer-Gesprechspiele* gave the definition and model of a new social culture. Art was, he saw, the basic principle of the society he aimed at, and thus he continually felt the need for defining and justifying art. We find in Harsdörffer, of course, the usual perfunctory acceptance of traditional statements. 'Der Poet beschreibt was wirklich ist, und was seyn könnte und der Wahrheit ähnlich ist⁴.' But it is significant that his artistic prescriptions are taken usually either from the realm of pictorial art (allegorical pictures, emblems), or from the theatre. The theatre is indeed his happiest example. Here we take a moral statement, and illustrate it with real men. Thus he solves the problem of the naturalism of art! Scarcely ever, in discussing pictorial art, the theatre, or poetry, does

¹ Schottel, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² Schottel, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

³ This outspoken rationalism explains Schottel's long popularity and authority.

⁴ *Frauenzimmer-Gesprechspiele*, v, cciv, Nurnberg, 1641-9.

he even recognise the existence of problems of style or form. Words, he says, are the equivalent of colours. There is no distinction made between the techniques of the various arts. This blurring over of essential differences is proof of the lack of earnestness with which Harsdörffer considered the 'imitation of nature' theory.

But, in proportion as Harsdörffer ignores the aspect of this theory which deals with imitation, he develops more and more fully the aspect which deals with invention. The change of stress pointed out in Buchner's case becomes here more marked. What is now important is not invention as contributing to the illustration of truth, but invention for its own sake, as the specific poetic faculty. Thus in a passage distinguishing the poet from the orator, he says the orator only has the aim of convincing us of a truth, while the poet, on the other hand, aims at giving us a lively image of it¹. Poetry is no longer even in theory a 'verborgene Theologie,' but a method of dealing with truths so that they will please.

In the *Poetischer Trichter*, written some years later than the *Frauenzimmer-Gesprechspiele*, Harsdörffer develops further his own point of view, without respect for the Ancients. At the beginning he says that poetry teaches us 'eine Sache mit vielen Worten nachdrücklich vorbringen².' The poet must please and dazzle us—'Der Poet erzählt alles mit bunten und glatten Worten und machet das Schöne schöner, das Abscheuliche abscheulicher, als es an ihm selbst ist.' His definition of tragedy is characteristic: 'Das Trauerspiel ist eine ernstliche und prächtige Vorstellung einer traurigen Geschichte³'—the emphasis is all on the adjectives. Decoration is all-important, truth is its servant. Harsdörffer makes his most illuminating statements when he distinguishes the poet from the orator and the philosopher. In the *6te Stunde* he says: the philosopher aims at being understood, and so uses simple words; the orator uses embellishments in order to persuade us; the poet, on the other hand, has no thesis to drive home, but is characterised in that he 'etwas aus nichts bildet,' i.e., creates freely. In Part II, *7te Stunde*, he states: 'Der Redner geht, der Poet tanzt,' i.e., the poet acts according to intellectual, not natural laws. And in Part III, when Harsdörffer returns again to this vexed question of the difference between the orator and the poet, we find the most striking formulation: 'Der Redner führet die Wahrheit im Schilde,' in contrast to 'die aufgeblasene, hochtrabende, und mit vielen Figuren verkünstelte Poeterey, die sich

¹ *Ibid.*, v, cciv.

² G. P. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter*... 1648-53, I, Vorrede.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 11. Borinski points out that this is taken almost word for word from *La Poétique* of La Mesnardière.

vielmehr bemuhet, das natürliche Wesenbild zu verstellen als vorzustellen; ja die Sachen anderst aus zu dichten, als sie nicht sind, und das zu erfinden, was nirgendwo befindlich ist¹. He goes on, the poet describes his *Kunstgedanken*, his artificial thoughts, in similar terms to those used by the orator to represent his thoughts. Poetry differs from rhetoric in being essentially unconnected with reality. Or, as Krapp puts it, orator and poet do not differ in their technique, but in their personality².

In complete harmony with this type of statement is Harsdörffer's conception of the mystifying rôle of the poet. Ronsard, Scaliger, Opitz and the school of Renaissance critics had defined poetry as an 'allegorical theology' in the sense that the poet explains in an image what, in its naked, abstract form, is too difficult for men to understand. Harsdörffer changes this idea into its opposite. 'Der Poeten Fabeln sind vielmehr Rätsle, mit welchen die Weissheit und Erkänntnis natürlicher Sachen zu dem Ende verborgen, dass sie von dem gemeinen Mann aufzulösen, schwer fallen sollen³.' Or he talks of the aim of poetry as being the invention of 'künstlich verborgene Gleichnisse.' Eccentric phantasy is the hall-mark of poetry; its function is to erect defensive barriers round an exclusive, cultured society.

Side by side with this theory of the artificiality of poetry there go, as I have said, certain attempts at conforming to the conventional naturalistic theory. Harsdörffer admired the theatre because real men and women were the actors on the stage. He was a great admirer of onomatopoeia, and the most virtuouse experimenter in onomatopoeic words and sounds. It seems that he felt the inconsistency of his attitude, for in one place he tries to differentiate between non-naturalistic and naturalistic arts. Some arts, he says, are essentially different from nature, such as churches, clothing, etc.; in other arts the highest praise that can be given to them is that they reach to nature, e.g. painting⁴. But his confusion can hardly be better summed up than by the illustration in the xviiith *Gesprechspiel*. Here is a drawing of a woman modelled on a poetical description. Harsdörffer paints lilies on her cheeks, a little Cupid on her brow, etc.; he enjoys the ignorance of those who cannot

¹ G. P. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter*. . . 1648-53, III, Vorrede. Cf. a similar formulation in *Gesprechsp.* v, cciv: 'Der Poet. . . handelt von allen denen Sachen, die sind, und auch nicht sind.' J. Balthasar Kinderman suggested that Harsdörffer was bordering on blasphemy, and corrected him from a theological though not an aesthetic point of view:— "Est ist aber dichten nicht, aus einem Nichts etwas machen, welches allein Gott zustehet, sondern aus einem geringen oder ungestalten Dinge etwas herrlich, ansehnlich, geist- und lob-reich ausarbeiten." *Der deutsche Poet*. Wittenberg. 1664.

² A. Krapp, *Die ästhetischen Tendenzen Harsdörffers*, Berlin, 1903, p. 14. It is curious how Harsdörffer inverts the normal and traditional definitions of the poet and the orator.

³ *Frauenzimmer-Gesprechspiele*, I, xlvi.

⁴ *Gesprechsp.* I, xv.

differentiate the techniques of poet and painter. Yet he himself is under the impression that the poetical metaphors 'lilies,' 'Cupid,' etc., are naturalistic! Consciously or unconsciously Harsdörffer remained securely within an exclusive world of symbols.

Harsdörffer's theory is so eclectic and confused that it would not be of great significance for the historian, were it the isolated and eccentric product of one man. But, as I have tried to point out, tendencies towards this type of theory are noticeable in the earlier German critics of this age. And, in particular, it seems that Harsdörffer's theories apply more exactly than those of any other critic to the poetical creations of the Barock period. Especially of Barock poetry is it true to say, with Viëtor: in poetry 'herrscht eine ganz andere Bewusstheit und Kunst der sprachlichen Formung...als in der Umgangssprache¹.' In the forties and fifties of the seventeenth century *Complimentierbücher* abounded, and these manuals of polite conversation and behaviour (the *Gesprechspiele* are the most imposing of them all) were considered as an aspect of poetical production. But even the traditional genres of poetry approximate in the Barock period to the *Complimentierbücher*. When Harsdörffer discusses tragedy he makes of course the conventional statement that it must be based on a moral truth. But when analysing the advantages of the stage he insists on its importance in teaching deportment—the actors 'werden behertzt in dem Reden, höflich in den Geberden, fähig in dem Verständnis, üben das Gedächtnis...' etc.² The novel, too, is a school of manners in this epoch. As Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig wrote of the novel—'Sie ist nicht im Schulstaub, sondern zu Hof erwachsen. Sie ist auch nicht mit Gesellschaft des Pöbels bestäubet, sondern redet höchst höflich und recht fürstlich von fürstlichen Geschichten³.' In this sense only is the conventional novel of the time to be called idealistic, in that it describes ideal modes of behaviour, ideal characters. It is noticeable that when dealing with the less highly-born, an author such as Ziegler borders on the satirical⁴. Even lyrical poetry is conceived in general by this age as being a fixed mode of describing certain fixed relationships which are indispensable to the cultured man.

¹ Karl Viëtor, *Probleme der deutschen Barockdichtung*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 3. Even of Grimmelshausen is this true, as is pointed out by R. Alewyn (Johann Beer, Leipzig, 1932). 'Die Wirklichkeit ist ihm (Grimmelshausen) nicht Endzweck, sondern nur Anlass zur Entladung seiner leidenschaftlichen Subjektivität' (p. 203).

² *Trichter*, II, 11.

³ Quoted by H. H. Borchardt, *Geschichte des Romans und der Novelle in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 197.

⁴ Cf. Lorangy and Scandor in A. Ziegler, *Die asiatische Banise*, 1688.

For instance, love, instead of being a spontaneous emotion, is narrowed down in their poetry to a certain type of love (Petrarch is perhaps its originator) which every cultured man must claim to experience. Philipp Zesen (*Deutscher Helikon*, Wittenberg 1649, Band III), after excusing himself for having written love-poems in his youth, goes so far as to suggest that the poet, in order to write love-poems, should invent love-affairs with imaginary beloveds. Similarly Kinderman (*op. cit.*) quotes with approval the following lines of 'Betulius' of the Pegnitzschäfer:

Das Hertz ist weit von dem, was eine Feder schreibt,
Wir dichten ein Gedicht, dass man die Zeit vertreibet.
In uns flammt keine Brunst, ob schon die Blatter brennen,
Von liebender Begier. Es ist ein blosses Nennen.

Hence the dead conventionality of most Barock love-poems; they are meant to be *models* of love relationships, and have scarcely any relation-ship to immediate experience, to nature¹.

Viëtor in his outline of some of the problems facing us in German Barock poetry says: 'Diesen gesellschaftlichen Grundcharakter (der Barockdichtung) zu fassen, scheint mir von entscheidender Bedeutung².' The underlying meaning and intention of Barock poetry and theory of poetry is to create and define a new, cultured society. This society, formed mainly of aristocrats and patricians, needed first and foremost to distinguish itself from the vulgar crowd³. 'Nature' was in its eyes unpleasant and coarse. It approached it only in order to affirm its own immaculateness. Social exclusiveness went hand in hand with preciousness in art. Zesen in particular distinguished himself by his ingenious locutions for 'window,' 'handkerchief,' etc. Sigmund von Birken in his *Teutsche Rede-bind- und Dicht-Kunst* (Nürnberg 1679) ridicules the idea of speaking of a 'schönes Weizenbrod.' Comedy, for instance, was reserved for the description of manners and customs, and at the same time for the satire of the lower classes. It is of great significance that Grimmelshausen, one of the rare realistic writers of the time, was also one of the rare critics of society⁴. Literature was for the Barock school a tool in the construction of their cultured society—and their society and culture were more insecurely founded than those of Italy and France, since they rested so much on

¹ Among the few exceptions to this can be mentioned Fleming in one or two of his love poems, and most strikingly Caspar Stieler in *Die geharnuschte Venus*, 1660.

² Karl Viëtor, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³ For the changes in the social structure in Germany from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, and the formation of the cultured class of the Barock age, see K. Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Freiburg, 1904, vols. v and vi.

⁴ Grimmelshausen also, of course, paid homage to his time. Amongst other things, his hero is of noble origin, while the heroes of the Spanish picaresque novel were all of humble birth.

mere imitation of those countries. It is Harsdörffer's merit to have defined more boldly than others this relationship between poetry and society. He does it in a concrete model in the *Gesprechspiele*. It is evident when he assigns various duties to the poet—'Ein löblicher Poet schreibet allezeit solche Gedichte, die zu Gottes Ehre zielen, grosse Herren und gelehrte Leute belustigen, die Unverständigen unterweisen, der Verständigen Nachsinnen uben, die Einfältigen lehren...¹.' Here the social intentions of the writer determine the nature of poetry. And in the discussion of the relationship of art and nature the problem is dealt with in its most general aspect. We can see from Harsdörffer's theory that the aim of the poet in his opinion was to establish an unreal, artificial world—'das natürliche Wesenbild zu verstellen.' It is difficult to see how he could logically have come to such a theory; the contradictions in his own statements prove that it was not a logically thought-out system. We can understand this theory only by understanding the rôle of art in general social movements in the Barock age, by realising that art had fundamentally a social function, that with Opitz, Buchner, Schottel, Harsdorffer, and the poets who followed them, poetry was essentially the hall-mark of an exclusive cultured society.

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¹ *Trichter*, I, 1.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

BEOWULFIANA.

(1) *Beowulf*, ll. 984 ff. read in MS. 'foran æghwylc wæs steda nægla
ge hwylc style gelicost hæfenes hand sporu hilde hilderinces egl unheoru.'
Their general meaning is clear, but details are perplexing. So much so
that many editors write 'stiðra' for 'steda.' Others translate the MS.
reading 'each of the places of the nails.' In his 1928 edition of *Beowulf*
Klaeber comments on this as carrying no conviction. I suggest that
some lines in the Finnish Epic, the *Kalevala*, may throw light on the
MS. reading. In it (Runo xvi, l. 351) the son of Tuoni, god of the under-
world, is thus described:

'Tuonen poika koukkusormi

Koukkusormi rautanäppi' (alternative reading 'rautahyppnen').

Translated literally: 'the son of Tuoni, with hooked fingers with hooked
fingers, iron-tipped' (both readings of this word have the same meaning).

Is the *Beowulf* phrase 'steda nægla,' the places of the nails, a defining
epithet, a kenning for finger-tips? And does the *Beowulf* poet wish to
say exactly 'each of Grendel's finger-tips was very like steel'? That
kennings for the different parts of the human body were not uncommon,
at any rate in Old Norse literature, we know from the *Younger Edda*.
In *Skáldskaparmál*, cap. LXXI, we are given a list of the different parts
of the human arm with some of the kennings used for them.

(2) The hemistich 'fingras burstan' (*Beowulf*, 760 b) probably means
that the blood burst from beneath Beowulf's nails as a result of his
mighty grip. A reference to support this meaning has already been made
to *Ragnars Saga Loðbrókar*, cap. xvi. In the thirteenth-century poem
Parzival und Titurel, by Wolfram von Eschenbach, a similar description
occurs, to describe the young Parzival, who, deprived of his sword, 'made
his hand into a fist so that the blood flowed from under the nails and
spread crimson up his sleeve,' cp. Book v, § 229, ll. 10-14:

do er sin swert wol gemâl
minder bi im liegen vant,
zer fiuste twanger sus die hant
daz dez pluot fizen nagelen schôz
und im den armel gar begôz.

Only one or two more parallels are needed to make the reader suspect
that 'fingras burstan' was a traditionally correct phrase for such situa-
tions.

(3) For a vivid account of the Godafoss, on the River Skialfandifliot (Iceland), thought by the Icelanders traditionally to be the scene of *Grettis Saga*, cap. LXVI, and so linked with *Beowulf*, ll. 1357 ff., one may compare a mid-nineteenth century book of travel, *The Oxonian in Iceland*, by Frederick Metcalfe. Features in his description of the place recall several points in *Beowulf*:

In the centre of the semicircular barrier is a grassy rock. On its right, one vast stream makes a swoop clean over a dimly seen cavern; while on its left, the water is scattered in a continuous chain of beautiful perpendicular falls. One of these, as if impatient of control, and averse to waiting for its turn, has actually tunneled for itself a slantendicular passage from the upper river bed, and through the dam, from a hole in the face of which it bursts forth instead of over it: and two other bodies of water... have mined a short cut deeper still and are seen leaping out in furious frolic by posterns still lower down the wall... rendered perhaps more supernatural by the absence of all trees... add to which the mountains in front, in reality of no great height, look dimly huge, quite sky high through the fog... (Cap. x.)

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PRINTED BOOKS WITH GABRIEL HARVEY'S AUTOGRAPH OR MS. NOTES.

Later letters from Mr W. A. Jackson (see *M.L.R.* xxix, p. 68) supply further valuable information.

A private collector of New York is now the owner of two books mentioned in *M.L.R.* xxviii, pp. 79, 80:

1555, T. Livius, *Opera*, Basil, sold by Sotheby to Maggs June 14, 1924, and 1568, Sir T. Smith, *De recta*, etc., once in the Heber Library.

The same collector has a book now first recorded:

1563, Ph. Melancthon, *Selectarum declamationum*, etc. Tomus primus. Argentorat, Harvey's monogram, signature and notes.

Another unrecorded book, now in the H. C. Folger Library in Washington, is

1561, Geo. North, *The description of Swedland*, London. Harvey's copy with notes.

Another, in the High Legh collection, is

1555, Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, Rome, Viotti, with two signatures, one dated 1578, and numerous marginal notes, on Sir Nicholas Bacon, etc.

Another, priced at £25 in Tregaski's Catalogue 1009 (March 1934), No. 196, is

1546 Terence's *Comedies*, Venice, Aldus, with Harvey's signature, initials, and some notes.

For other books once in Harvey's Library, Mr Jackson reminds us of Harvey's letter to Sir Arthur Capell (*Letterbook*, Camden Society, p. 167).

Mr Jackson also informs me of two books in the possession of A. Ehrman, Esq., 38 Lowndes Street, S.W. 1, which once belonged to Richard Harvey, Gabriel's brother. They are

1500 *Formulare Instrumentorum*, Cologne, 4to (the Barlow-Duff copy), and

1521 Henry VIII *Assertio*, Pynson, 4to.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

'PARADISE LOST,' VII, 8-12, AND THE 'ZOHAR.'

Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountain flow'd
Thou with Eternal wisdom didst converse,
Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play
In presence of th' Almighty Father, pleas'd
With thy Celestial Song.

The preceding lines, Professor Saurat¹ would interpret thus:

There were, therefore, plans to be fulfilled, plans that were shaped before the Creation, by Eternal Wisdom playing before the Supreme. Milton devotes sublime passages to the state of the Deity before Creation. [Saurat then quotes the passage from *Paradise Lost*, given above, and certain portions of *Tetrachordon*, which appear below.] ... It was during this divine play that the plans of the world were made. ... And from these divine 'recreations' the creation came. Milton ascribes to these acts within the bosom of divinity the sexual character which is so well marked in the *Zohar*; and that is the meaning of that terrible passage in *Tetrachordon*, in which Milton invokes God's own example to justify man in his need of woman: 'God himself conceals us not his own recreations before the world was built: "I was," saith the Eternal Wisdom, "daily his delight, playing always before him" ... and [Solomon] sings of a thousand raptures between those two lovely ones far on the hither side of carnal enjoyment.' No doubt Milton is quoting sacred texts; but he adds another text: 'before the world was built,' and this is a relationship of cause to effect in the *Zohar*—the world is the outcome, the child, of sex-life within the divinity.

Saurat's conclusions would seem to be these. Milton considered the creation as the result of the sex life of God. His source for such a concept was the *Zohar*. *Paradise Lost* does not explicitly state this idea; but the lines under examination have such a connotation, for the passage in *Tetrachordon*, which is parallel, does express the belief found in the *Zohar*.

Such an interpretation for these lines of the epic seems hardly tenable. The *De doctrina*, to begin with, does not so much as hint at such an idea; and in this work, moreover, Milton professes ignorance of the employments of God before the creation.

Sed ante mundum conditum quid egerit Deus, insipiens nimis sit qui quaerat; nec qui respondeat multo sapientior. ...²

¹ Denis Saurat, *Milton: Man and Thinker*, New York, 1925, pp. 132, 291-2. The passage from *Tetrachordon*, quoted by Saurat, may be found in *The Prose Works of John Milton* (Bohn edition), III, 331.

² *De doctrina Christiana*, Cambridge, 1825, p. 124.

The passage in *Paradise Lost*, therefore, more logically refers to the 'less serious employments of the Deity before the creation of the world¹,' for both passages speak of Wisdom *playing* before the Lord², and the *Tetrachordon* refers to God's 'recreations.' When one considers the importance of creation in the divine plan, may not one doubt that Milton intended this divine play to refer to the planning and production of the universe?

The passage from *Tetrachordon*, moreover, does not mirror the belief of the *Zohar*. The 'terrible' passage is not terrible at all. It appears so only because Saurat has tampered with Milton's reference. His method of quotation indicates that 'those two lovely ones' refers to God and Wisdom. In reality, the reference is to Christ and the Church. Milton wrote as follows:

Whereof lest we should be too timorous, in the awe that our flat sages would form us and dress us, wisest Solomon among his gravest proverbs countenances a kind of ravishment and erring fondness in the entertainment of wedded pleasures; and in the Song of Songs, which is generally believed, even in the jolliest expressions, to figure the spousals of the church with Christ, sings of a thousand raptures between those two lovely ones far on the hither side of carnal enjoyment³.

The context, moreover, does not bear out Saurat's interpretation. Milton is commenting on Genesis ii, 18: 'And the Lord said, It is not good that man should be alone....' 'Alone' is to be interpreted as 'alone from woman'; and to elevate the discussion above things of the body, Milton insists that loneliness is not to be considered only in the sense of 'want of copulation.' All men, says Milton, need relaxation from labour. Even God conceals not from us that he partakes of recreation. Man, therefore, may do likewise. Now the greatest recreation is to be found in the company of man's opposite, woman; and this recreation consists in mental rather than bodily pleasure—in 'a peculiar comfort in the married state beside the genial bed, which no other society affords⁴.' Throughout the passage, Milton strives to keep the discussion on a plane higher than that on which Saurat would interpret it. Neither does passage or context permit Saurat's interpretation; and the belief of the *Zohar*, therefore, does not appear in *Tetrachordon*.

Other alleged influences of the *Zohar* on the invocation to Urania (vii, 1-12) are likewise unconvincing. The *De doctrina* does not permit

¹ So Sumner in his translation of the *De doctrina*, *The Prose Works of John Milton* (Bohn edition), iv, p. 170.

² One should also observe that the lines do not permit Saurat's description of the matter: 'these acts within the bosom of divinity.' The texts merely say playing 'before' or 'in presence of' the Father.

³ Saurat's most recent reproduction of the passage (*Milton et le Matérialisme Chrétien en Angleterre*, Paris, 1928, p. 88) is even more misleading, for there he indicates no omissions.

⁴ *The Prose Works of John Milton* (Bohn edition), iii, pp. 330-2.

Saurat's identification of Wisdom and the 'Creative Son¹.' Of the portion of the Bible which lies behind these lines in the epic, Milton writes:

Ad illud autem Proverbiorum cap. viii. quod attinet, crediderim, non Filium Dei, sed sapientiam, more poetico, quasi personam illic induci. . .²

The equation of Urania with the Third Sephira, Intelligence, therefore, becomes too arbitrary for acceptance.

The fact that Saurat's suggestion has not the support of the *De doctrina*, that the passage in *Tetrachordon* is not in consonance with the *Zohar*, and that other influences of the *Zohar* on the invocation of Book VII have not been proved, forces the rejection of Saurat's interpretation. We know only that Wisdom played in the presence of the Father, and that this play was pleasing and recreative to Him. Beyond this, existing evidence does not permit us to go.

MAURICE KELLEY.

PRINCETON, U.S.A.

CARLYLE ON RAMSAY AND FERGUSSON.

Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson are mentioned only once in Carlyle's *Essay on Burns*, in which the Ayrshire bard is said to have had 'no furtherance but such knowledge as dwells in a poor man's hut, and the rhymes of a Fergusson or Ramsay for his standard of beauty.' The absence of any further reference is probably due to the writer's lack of any serious interest in Burns's poetic predecessors. This virtual indifference is illustrated by the following holograph letter, addressed to a correspondent whose name has been carefully erased, and now published³ from the Watson Collection (the property of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, on permanent loan to the National Library of Scotland since September, 1930). Separate editions of Allan Ramsay's and of Robert Fergusson's poetry appeared in 1851, but it is unlikely that they had any connexion with the edition which was projected five years earlier and for which Carlyle offered such sound advice⁴.

CHELSEA, 25 Nov^r, 1846

Dear Sir,

I am much afraid I shall not be able to assist you, by any contribution but that of my good wishes, in your pious Enterprise. I have not read Fergusson at all since the time of my boyhood; neither has Ramsay ever

¹ Saurat, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

² *De doctrina*, p. 127.

³ By kind permission of the Director, Mr Stanley Cursiter.

⁴ Was Carlyle's correspondent conceivably the precocious Grosart, who edited Fergusson in 1851, while still a student, and may have formed ambitious plans even at the age of 19, before he entered Edinburgh University? [Ed.]

in mature years been familiar to me except in parts. Yet I still very vividly remember Fergusson's best Pieces, mainly those you mention; and should be very glad indeed to see any real elucidations of them or him, if a faithful Editor and Biographer will give us such. Ramsay, as farther off, is still more obscure; in fact, is becoming very cloudy in some of his features. Much enveloped, as most things are apt to be at present, in vague traditionary cant, and twaddle of all kinds: words, words, which, even for the utterers of them, mean almost nothing!

I recommend to you the utmost rigour of accuracy both as to facts and opinions: say nothing that *you* do not mean (whoever else may have meant it) with the whole insight that was given you or attainable by you.—Perhaps a *good* Portrait of Ramsay might be attainable somewhere? The current one is surely other than good¹. The Portrait of his old *shop* in the High Street, this at least is still to be had; perhaps at Leadhills the hut where he was born may still be in existence,—at all events the site of it is sure to be!² Any authentic particular, provided it *be* authentic and indisputable, is valuable in these cases: if not authentic, it is of course the reverse of valuable! I should also hope there may be some better Portrait of Fergusson procurable than that frightful madhouse one; not a fair representation at all of the poor high-soaring, deep-falling, gifted and misguided young man³.

With many wishes on your behalf, which are not good for much, but are all I have, in regard to this matter,

I remain

Yours truly

T. Carlyle.

COLEMAN O. PARSONS.

EDINBURGH.

¹ The portrait by John Smibert (1684–1751) has a fat jowl and prominent nose; it might well strike a 'physiognomic reader' of the poet as bad. It was probably painted before 1729, when the artist settled in America, and it is now in the possession of the Hon. Hew Dalrymple of Edinburgh. William Aikman (1682–1731) executed a handsome portrait of Ramsay in 1723; Allan, Junior, made chalk drawings of his father in 1729, 1745, and 1747; and an unknown artist painted a small bust of him—all these, together with Alexander Carse's copy after Smibert, are in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

² Allan Ramsay's old shop in the High Street, Edinburgh, was demolished in 1898 during the reconstruction of the North Bridge. His birthplace at Leadhills, Crawfordmoor, Lanarkshire, is mentioned on hearsay in R. Forsyth's *Beauties of Scotland* (1805–8), III, p. 167. 'It is said that the ruins of the cottage in which he was born are still pointed out to the inquisitive traveller.' Carlyle visited Leadhills on a walking tour in 1817, but he speaks only of its mines in his *Reminiscences*.

³ For a discussion of the Fergusson portraits, see *The Poetical Works of Robert Fergusson*, ed. Robert Ford (Faisley, 1905), pp. lxxii–lxxi. Carlyle sets forth his theory of the biographic value of portraits in his letter to David Lang, May 3, 1854, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, I (1855), pp. 284–92, and in *The Portraits of John Knox*, *Fraser's Magazine* for April 1875.

EX LIBRIS POLITIANI

The erudition of Politian as scholar and teacher is a familiar subject, but it would be interesting to know some of the actual codices and documents which he used, so that one could compare them with similar sources which were accessible to the other humanists of his age. From a study of Politian's works it appears that he used the following manuscripts and early printed editions:

ARISTOTLE. *De Arte poetica ac praeterea Plutarchi, Herodoti, Dionis Chrysostomi, Libanii, Menandri, ac Demetrii Phalerei quaedam*. Laurentian Codex xiv (Gk.). A MS. of the fifteenth century, which formerly belonged to Politian. He has inscribed it with his familiar *Ex Libris* in Latin and in Greek:

Angeli Politiani et amicorum.

Ἀγγέλου καὶ φίλων Πολιτιανοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων¹.

AUSONIUS. (1) Politian says that he used a copy of Ausonius transcribed by Boccaccio then in the library of the Holy Ghost, Florence².

(2) Codex Bossianus, which Matteo Bosso procured for Politian from abroad, and which Bosso mentions in a letter written to Politian from Verona, *sexto Kal. Martias a.* 1493. This codex has since been lost³.

CALLIMACHUS. Schneider's V, a MS. of the E-family, from which Politian published in 1489 his translation of the 'Bath of Pallas,' hymn v⁴.

CATO. *De Agri cultura*.

(1) The lost Marcianus.

(2) A copy of the editio princeps included in G. Merula's *Scriptores de re rustica*, Venice, 1472, which also contains Varro's *Rerum rusticarum libri iii*, and Columella's *De Re rustica* and *De Arboribus*. This copy, which Politian collated with the Marcianus, is now in Paris and on it Politian has written: *Contuli ego Ang. Politianus Catonis hos ac Varronis rerum rusticarum libellos cum vetustissimo codice ex Divi Marci Florentina bibliotheca... Florentiae in D. Pauli ipso baccanaliorem die MCCCCLXXXII...*⁵.

CICERO. (1) The MS. of Cicero's *Epistolae ad familiares*, found by Petrarch in 1345 at Verona (?). Laurentian Codex ix (Lat.) (in Catalogo Montfauc. sub num. viii).

¹ A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Laurentianae*, 3 vols., Florence, 1764-70, II, pp. 603-4. The numbering of the MS. is according to Bandini; M. A. Bonafous, *De Angeli Politiani vita et operibus disquisitiones*, Paris, 1845, pp. 146-8, cites from the Florentine archives an inventory of Politian's books made after his death, in 1495. This copy of Aristotle's *Poetics* is the first item on the list. See also G. Toffanin, *La fine dell'umanismo*, Turin, 1920, p. 6; and F. O. Menckenius (Mencke), *Historia vitae et in literas meritum Angeli Politiani...*, Leipzig, 1763, pp. 624-5.

² *Angeli Politiani opera*, Lugduni apud Seb. Gryphum, 3 vols., 1546, I, *Misc.* 39.

³ *Opuscula Ausonii* (ed. R. Peifer), Leipzig, 1886, p. xxxiii and note **: 'Quia cum hoc codice Bossiano coniunctum est Politiani nomen, ex Labbei Nova bibl. MSS. librorum Paris, 1653 p. 371 haec describam: VC Isaacius Heraldus, Desiderii Heraldi celeberrimi in Curia suprema Regni causarum Patroni Filius doctissimus, exhibuit mihi Catalogum librorum aliquot MSS. qui ex Angha in hanc urbem iam pridem deportati sunt superiori anno Nobili cuidam Germano. In iis erant Catulli codex antiquus... Ausonii codex antiquissimus... ex libris autem qui hoc catalogo recensentur, nonnulli collationibus et interpretationibus Angeli Politiani ornati erant.'

⁴ *Misc.* 80; A. W. Marr, *Callimachus and Lycophron* (Loeb ed.), London, 1921, pp. 14-15.

⁵ *Misc.* 35; F. W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Studies*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 218, 281; I. Del Lungo, *Florentia, uomini e cose del quattrocento*, Florence, 1897, pp. 177, 182: *Contuli hos Columellae libros ego Angelus Politianus cum duobus exemplaribus... III id. februarias ipso baccanaliorem die 1493, Florentiae, anno horribili, transiit in Italiam Gallis*. See also Cato, *De Agri cultura* (ed. H. Keil), Leipzig, 1895, pp. iii-iv; and Varro, *Rerum rusticarum libri tres* (ed. G. Goetz), Leipzig, 1902, pp. iv-vii.

(2) Petrarch's transcription of the same. Laurentian Codex VII (Lat.) (in Catalogo Montfaucon sub num. IX)¹.

(3) *Epistolae ad Brutum*, Venice, 1470, a copy of this edition was inscribed by Politian².

The pseudo-Lucius FENESTELLA. *De Sacerdotibus et magistratibus*. Vatican, 3442. This book belonged to Politian. The name of the author has been cut out of the title and also the place of publication. Politian has inscribed it with his *Ex Libris*³.

Sextus Pomponius FESTUS. *De Verborum significatione*. Naples, iv. A. 3; Vatican, 3368; Vatican, 3369. When Politian was at Rome in 1485, Manlio Rhalles Cabaces showed him a fragment of the original MS. of this work, which he had brought from Illyria. Politian describes it as damaged and mouse-eaten. He found that Pomponius Laetus possessed some additional pages of the same MS. and copied the whole as a valuable addition to the later abstract made by Paul the Deacon in the seventh century. In the sixteenth century Piero Vettori found in a bookshop, and bought, Politian's copy of the Festus fragment, a hurried draft in small writing with many abbreviations. Thus the discovery of Politian's fragment has facilitated the restoration of quaternion xvi, which is lacking in the original. The Festus MS. is now at Naples; Politian's copy is in the Vatican⁴.

LUCRETIVS. Laurentian Codex XXIX (Lat.), a MS. of the fifteenth century, with notes and corrections written by Politian in the margin and on the first folio. In another handwriting there is also the statement *Liber Conventus Sancti Marci de Florentia Ordinis Praedicatorum habitus a publicis securibus, pro libris, quos sibi ab eodem Conventu Angelus Politianus amisit, seu qui in morte Angeli Politiani amissi sunt*⁵.

NONNUS. *Dionysiaca*. Codex Parisinus (Gr.) 3069, an extract in Politian's writing, inscribed by him thus: *Exscripsi...haec de Nonni poetae libris MCCCCLXXXV in Fesulano Laurenti Medicis, octobri mense...*⁶.

OVID. (1) *Tristia*, A=Marcianus Politiani, now lost, (?) eleventh century⁷.

¹ Misc. 18, 25, 34, 87. (The numbering of the codices is according to A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, 4 vols., Florence, 1774-7, II, pp. 464-8.) Politian says (Misc. 25) that Petrarch's transcription had been carelessly rebound by some bookseller, so that he had to decipher and restore the correct sequence of the letters; M. Valéry, *Voyages historiques et littéraires en Italie*, 1826, 1827 et 1828 ou *L'Indicateur italien*, Brussels, 1835, pp. 97, 257; Hall, p. 227, however, claims that the Veronese MS. (which has since disappeared) was confused with the Vercelli MS. and its copies, which would thus be identified with the two aforementioned codices used by Politian, namely: Laurentianus, 49, 9, of the ninth century and Laurentianus, 49, 7.

² Del Lungo, *Florentina*, p. 176, citing A. M. Bandini, *Ragionamento storico sopra le collazioni delle florentine pandette fatte da Angelo Poliziano sotto gli auspici del magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici*, Livorno, 1762, pp. 43 et seq.

³ P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris, 1887, p. 210, and note 1. This work is attributed either to Andrea Fiocco, secretary of Eugenius IV, or to Antonio Loschi.

⁴ Misc. 73; De Nolhac, pp. 146-7, 212-15, 255 and note. The MS. of Festus, now in the library at Naples, iv. A. 3, consists of a fragment written in two columns, the right side of which has been damaged by fire. Only quaternions ix, xi-xv survive. A copy of the fragment which Marullo the poet had given to Pomponius Laetus also survives, Vatican, 3369. Politian's copy covers from xi to xvi, is written on 17 pages, and is numbered 13-29, so probably part of the MS. has been lost. For Politian's copy see Vatican, 3368, and the inscription in the inventory: *Festo Pompeio scritto da mano del Poliziano, in papiro in 4º*.

⁵ Bandini, *Cat. cod. lat.* II, p. 209. The numbering of the MS. is according to Bandini.

⁶ Del Lungo, *Florentina*, pp. 111, 179, citing Léon Dorez, 'L'Hellénisme d'Ange Politien,' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, publiés par l'École française de Rome*, Rome, 1895, vol. xv.

⁷ Hall, p. 255; Misc. 86. See also Del Lungo, *Florentina*, p. 181, where he quotes a note made by Politian as a result of a collation of the *Tristia*: *Contuli hos quinque Tristium libros cum vetustis duobus codicibus...die XXI iulii 1493 in Pauli...Ang. Politianus. At the conclusion of the Amores he wrote: Contulit Politianus cum vetustis duobus exemplaribus...1493 die 27 septembris, hora circiter tertia noctis, in rusculo.* Del Lungo, however, gives no reference which would enable one to identify the text thus autographed by Politian.

(2) *Epistolae ex Ponto*, a Marcan text (?) annotated by Politian¹.

PELAGONIUS. *De Re veterinaria*. Riccardian Codex 1179 (L. III. 3). Politian had this copy made from an old MS. and this is perhaps the only trace that remains of the original. He has inscribed it thus: *Hunc librum de codice sanequam vetusto Angelus Politianus, Medicae domus alumnus et Laurenti cliens curavit exscribendum; dein ipse cum exemplari contulit et certa fide emendavit, ita tamen ut ab illo mutaret nihil, sed et quae depravata inveniret, relinqueret intacta, neque suum ausus est unquam iudicium interponere. Quod si priores institutum servassent, minus multo mendosos codices haberemus. Qui legis, boni consule, et vale. Florentiae Anno MCCCCLXXXV Decembri mense*².

PLAUTUS. Laurentian Codex XLII (Lat.), a MS. of the fifteenth century, containing the first eight comedies. Among the marginal notes are some by Politian³.

PLINY the Elder. *Naturalis Historia*, Rome, 1473; a copy of this edition, now in the Bodleian (Auct. Q. I. 2), was inscribed by Politian in 1480, stating that in that year he began his public teaching⁴.

PROPERTIUS. N=Neapolitanus, now at Wolfenbüttel, inter Gudianos 224⁵.

SENECA the Elder. (1) *Controversiae*, the MS. of this work which Politian used appears to have belonged to the family of the Codex Bruxellensis D (fifteenth century, 221 folios)⁶.

(2) *Suasoriae et Controversiae*, a fifteenth-century MS. which also contains the transcription of Pelagonius, *De Re veterinaria* and Quintilian, *Declamationes*. Riccardian Codex 1179 (L. III. 3)⁷.

¹ I. Del Lungo, *Prose Volgari... poesie latine e greche... di Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano*, Florence, 1867, p. 255 note: 'del qual anno [i.e. 1493] sotto il dì 1 d'ottobre, abbiamo un esemplare marciano dei libri del Ponto postillato dal Poliziano.' In *Florentia*, p. 181, Del Lungo quotes a note which Politian wrote to the *Epistolae ex Ponto*: *Contulit cum mediae vetustatis codice ex Medica libraria... In rusculo fesulano, III Kal. octobris 1493, IIII hora noctis. Politianus*.

² S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, Rome, 1900, p. 232; Valery, p. 260 and note, Pelagonius was a fourth-century writer, cited by P. Vegetius; A. Fumagalli, *Angelo Poliziano*, Rome, 1914, pp. 132-3.

³ Bandini, *op. cit.*, II, p. 244: 'sed Aulularia Curculionem sequitur.' The numbering of the MS. is according to Bandini.

⁴ Del Lungo, *Florentia*, p. 176, and note 1; P. S. Allen, 'Erasmus' Services to Learning,' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XI, p. 7, 'Thus knew Politian very well, who in his Rome Pliny, 1473, now in the Bodleian, records at the end, first that he completed his critical examination of the text for the purpose of his lectures on 15 August 1480, just when the Turks were ravaging Otranto, and secondly that by 1490 he had collated it three times with two MSS. borrowed from St Mark's at Florence and with a third lent by King Ferdinand (of Naples), and on the first leaf mentions other MSS. whose various readings he notes in the margin throughout the book.'

⁵ Hall, p. 264; De Nolhac, pp. 233-4; A. Fumagalli, pp. 129-30; *Misc.* 81. Only two MS. have the reading *Oeno* (Propertius, IV, iii, 21-2) which Politian quotes here, the Neapolitanus and the F=Laurentianus, 36, 49. As the latter was a recent MS. of the early fifteenth century, belonging to Coluccio, it probably did not leave Florence. Politian describes the codex lent to him by Bernardinus Valla at Rome, in 1489, as *vetustus*. Later it was brought to Naples and studied there by Politian's pupil Francesco Pucci. Opinions as to its probable date vary between the twelfth and fifteenth century. According to Bandini, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246, the Laurentianus is inscribed twice: *Coluccii Pierii*, and *Cosmae Johannis de Medicis*.

⁶ *Misc.* 59. In discussing the authorship of the *Priapea* Politian cites Seneca's *Controversiae*, I, 2, 22, and a statement made there by Mamercus Scaurus attributing the *Priapea* III, 8, to Ovid. From a comparison of Seneca's texts, and as Politian cites the whole line of the *Priapea*, instead of the first four words only, as they usually appear, it seems that his copy of Seneca must have belonged to the family of the Codex Bruxellensis D. He quotes the first line of the poem also, and probably he knew the Laurentian MS. of the *Priapea*. A=Laurentianus, 33, 31 (fourteenth century). See Hall, p. 264.

⁷ Morpurgo, p. 233.

STATIUS. *The Silvae*. (1) P=a codex found by Poggio in 1416 or 1417, probably of the ninth/tenth century, now lost.

(2) A*=a copy of the editio princeps, together with Tibullus, Propertius and Catullus, Venice, 1472, now in the Corsini Library at Rome. A*, according to a statement which Politian has written on the copy, was made from the codex which Poggio brought from France: *Incidi in exemplar Statii Silvarum quod ex Gallia Poggius Gallica scriptum manu in Italiam adtulerat; a quo videlicet uno, licet mendoso, depravatoque et (ut arbitror) etiam dimidato reliqui omnes codices qui sunt in manibus emanarunt*. Politian has inscribed this book at the beginning of Catullus and added a note at the conclusion in 1473, and another at the conclusion of Propertius in 1475¹.

TERENCE. (1) A=Vaticanus, 3226 (Bembinus), fourth/fifth century, written in rustic capitals. Politian has left his inscription on the MS.: *Ego Angelus Politianus homo vetustatis minime incuriosus nullum aequae me vidisse ad hanc diem codicem antiquum fateor*².

(2) Laurentian Codex XIV (Lat.), a printed book in 4to with the date *MCCCCXXV XII Calendas Augusti*. The place of publication is lacking. This is the copy which Politian annotated and collated with the Bembinus. On f. 18b he has written in the margin: *Anno MCCCCXCI die 23 Junii vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistae Venetis conferre coepi cum vetustissimo Codice Petri Bembi Veneti Patricii, Bernardi filii, ego Ang. Politianus*³.

VIRGIL. (1) The Vatican Virgil, *mire vetustum et grandibus characteribus perscriptum*⁴.

(2) A copy of the second edition of Virgil printed at Rome by Sweynheim and Pannartz. This had belonged to Politian and is heavily annotated by him. He marked his original comments with an *Ang*. The book is now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Res. Y. g° 236⁵.

Commentaries on VIRGIL. (1) *Expositio Servii in Virgilium*. A MS. of the eleventh century, brought from France by Poggio. Laurentianus Pl. XLV, 14⁶.

(2) *Donati expositio librorum Aeneidos characteribus Longobardis exarata*, a MS. of the eleventh century. Laurentianus, XLV, 15⁷.

FRA URBANO DA BOLOGNA. *Commentarii super Averroem in octo libros physicorum*, a work written in the early fourteenth century, which Antonio Alabanzi of Bologna lent Politian⁸.

¹ Hall, p. 273; Bandini, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 96-9; Bonafous, Appendix IX, pp. 244-5; Del Lungo, *Florentia*, pp. 38 note 2, 238-9.

² Hall, p. 275; De Nolhac, pp. 237-9. The MS. had belonged to the Neapolitan poet Giannantonio de' Pandoni, nicknamed Porcellius Poeta, who inscribed it on the last folio. In 1457, still during his lifetime, it passed into the hands of Bernardo Bembo, who considered it *codex mihi carior auro*. Later it was in the library of the Dukes of Urbino. According to the Laurentian copy, which Politian collated with the Bembinus, his inscription dates to 1491, when Bembo showed him the original MS. during his visit to Venice. See also Valery, p. 389.

³ Bandini, *op. cit.*, II, p. 264; Valery, p. 257; Fumagalli, p. 129.

⁴ Misc. 71, cf. Misc. 77: *Sicut etiam in volumine Maroniano literis maiorebus perarato, qui in Romae in intima Vaticana bibliotheca mire vetus ostenditur*.

⁵ C. Zabughin, *Virgilio nel rinascimento italiano da Dante a Torquato Tasso*, 2 vols., Bologna, 1921, II, pp. 202-3 and note 119; De Nolhac, p. 210, gives a different call number: 'il porte, parmi les livres imprimés de la Réserve la cote Y + 808. Aa, in-folio.'

⁶ Zabughin, I, p. 189 note 20; Bandini, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 345-50; De Nolhac, p. 211.

⁷ Misc. 77: *Prætereaque commentarum Tiberii Donati nunc in manibus habet Londinus... grandioribus notatum vetustis characteribus*; Zabughin, I, p. 189 note 23 and 24; Bandini, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 350-1.

⁸ Del Lungo, *Florentia*, p. 202 and notes with reference to Laurentianus XC, sup., 37, c. 23; Bandini, *op. cit.*, III, p. 532, mentions an unpublished Latin letter, Laurentian Codex (Lat.), 37, IX, p. 22, in which Politian thanks Alabanzi for the loan. This work was published by Alabanzi in 1492.

I have limited this list to those works which it was possible to identify¹. I hope to supplement it by further research on the actual manuscripts which was not possible during my recent residence at the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A.

J. M. S. COTTON.

OXFORD.

AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF THE 'BÜRGERLICHES TRAUERSPIEL.'

Ten years before the publication of *Miss Sara Sampson* and six years before the German translation of *George Barnwell*, there had appeared in Germany a five-act prose drama containing all the features usually assigned to a 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel.' *Der|Zugel-lose|Ein Schauspiel|in fünf Abhandlungen|* Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1745, was a bitter indictment of the deleterious effect of French manners and morals on German youth of the middle classes. The preponderance of French elements in the life of the average German family was censured, and Teutonic integrity, frugality and industry were contrasted with Gallic extravagance and frivolity. According to the author, the play was prompted by personal experience: 'Der Inhalt dieses Schauspiels ist an sich selbst eine Geschichte, welche vor einigen Jahren in Franken sich zugetragen, die Namen der Personen aber und einige andere Kleinigkeiten sind erdichtet.'

The scene is laid in the house of a well-to-do middle-class family. The only son, Vincenz, after a tour in Italy and France, has acquired a taste for fast living, and on his return home, has taken to a life of dissipation, encouraged by his French servant, Franz. In order to pay the debts accumulated by gambling, he steals money from his father, then kills a man in a brawl, runs away from justice and drowns himself. His mother dies of shock; his father falls unconscious. Vincenz' mistress, a Frenchwoman who contributes to his ruin, is a typical 'Machtweib' of the later 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel.' An uncle plays the part of the 'raisonneur' and brings the play to a close with a discourse on the dangers of spoiling children and on the harmful influence of the French on education.

The tone of the entire play is tragic. Even the follies of the servant Franz cease to have any comic effect when it is shown that they have disastrous consequences, and the accumulation of crime upon crime, resulting in two deaths, allows the serious intention of the play to remain in no doubt.

¹ Poltitan mentions and describes several other MSS. which he used, as for example Niccolò Niccoli's transcription of *Columella* from an older MS. in the Laurentian and also Niccoli's transcription of *Aulus Gellius*, *Misc.* 35, 41, 77.

In spite of improbabilities in the plot, the background is realistic. Bourgeois environment and bourgeois ideology are represented, and though the conflict is not between the middle classes and the aristocracy but between France and Germany, the Germans are made to typify all those qualities which are associated with the middle classes. The realism is further emphasised by a prose style singularly free from bombast or rhetoric.

The play is, I think, of interest, not only because it is an early instance of an important genre, but also because it was inspired by a social problem—one that was of real moment to contemporary Germans—rather than by a literary example. The strong nationalist feeling that was beginning to revive in Germany found expression in the angry rejection of French cultural and social standards. France, the scapegoat, was made responsible for all the corrupt and degenerate elements in German life. *Der Zügel-lose* was one of a group of plays, combating the Gallomania of the day; it stated seriously a problem which the other plays treated satirically.

As was usual at this period, translations lead the way. Frau Gottsched's *Die Hausfranzösinn* had been preceded in 'Die deutsche Schaubühne' by Detharding's translation of Holberg's *Jean de France*. One of the most caustic satires against France had been taken from the French. *Le Français à Franckfort* was an anonymous one-act play, after the model of Boissy's successful *Français à Londres*, and was translated into German in 1741. De Lérís (*Dictionnaire Portatif et Littéraire des Théâtres*, Paris, 1763, p. 327) writes of it: 'L'auteur n'en est pas connu, mais il paraît qu'il étoit animé contre quelque aventurier Gascon.' In the German version not the Gascons in particular, but the French in general are stigmatised.

Not all the plays that dealt with the relation between Germany and France and the influence of the one upon the other were entirely condemnatory in their attitude to France. In *Der Franzose* the Germans themselves were taken to account for their lack of discrimination, and the virtues and the vices of both nations were compared in a spirit of impartiality. One of the characters—a Frenchman—explains:

Es gibt schon gar zu viele Teutsche, die von ihren Reisen aus Frankreich nur ubel geartete Abbildungen von unserm jungen Windbeutel zuruck bringen. Was mich aber troestet, ist, dass vernunftige Leute der Nation Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen, und einen grossen Unterscheid machen, zwischen einem Franzosen der wohl erzogen, und die Welt gesehen hat, und einem Franzosen, der erst in die Welt gelaufen kommt, und der noch nichts gesehen hat.

The play consists of a series of conversations on national problems and

ends with the marriage of a young German to a French girl and of a young Frenchman to a German girl. A copy of it is to be found in the 'Preussische Staatsbibliothek' at Berlin, bound up with the 1747 edition of König's *Dresdener Schlendrian*, but without a title-page. Goedeke does not mention it, but Gottsched (*Nöthiger Vorrath*, 1757, p. 273) gives the place and date as Freystadt, 1747.

The last to be considered of the little group of plays which appeared between 1740 and 1750 is *Die Franzosen in Böhmen, als eine Theatralische Comödie mit allen zu der Zeit geschehenen Begebenheiten lächerlich vorgestellt von einem dabey gewesenenen Teutschen* [Prag u. Pilsen, 1743]. This satire concerns the fate of two 'Bürgerstöchter' who leave their German suitors for two French adventurers, and after the sequel, rape and robbery, return to their suitors to be turned away.

So geht es in der Welt, wer den Franzosen trauet,
Der hat den Lust-Pallast auf den Morast gebauet.
Die teutsche Redlichkeit hat einen bessern Grund,
Was sich ein Teutscher denckt, das hat er auch im Mund.

Many of the scenes are extemporary and the 'lustige Person,' here called Hans Springinsfeld, frequently monopolises the stage with his lazzi and conceits. A realistic element is, however, introduced by a cavalcade of citizens, tradesmen and shopkeepers who come on to discuss their affairs and give each other advice, and who serve to emphasise the topical interest of the play.

The predominance of ethical over æsthetic values, the intense consciousness of national and racial differences, and the combination of virulent satire with popular extemporary comedy, which are to be found in *Die Franzosen in Böhmen*, all point to what may perhaps be considered as contributory sources of the 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel,' or at least as indices of the trend of opinion that was to make the new genre possible—I am thinking of those political satires which appeared in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and which were usually translated from the French: such works as *Der Prätendent von Engelland*, *Carl Stuart*, or *Des Königs von Frankreich und sogenannten Prinzen von Wallis kluges und närrisches Lust- und Trauer-Spiel*, which was taken from *L'expédition d'Écosse, ou le retour du Prince de Galles en France*.

Der Zügel-lose and these other early and almost forgotten plays seem to indicate that it is perhaps possible to overestimate the influence of the English tragedy of middle-class life and of the French 'comédie larmoyante' and 'drame' on the German 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel.'

BETSY AIKIN-SNEATH.

RILKE'S 'BUCH DER BILDER.'

The significance of the *Buch der Bilder* in the history of Rilke's poetic development is generally acknowledged, but there would seem to be a need for a closer examination of the first and second editions than any yet made; the more so as current criticism shows a desire to establish specific theories of 'influence' concerning this first important volume of verse.

Professor Walzel, in *Stimmen der Freunde* (p. 67), and Dr Marga Bauer, in her study of *Rilke und Frankreich* (p. 7), are apparently speaking of the same work, yet the former says, 'Voraussetzung des *Buches der Bilder* ist Paris,' whilst the latter sees in it pre-eminently the documentation of a transition in Rilke's development which lay before the Paris experience and after the first visit to Russia (summer 1899). She refers to certain phrases and conceptions in the *Buch der Bilder* as definitely characteristic of the artistic methods and ideals of the Worpswede school of painters whom Rilke first visited in September 1900, when he stayed five weeks before returning to Schmargendorf bei Berlin for the winter, and amongst whom he lived after his marriage to Clara Westhof in the early spring of 1901 until the end of August 1902. Both views can, in a measure, be justified under the assumption that Professor Walzel is referring only to certain main beauties of the second and enlarged edition of 1906, whilst Dr Bauer bases her opinion on the large number of poems in the first edition (1902) which belong to the Worpswede months.

When Rilke sent the first MS. of the *Buch der Bilder* to his publisher, Herrn Aexel Juncker, he wrote, on November 7, 1901, from Westerwede, close to Worpswede: 'Diese Sammlung, die ich unter dem Namen *Das Buch der Bilder* zusammenfasse, ist das Kostbarste, was ich aus diesen Jahren habe.' The period (*diesen Jahren*) is loosely defined, but it takes us back at least to the autumn of 1899—possibly earlier—and its end cannot, obviously, be later than 1901. Clearly, therefore, the first edition must be disassociated entirely from Paris, which he only reached on August 28, 1902.

The poet laid great stress on beauty of form in this edition (cf. *Briefe* 1899–1902, pp. 114 f.) and Heinrich Vogeler, his earliest friend amongst the painters, provided the title-page with pen and ink illustration. It is now comparatively rare. Its contents consist of forty-five poems or groups of poems (such as *Aus einer Sturmnacht*), of which *Gott weiss von Adlerflügen* disappeared from all later editions, and *Könige in Legenden* was omitted in the second edition, reappearing in all subsequent editions as the first verse of *Karl der Zwölfte von Schweden reitet*

in der Ukraine. Also, the poem entitled *Strophen* had originally a third verse which was omitted later. The order of arrangement and details of origin are as follows (where a title is given in brackets it was added in the second edition):

Wer du auch seist... (Eingang). Composed in Schmargendorf, February 24, 1900.

Wieder duftet der Wald... (Aus einem April). Composed in Schmargendorf, April 6, 1900.

Mondnacht, Ritter, Mädchenmelancholie. These were composed during his first visit to Worpswede.

Andere müssen auf langen Wegen. Composed in Worpswede, September 29, 1900.

Mädchen, Dichter sind, die von euch lernen... Composed in Worpswede, September 10, 1900.

(The above two now under the title *Von den Mädchen*.)

Das Lied der Bildsäule. Composed in Schmargendorf, November 18, 1899, and read aloud during his first visit to Worpswede.

Die Braut, Die Stille. Sent to Clara Westhof from Schmargendorf, 1900.

Musik. Composed in Schmargendorf or Worpswede, 1900.

Verkündigung. Composed in Worpswede, 1900.

Die heiligen drei Könige. Composed in Worpswede, 1900.

Die Engel, Der Schutzengel. Composed in Schmargendorf, read aloud in Worpswede, 1900.

Gott wess von Adlerflügen, In der Certosa. Composed in Arco, 1900.

Das jüngste Gericht. Read aloud in Worpswede, 1900.

Martyrinnen. Composed in Worpswede (?).

Gieb deine Schönheit (Initiale). Composed in Schmargendorf, July 14, 1899.

Könige in Legenden. Composed in Schmargendorf, October 4, 1900.

Karl der Zwölfte. Read aloud in Worpswede, 1900.

Der Sohn. Composed at H. Vogeler's, Worpswede, 1900.

So wurden wir vertraumte Geger. Composed at H. Vogeler's, Worpswede, 1900.

Aus einer Kindheit. Composed in Schmargendorf (?).

Der Sänger singt vor einem Fürstenkind. Composed in Worpswede, 1900.

Aus unendlichen Sehnsüchten (Initiale).

Zum Einschlafen zu sagen. Composed in Westerwede, 1901.

Menschen bei Nacht. Composed in Schmargendorf, after the first Worpswede visit.

Der Letzte. Composed in Schmargendorf, November 14, 1900.

Im welken Wald ist ein Vogelruf... (Bangnis). Composed in Worpswede, October 4, 1900.

O wie ist alles fern... (Klage). Composed in Worpswede, October 4, 1900.

Fragmente aus verlorenen Tagen. Composed in Schmargendorf, 1899-1900.

Von den Fontänen, Der Schauende. Composed in Schmargendorf, and the latter sent to Clara Westhof.

Der Lesende. Composed in Schmargendorf.

Am Rand der Nacht. Composed in Schmargendorf, January 12, 1900.

Gebet. Composed in Schmargendorf, December 13, 1900.

Fortschritt. Composed in Worpswede, September 27, 1900.

Aus einer Sturmnacht. Composed in Schmargendorf, end of 1900.

Ernste Stunde. Composed in Worpswede, October 4, 1900.

Strophen. Composed in Worpswede at H. Vogeler's, 1900.

Die Blinde. Composed in Schmargendorf, November 25, 1900.

Requiem. Composed in Schmargendorf, November 20, 1900.

Der Tod ist gross (Schlußstück). Composed in Schmargendorf.

The above collection undoubtedly affords evidence of the Worpswede experience, and to that experience Dr Bauer rightly attributes a change in Rilke's conception and treatment of the *Ding*, that prime factor in

his thought and feeling which is everywhere present in his verse. 'Worpswede gibt ihm die Verwandlung des Dinges,' she writes. 'Früher waren alle Dinge schwankend und in den Schleier der Seele eingehüllt, die der Dichter ihnen umhängte. Jetzt steht das Ding inmitten der Landschaft, der Mensch steht inmitten der Landschaft, beide tragen ihre Seelen. . . . In der Unscheinbarkeit dieser norddeutschen Moorlandschaft eröffnet sich ihm der Reichtum der Natur und ihre Unnahbarkeit. Was er früher fließend und von sich überströmt fühlte, sieht er nun im ruhenden Bilde, das in Wort zu verwandeln seine Aufgabe wird. Im *Buch der Bilder* beginnt Rilke zu malen.'

But trouble arises when reference is made to specific poems in support of the above statement, for *Eingang*, *Frühling*, *Mondnacht*, *Ritter*, *Das Lied der Bildsäule*, *Der Wahnsinn*, thus cited, were all written before Rilke found his way to the 'Malerkolonie.' If they are evidence of anything, it must be of what the poet brought with him to Worpswede, not of what he learnt there. They show that he was ripe for intercourse with his Worpswede friends, because he was already travelling along the same road. And they make one thing clear, viz. that the essential nature of 'influence' in his case implies an expansion of what is already present in his genius, not the imposition from without of the artistic creed of others, a fact which is of supreme importance in all Rilke criticism, and one which tends to be obscured by his characteristic fashion of giving himself up entirely, for the time being, to each great new experience in his artistic life.

The second edition, the MS. of which was despatched to the publisher on June 4, 1906, i.e. about one month after the poet's rupture with Rodin, contained sixty-six poems or groups of poems as against the original forty-five. Of those newly added six were written before he knew Paris, viz.

Der Wahnsinn. Composed in Schmargendorf, November, 1899.

Sturm. Composed in Schmargendorf, 1899-1900.

Die Heilige, Abend. Composed in Worpswede, 1900.

Sturmnacht. Composed in Schmargendorf after the first Worpswede visit.

Die Liebende. Composed in Worpswede after 1900 but before Paris.

Only fourteen can legitimately be considered significant of the Rodin influence. Nine of these were written in Paris, 1903, viz. *Kindheit*, *Der Knabe*, *Die Konfirmanden*, *Der Nachbar*, *Pont du Carrousel*, *Die Aschanti*, *Einsamkeit*, *Vorgefühl*, *Die Stimmen*; three were written in Rome: *Ende des Herbstes*, *Herbst*, 1903, *Die aus dem Hause Colonna*, 1904; one in Milan: *Das Abendmahl*, 1903; and one in Sweden: *Abend in Skane*, 1904.

Die Zaren is a composite work from the years 1899 and 1906, concerning which the poet wrote to his wife on February 5, 1906: 'Ich habe

mich viel mit ihnen beschäftigt, die letzten Tage. Es ist manches verändert worden; hat sich ein bisschen mehr geöffnet; mit einer Freude ohnegleichen helf ich jetzt meinen alten Dingen hinauf.' In origin it belongs to the pre-Worpswede period, whilst its final form is significant of Rilke's maturer workmanship.

In the poet's study, as he left it, in the Château de Muzot may be seen a beautiful volume of a rare edition of *Ausgewählte Gedichte* (printed privately), the peculiar interest of which is that the selection was made by Rilke himself in the autumn of 1918 from the three chief collections which had appeared up till that time, viz. *Das Buch der Bilder*, *Neue Gedichte I* and *Neue Gedichte II*. From the first he selected fourteen, as being amongst the best he had as yet written: *Die Liebende*, *Das Lied der Bildsäule*, *Der Knabe*, *Die Konfirmanden*, *Zum Einschlafen zu sagen*, *Herbst*, *Das Lied des Bettlers* and *Das Lied des Zwerges* from *Die Stimmen*, *Vorgefuhl*, *Abend*, *Die heiligen drei Könige*, *Kindheit*, *Der Lesende*, *Der Schauende*. Of these, as may be seen, some seven belong to the 'Rodin period,' a fact which affords ample justification for the view that Paris must always be taken into account in considering the *Buch der Bilder* as it is known to us to-day. At the same time, Worpswede was obviously equally important.

But in addition to these two factors of acknowledged importance, we must remember that in the autumn of 1899 Rilke was writing most markedly under the influence of his first visit to Russia (in May and part of June), that the *Stunden-Buch*, entirely reminiscent of that experience, was begun and Part I finished then, and that Parts II (1901) and III (1903) were written concurrently with much that appears in the *Buch der Bilder*. In the rhythmic music of *Das Lied der Bildsäule*, for example, there is surely convincing 'internal evidence' that its closest affinity is with the *Stunden-Buch*, whilst such poems as *Der Schutzengel*, *Menschen bei Nacht* (cp. *Stb.* II), *Herbsttag* (cp. *Stb.* II), *Fortschritt*, *Die Worte des Engels*, *In der Certosa*, *Die heiligen drei Könige*, *Das jüngste Gericht* are more strongly suggestive of his 'Russian mood' than of any other.

G. CRAIG HOUSTON.

DURHAM.

THE DEICTIC USE OF 'EIN' IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN.

In vol. I of his *Deutsche Syntax*, § 89, O. Behaghel describes the combined use of *ein* and *der* with a following substantive, and distinguishes the following types:

A. With a substantive followed by a relative clause:

(i) Substantive defined by a preceding superlative: Erec 310 *diu was ein diu schoenste maget, von der uns ie wart gesaget*, Lanz. 1337 *ein der vorderste man, des ich ie kunde gewan*, Berth. I, 84, 4 *ein der aller liebeste kneht den er iendert hat*, Fuet. Lanz. 103 *ain den chüenisten ritter von der tavelrund, der uns hewt von ainem grossen ritter gefangen ist*.

(ii) Substantive without attribute: Notker I, 246, 15 *saligheit wesen ein daz kuot, umbe daz alliu ding ketan werdent*¹, Nib. 132, 2 *er truoc in sime sinne ein minnecliche mert und ouch in ein diu frouwe, die er noch nie gesach*, Lanz. 2492 *so bin ich ein der man, der sich nu nennet ane schame*, Trist. 15, 232 *er dahte und dahte als ein der man, dem ez ze kleinem liebe ertaget*.

B. With a substantive not followed by a relative clause: Lanz. 3051 *daz er ein der tiurste wolte sin*, Kudr. 8, 3 *er hiez im werben eine die besten von den richen*.

Behaghel explains all these constructions as the result of a blending: *ein der liebeste*=*ein der liebesten*+*der liebeste*, *ein der man der*=*ein man, der*+*der man, der*.

Whilst it may be admitted that contaminations or blendings do sometimes arise in this way, there is no need to have recourse to this explanation in the present case. Behaghel appears to have considered the construction too exclusively from the High German point of view; actually it is of wide geographical distribution and occurs over a long period in the Germanic languages. I suggest that, in all the examples given, *ein* has its old deictic force and that there is a psychological reason for the construction, which is emphatic: the writer first uses *one*=‘a certain someone’ in order to focus the reader’s attention; he then proceeds to define it with the definite article and a substantive.

The *N.E.D.* gives numerous examples of the use of *one* with the definite article and a superlative, from O.E. sources to Shakespeare, as ‘one the fairest toun’=‘a town, the fairest one,’ ‘the one fairest town’²; and most authorities on English syntax regard this as an emphatic construction. In his *Modern English Grammar, Syntax*, Chap. x, p. 246, Jespersen states that, in the M.E. *oon the best*, ‘oon strengthens or emphasizes the superlative.’ In an article in *Anglia*, xxvi, pp. 465 ff., Einkenkel calls the O.E. *ān þe betsta (man)* ‘ein Rest älteren Sprachgutes’

¹ This quotation from Notker renders the Latin *Sed ostendimus beatitudinem esse idem ipsum bonum propter quod omnia geruntur*.

² The construction without superlative occurs ten times in the hymn ‘Through the night of doubt and sorrow.’

and considers it equivalent to 'der eine und zugleich der beste (Mann).' Luick in *Anglia*, xxix, p. 339 states that M.E. *the beste on* arises from 'einer Umbildung einer echt germanischen Fügung des A.E.: *án se betsta*,' and that, here, *án* has the pregnant meaning of 'jener.'

The construction appears to have been common in Low German also; nearly twenty examples are given in Verwijs-Verdam: *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* 2, 526 b, as *Ene die meeste overdaet*, Reinke de Vos, I, p. 137. No attempt at an explanation is made; the authors simply state that 'deze constructie is thans vervangen door het gebruik van een partitief genitief' and refer to Grimm's *Grammar*, iv, p. 417. Behaghel also refers to this in his heading. Grimm had recorded the simultaneous use of both articles in M.H.G., especially before a superlative, and stated that the construction does not survive in Modern German: 'die nhd. Sprache macht, mit geringer Änderung, aus dieser Konstruktion eine genitivische.' But he did not attempt to explain it.

Behaghel also quotes an article by L. Tobler in *Beitr.* xv, p. 383. The relevant passage reads: 'Das Eigentümliche ist die unmittelbare Zusammenstellung desselben (= *ein*) mit dem bestimmten *der*, und dieser scheinbare Widerspruch lässt sich nur durch die Annahme erklären, es seien—was ja häufig auch in anderer Gestalt vorkommt—eigentlich zwei Satzformen vermischt oder auf einander gehäuft, und zwar so dass die eine durch die andere sozusagen zurückgenommen oder berichtigt wird. Die Aussage konnte entweder mit blosser *ein* oder mit blosser *der* gebildet werden; wenn statt dessen beide Pronomina gesetzt werden, so wird sie allerdings nachdrücklich verstärkt.' The only part of this explanation that can be accepted is the concluding sentence; the suggestion that the construction is due to contamination must be rejected in view of its wide occurrence. Behaghel seems to have been misled by both Grimm and Tobler.

In Modern Swedish the use of both articles with a superlative is still current (and fairly common) in literary style, e.g., Selma Lagerlöf, *Osynliga länkar*, 10th ed., p. 241: 'Hon var ett det vackraste barn, rika föräldrars dotter, med en blid, klar sångröst.' It is interesting to see what Swedish writers on syntax have to say on the subject. Nils Linder, in his *Regler och råd*, had suggested that instead of saying 'Fottvagningen är ett det skönaste uttryck för den tjänande kärleken,' it would be more correct to say 'ett av de skönaste uttrycken'; but Ågren, in his *Slutartikeln*, p. 93, points out that the two expressions are not identical; 'det förra vill säga: utomordentligt skönt, absolut sett; det senare: skönast av de uttryck, som vi faktiskt ha att jämföra med, d.v.s. relativt.' This

supports the view that the construction with both articles is emphatic¹. It does not occur in Norwegian or Danish.

One would expect to find examples in Old Norse; but they are exceedingly rare and apparently only occur in late texts, e.g., *enn hinn verstí maðr* (Færeyinga saga, 91). According to Cleasby and Vigfusson 'enn as the indefinite article is hardly found in old writers, and though it is frequent in the Bible, sermons, hymns, etc., since the Reformation, it was no doubt borrowed from the German and has never been naturalized.'

But there is a construction in O.N. which shows that two demonstrative forms could be used together for the sake of emphasis. The pronouns *en*, *ett* which are now used pre-positively in the Scandinavian languages as the 'indefinite article,' go back to O.N. forms *enn*, *en*, *et* which were demonstrative (Goth. *gains*, O.H.G. *jenēr*) and served as definite article. They could be used with another demonstrative preceding; Heusler, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, 2. Aufl., § 410 gives the example: '*sá enn gamle maðr*, wo die erblichene Deixis des *enn* durch *sá* aufgefrischt wird.' A similar use of the demonstrative to strengthen the force of the definite article occurs (though rarely) in Norwegian: *Det er den helteskare som av hin den store trengsel kom* (from the hymn 'Den store hvite flokk').

In an article on 'Mhd. *ein* als Demonstrativpronomen' in *Beitr.* xi, p. 519, Braune gives examples of *ein* with substantives from M.H.G. onwards and says that it often corresponds to *ille* and is used 'zur Hervorhebung von etwas Bekanntem, Bestimmtem.' He points out that it survives in this sense in modern German phrases taken from the *Kanzlerstil*, such as 'ein hohes Ministerium,' 'ein löblicher Magistrat.' A possible parallel to this in Modern English is the use of *a* as an interjection prefixed to proper names as a war-cry, as 'A Warwick².' If M.H.G. *genåde ein küniginne* = 'Ich danke dir, du Königin!' it seems plausible that 'A Warwick' = 'Hail, Warwick!'

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LONDON.

¹ Older examples of the construction in Swedish are given by Erik Terner in *Studier öfver rakneordet 'en'* (Upsala Diss., 1922), but it is not dealt with exhaustively.

² I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr A. C. Dunstan of Sheffield.

REVIEWS

Waldere. Edited by F. NORMAN. (Methuen's Old English Library: (A) Poetic texts, No. 3.) London: Methuen. 1933. viii + 56 pp. 2s.

This little volume is a worthy companion of the two preceding numbers of this useful series. Mr Norman brings to his task a genuine interest founded on a thorough knowledge of the diverse and bulky literature on the *Walther*-saga, as is proved by the full bibliography (pp. 44-8), the chapters III, *The different versions of the story* (pp. 7-13), IV, *Waldere* (pp. 13-23), V, *Theories of origin and development of story* (pp. 23-34), as well as by the footnotes to the text. Unfortunately our direct knowledge of the Germanic versions of the saga is scanty. Not a single line is left of the ultimate source, the supposed O.H.G. (Bavarian?) lay, whilst a lucky chance has preserved its contemporary (?), the *Hildebrand* lay; of the O.E. *Waldere* epic we possess only sixty complete alliterative lines and of the M.H.G. epic of the thirteenth century scarcely forty-six four-line strophes. Thus the door was left wide open for conjectural text-criticism and for hypotheses concerning their composition. Mr Norman, pp. 15-17, has added a new one to the *Waldere* epic, i.e., the attribution of the fragmentary speech, II, 1-10, to *Waldere* after this part had previously been allocated to *Guðhere* and to *Hagena* in succession. A simple *inquit* like *Waldere mæðelode* as reintroduction of the hero's new speech, II, 11, would form no obstacle (cf. p. 16 and note 1) to his theory, but what we really find is an elaborate 'situation'-*inquit*: 'W. spoke the brave warrior, he held in his hand the battle consolation, the sword in his grasp¹—taunted with words.' This seems to me to point against a continuation of the speech by the same person. Moreover, should we not expect II, 2 f. to run: *ðe ic eac oððe nu hæfde* (instead of *hafa*)... *zēhæded* and is it not inappropriate to praise a sword which apparently has broken as one 'than which no man has one better' (p. 17)? Thus, though appreciating Mr Norman's ingenuity, I still incline to L. Wolff's *Hagena*-hypothesis and do not consider Klaeber's argument against it as 'unanswerable' (p. 16).

In arranging the order of the two vellum folds Mr Norman follows A. Leitzmann's view, taking them as two adjacent folds (I, inner; II, outer) of a gathering (cf. the diagram on p. 2). Consequently *spil-*, the only legible writing at the end of l. 15 on I d and the *ce* opening II e are taken as forming the word *spilce*. This in connexion with the following *bæteran* gives indeed a 'perfectly adequate' second half-line to which Norman constructs a first half-line with *speord* (acc.) in alliteration with *spilce* (p. 17 and footnote to II, 4). But this is impossible on account of the form *bæteran* which could not refer to the neuter *speord* but perfectly well to its synonym *mece* (masc.). We should either have to assume the dat. or instrum. *speorde* in 1a or take *mece spilce bæteran* as 1b with an *m*-alliteration in the lost 1a (cf. footnote to II (1)). The irony is that *ce* fits *me-ce* as well as *spil-ce*.

¹ I should certainly read II, 13a: *zudbill a(on)zripe*.

As to the language of the fragment, the editor's idea (chap. II) that the scribe was a Northumbrian attempting to write 'Standard' O.E. round about 1000, but that the original dialect of the poem cannot be established, certainly deserves attention, but the reasons adduced are, owing to the scantiness of the material, hardly cogent enough to dispel the usual conception of an Anghian original and a late West Saxon copy.

In his able survey of the origin and development of the story (chap. V) Mr Norman makes a good case for a *Bavarian*-lay of the early seventh century, knowledge of which travelled to England still during that century (pp. 29, 33 f.). In view of G. Baesecke's argument about the origin of the *Hildebrandshied* (cf. *Der deutsche Abrogans*, Halle, 1930, pp. 158 ff.) and of H. de Boor's hypothesis of the East Gothic origin of the lay of the battle of the Goths and Huns and of the lay of the Burgundian tragedy in his book *Das Attilabild in Geschichte, Legende und heroischer Dichtung*, Bern, 1932, one may be led to think of Gothic origin of the *Walther* lay (cf. A. Heusler in *Hoops Reallexikon* IV, p. 477 a, § 5), its transference and possible remodelling in Bavaria in the eighth century, and its becoming known, like the *Hildebrandslied*, at Fulda or some other monastery (Wurzburg, Mainz, Echternach) peopled by A.S. monks. From thence a copy (or translation) may have been sent to an English monastery where it finally found its epic dressing with its Christian spirit (I, 23 f.; II, 25 ff.) but scanty popularity.

The conservative treatment of the text deserves full approval, the more so as the footnotes faithfully chronicle the emendations. The following remark may be permitted as regards *ætstealle*, I, 21: Guðlac, l. 150, *him to ætstealle* can hardly mean anything else but 'him to company' and thence 'to assistance'. Applying this meaning to the *Waldere* passage and taking *ōðres monnes* as ἀπὸ κοινοῦ I should translate 19b-22a: 'therefore I dreaded the fate for thee, because thou soughtest fighting too boldly in the company (for the assistance) of another man in another man's military service' (or *ƿizrædenne* dependent on *feohtan*: 'another man's battle'). The 'other man' being Attila (cf. note to I, 22), I believe, if not the whole part of Hildegyp's speech, ll. 12-22, yet at any rate ll. 18-22 refer to *Waldere*'s warring exploits in Attila's service; l. 19a *mæl ofer mearce* 'fight beyond the border' would well fit the same situation.

R. PRIEBSCH.

VIENNA.

English Mediæval Lapidaries. Edited by JOAN EVANS and MARY S. SERJEANTSON. Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 190. 1933 (for 1932). xii+205 pp. 16s.

We are already indebted to Miss Joan Evans for two works dealing with the virtues, symbolism, and magical qualities of precious stones. The present work offers the texts of seven English mediæval lapidaries,

¹ Cf. Grein's note (*Bibl. d. ags. Poesie*, II, p. 75): *zum Begleiter, zum Beistand?*, also Sweet, *Dict. of A.S.*, *ætsteall*, place (?), help (?).

the earliest being an eleventh-century manuscript in the British Museum. The remaining six manuscripts belong to the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The manuscripts are concerned primarily with the virtues of stones, and, taken as a whole, deal with a hundred and fourteen, most figuring in a late fifteenth-century manuscript in Peterborough Cathedral Library. Though this offers most information, the very short Old English Lapidary achieves the great distinction of being the oldest known vernacular lapidary in western Europe.

It is a great pity that the editors have not discovered English lapidaries between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. It is hardly likely that the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman lapidaries were left untranslated, and that the study of stones should not have been one of the cultural interests of the English-speaking people in the early Middle Ages. A most pleasing feature of the present volume is the styling of the manuscripts according to dialect or provenance, however obvious this may really have been, but the names given, Old English Lapidary, London Lapidary, Peterborough Lapidary, etc., should have been attached to the brief manuscript list on p. 1, as on p. 198, and as running headlines to all the notes, instead of the notes to MSS. A-C being headed 'Notes' (pp. 131-57), those to MSS. F-G (pp. 160-87) being given the names of the manuscripts, while those to MSS. A, D and E have no headline at all. The result is that the reader is delayed in finding notes. The volume is otherwise excellently produced, indexed, and glossaried.

DOUGLAS HAMER.

SHEFFIELD.

The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson. Edited from the earliest manuscripts and printed texts by H. HARVEY WOOD. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1933. xlix+304 pp. 12s. 6d.

Mr Wood has done well in offering us Henryson in one volume. It is also a volume with a romance behind it, the tracing of a unique copy of an edition of the *Fables* printed by Thomas Bassandyne in 1571, the existence of which was known only to a few. It was discovered in 1914 by E. Gordon Duff in York Minster Library. He communicated his discovery to the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society almost at once, but nothing was done to follow it up. When Mr Wood came across a note by the late Dr J. F. Kellas Johnstone in a copy of Beveridge's *Bibliography of Dunfermline* recording the existence of the copy, he made enquiries at York Minster. The copy had been sold to Rosenbach two years previously, but had not been re-sold, and was purchased without delay for the National Library of Scotland. It has proved a treasure, for it not only offers a better text than the 1570 edition published by John Scot, but was printed, in the main, in civilité type, the first instance of its use in England or Scotland. It thus has a value for both literary student and bibliographer.

It is not surprising that this edition should offer a better text than one printed by John Scot a year earlier, when one remembers that its

printer, Thomas Bassandyne, achieved practically a revolution in Scottish printing in the few years of his career. He not only insisted on printing his books in clear type on good paper, so different from Scot's niggardly volumes in worn-out type, but he insisted on accuracy of reproduction. His substitution of a new and better text of Henryson also suggests that he was far in advance of Scot as an editor. Doubtless his desire to produce good volumes was based on commercial rivalry, but whereas Scot, and later Ross, were under the ægis of the bookseller Henry Charteris, a burghess of considerable standing in Edinburgh, Bassandyne worked for himself. Those of us who know Bassandyne's work are not surprised at his achievement here.

His text is not perfect, of course, and Mr Wood here and there prefers an alternative reading, the reader being adequately furnished with variants from other sources. The *Testament of Cresseid*, from the 1593 edition, and *Orpheus and Eurydice*, from the Bannatyne MS. follow, succeeded in turn by the minor poems, notes, and glossary. In the notes Mr Wood naturally owes much to the edition of Henryson edited by Professor G. Gregory Smith for the Scottish Text Society, but in one or two places Mr Wood has forgotten to acknowledge his debt to his predecessor. For example, in the note to the *Fables*, line 326, Mr Wood says 'His Reynardian name is Tybert,' while Gregory Smith says 'The Reynardian name is Tybert.' Adjectives formed in this way were a characteristic of Gregory Smith's annotations, e.g., *Fables*, line 383, 'Salomonian wisdom,' and *Fables*, lines 538-9, 'Curtes, the Reynardian name for the Dog.'

Two of Mr Wood's textual emendations are unsatisfactory:

p. 95. 'As thow the pure had with thy awin hand [had] slane.' The line is now unmetrical, and is better without '[had].'

p. 206. 'With palpis quhyt, and hals [so] elegant.' This emendation is ugly. Why not simply 'hals[is]'? The stanza is addressed to the 'ladeis,' and emendation to the plural is required in this line, and in the rhymes 'reid—heid,' 'reid[is]—heid[is].'

One needed emendation has escaped Mr Wood's notice through failure to examine Lindsay more carefully. Lindsay's *Dreme* reproduces some individual lines from Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice*, and there are also verbal parallels. The matter of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, stanza 43, will be found scattered through lines 316-36 of *The Dreme*, while stanza 47 of Henryson's poem is distributed through lines 183-215 of Lindsay's poem. Compare, for example, the following lines:

Orpheus 339. 'In haly kirk quhilk did abusoun.'

Dreme 182. 'In haly kirk quhilk did abusoun.'

Orpheus 340. 'and bischopis in thair pontificall.'

Dreme 175. 'And Archebischopis in thare pontificall.'

Though the matter might be disputed, I think that 'archebischopis' were intended by both poets, being next in degree below the cardinals who have just been mentioned, leaving the prelates who follow to represent the bishops. I would therefore recommend the emendation of Henryson's line. It is possible that both poets have used a common

authority, but the above parallels suggest that Lindsay borrowed from his predecessor.

On the whole the notes are excellent, and of the kind which is always desirable. I draw attention to one note, where indeed Mr Wood may have been led astray by Gregory Smith's similar note. In *The Testament of Cresseid*, lines 187-8, Mars is described as having a 'roustie' falchion and sword. Both editors say that rusty here means 'bronze,' but Mr Wood rightly notes that iron is the metal proper to the god of war. Surely both editors are astray here. Was it not the mediæval custom not to wipe the sword clean of blood? Was not the blood allowed to remain on until it rusted the blade, as a sign of its owner's prowess? The sword of Mars is rusty through endless war.

Despite these lapses, occasional omissions from the glossary, and some inconsistencies of spelling, e.g., Kellas Johnstone (p. xx), Kellas Johnston (p. 218), Tui[t]lyeour (p. 111, line 194), Tuilyeour (p. 255), a word omitted from the glossary, this edition will be most useful. It would have been better to index the individual fables in the list of contents, and to have numbered the poems, to make the finding of notes easier.

DOUGLAS HAMER.

SHEFFIELD.

The Christian Renaissance. With Interpretations of Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe and a Note on T. S. Eliot. By G. WILSON KNIGHT. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. x+374 pp. 12s. 6d.

The reviewer of this book should be a theologian, a philosopher and a psychologist, as well as a lover of literature, and that claim cannot be made here. Yet a review may be essayed, for there is something more than a doubt whether the claim can be made, in any strict sense, for the writer. Is it advisable for a man confessing to 'small Greek, less Italian, and no German or Hebrew' to write a book dependent on the literatures of those languages—a book, too, which relates to the poetic thought of the writers considered? Is it possible to enter deeply into poetic thought without knowledge of the language which enshrines it? Professor Knight is fascinated by all that finds expression in symbolism, and says of it much that inspires thought as well as much that provokes contradiction; but can symbolism be dealt with in this simple and summary fashion, with no direct understanding of the associative value of the words in which it is conveyed? Though, it must be repeated, not a theologian, this reviewer may be allowed to point out a particular instance where Professor Knight has neglected the associative values of a phrase, where these may, as it happens, easily be ascertained. On p. 236 he points out that 'all that is natural and all that is human is loved by [Jesus], provided that it serve life. . . . Himself he is proud to call the "son of man."' Either Professor Knight does not know the meaning which that phrase conveyed to a Jew of the first century acquainted with the writings of the later prophets, or—which would be

worse—he knows and ignores it in the interests of his illustration. This, it may be said, is cavilling: the general statement is true, even if it is emphasised inaccurately. But it is significant of the book itself. Professor Knight has much to say which is new and true, but he says it without any attempt at the exact knowledge which is the aim, if not always the achievement, of the scholar: he has a poet's feeling for symbolism, but not the discipline of thought and expression which are needed to convey his feeling. His prose, indeed, is more unrestrained than Swinburne's, at its best dazzling rather than enlightening, at its worst confused and confusing. The ordinary intelligent reader, for whom rather than for any specialist he writes, is not likely to receive that clear revelation for which the author hopes. We cannot fail, however, at least to feel sympathy with Professor Knight's main object, a new synthesis between poetry and Christian doctrine.

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1475–1620. By HENRY BURROWES LATHROP. (*University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 35.) 1933. Madison, Wis.; London: H. Milford. 12s. 6d.

This study, the fruit of wide erudition and long research, should secure a permanent place among the accepted authorities upon the English Renaissance. Though supplementing Miss H. R. Palmer's *List of English Editions and Translations of the Classics*, it is no mere compilation but a broad and illuminating treatise upon the scope and character of English humanism as affected by classical studies during the sixteenth century. The followers of Caxton, the school of Erasmus, the earlier Elizabethans and the professional translators mark four successive stages of development, each of which left its influence upon philosophical and educational ideals, the conception of history and the style of poetry and prose. Close and systematic analysis of translations exposes a general imperfection in scholarship throughout the period under consideration, translators frequently working on modern foreign versions in preference to originals, displaying ignorance of Greek and very defective knowledge of Latin. The poetry of Wyatt, for instance, who is commonly regarded as a man of learning, 'does not justify crediting him with any remarkable scholarship,' while Marlowe, to judge from his versions of Ovid and Lucian, 'had never been trained out of the common but vicious practice of reading Latin by the stems and putting the words together without worrying about the endings.' Disproportion and limitation in scholarship are further displayed in a general preference of inferior writers—miscellanists, rhetoricians, romancers—to the greater classics, a defect which was not adequately rectified until the age of 'professional' translators such as Chapman and Philemon Holland. In these respects Professor Lathrop rightly emphasises the reaction of classic culture against Protestant ethic and the consequent tardiness of humanism in England as compared with its progress in Italy and France.

His book is not only a solid contribution to learning on the historical and critical sides but an invaluable anthology of little-known texts, many of which have not previously been reprinted despite their intrinsic value or secondary interest as formative influences upon English style. If he startles us occasionally, in claiming due recognition of forgotten pioneers, —as in his judgment of Billingsley's *Euclid*, 'all things considered the most remarkable of all the translations of the period'—he has his evidence ready at hand. At the same time judicious excerpts from more familiar translators such as Golding, North, Chapman and Holland, illuminated by succinct and telling comment, add much to our knowledge of their comparative value, their methods and influence. The book, by its very nature, is one for specialists; but the general reader also will find here matter for instruction and even for entertainment if only in the author's side-thrusts and summings up: 'Most conscientious, most diligent, and most stupid of translators was Robert Whytinton, "laureat poete."' This laborious schoolmasterly person had enormous loquacity and the best will in the world, enough Latin to write grammatical verses that scan to the finger, good confidence, and a grave Dogberry mind' (p. 56); 'And if they were fairly dry and dull, had they not a good example, for is not Isocrates the most respectable bore in classic literature?' (p. 44).

Omissions are few, and of comparatively slight importance. The version of *Iphigenia in Aulis* by Erasmus is noted on p. 141, but no mention is made of the English translation by Lady Lumley, which removes from Gascoigne's *Jocasta* the distinction of being 'the only English translation coming however remotely from a Greek play' during this period. In view of Professor Lathrop's wide interpretation of his subject it is curious that he should also have omitted to mention Lyly's *Euphues and his Ephæbus*, translated from Plutarch's *De Educatione*. In the summary estimate of the influence of Latin upon English poetry (p. 305) more might have been made of the debt of Marlowe and his contemporaries to Ovid. These are but trifles in a work distinguished throughout by first-rate scholarship, and deserving gratitude from all students of the subject.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

LONDON.

The Works of Edmund Spenser. A Variorum Edition. Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW, CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD, and FREDERICK MORGAN PADLORD. *The Faerie Queene, Book II.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press; London: H. Milford. 27s.

Special interest attaches to the second volume of the new Variorum Spenser from the fact that the late Professor Greenlaw, having completed his plan for the edition, selected Book II of *The Faerie Queene* for his sole editorial responsibility. At the time of his death more than half of his comments had been collected by his assistants, Dr Ernest A. Strathmann and Mr Ray Heffner, who have completed the remainder so far as possible in accordance with his intentions. The text of the present

volume is the joint work of Professor Padelford, Dr J. G. McManaway and Mr Heffner, who have followed the editors of vol. I in adopting as their basis the 1596 edition, collated with variant readings from the 1590 and other texts supplied by Professor Osgood, Professor R. G. Ham and Mr F. R. Johnson. The general superiority of the 1596 text to its predecessor justifies a fairly rigid adherence to its readings, even to somewhat arbitrary changes in spelling and punctuation where the first edition is as acceptable as the second if not more so. In a few cases of verbal discrepancies, however, where the 1596 reading is consistently followed it may be questioned whether that of 1590, adopted by most of the later editors, is not preferable. Clear instances occur in c. I, st. xlv, l. 6 (1590 'avenging,' 1596 'revenging'), II, xl, 5 (1590 'peaceably,' 1596 'peaceable'), and x, xv, 9 (1590 'munificence,' 1596 'munifice'). The retention of the reading 'So, he them' in v, xxxiv, 8, common to the editions of 1590 and 1596 but corrected in 1609, spoils the verse of the line, and the parallel cited on p. 509 from XII, lxxv, 5 is scarcely convincing. On the other hand 'vaine' in III, iv, 5 (1596), adopted by all the earlier editors in place of 'he' (1590), gives a typical Spenserian play on words, as pointed out by the Oxford editors; and the inversion of 'So long' (VII, ii, 6) into 'Long so' has only the authority of 1590 copies. In these cases it was surely unnecessary for the present editors to depart from their basic text.

The legend of Temperance offers a number of problems and peculiar points of interest to the source-hunter and the Variorum editor. Guyon's Odyssey, culminating in the assault upon the Bower of Bliss, is a far travelled tale with analogues perhaps more widely diffused than those of any other book of *The Faerie Queene*. The Castle of Alma has pre-occupied imitators and critics—the latter to the extremes of admiration and disgust—since Fletcher wrote *The Purple Island*, and Sir Kenelm Digby his learned *Observations*. The book opens with a tribute to the 'hardy enterprize' of voyagers, whose records have unmistakably influenced the tale of adventure which it enshrines; its finale is introduced by 'A chronicle of Briton kings.' The House of Temperance, together with the whole legend to which it belongs, offers the best occasion for appraising Spenser's fidelity to the acknowledged source of his ethical philosophy and his liberal interpretation of 'the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised.' On all such topics two centuries of industry and ingenuity have been exercised, so it is not surprising that the present editors should have called into requisition so many authorities unutilised in their first volume, as shown by the new bibliography which includes some seventy-odd entries. Among these, apart from works or notices that have appeared since the completion of the first volume, it is interesting to see mentioned C. L. Falkner's *Spenser in Ireland* (*Edinburgh Review*, cci, 1905), Professor Greenlaw's illuminating articles upon Spenser's use of myth and allegory (*Studies in Philology*, 1917 and 1923), Miss Harper's monograph on Spenser's use of British Chronicle History (1910), Professor Legouis' *Spenser* (1926), Professor Padelford's paper on 'The Virtue of Temperance in *The Faerie Queene*' (*Studies in*

Philology, 1921), Professor Saurat's *Les Idées Philosophiques de Spenser* (1930) and Miss Lois Whitney's article on Spenser's use of Travel literature (*Modern Philology*, 1921).

The Appendices follow the same plan as in the first volume, dealing with the date of composition, the historical and moral allegories, sources, and specific themes arising from the legend of Temperance—Spenser and Milton, the Castle of the Body, Elizabethan psychology. In these sections the eclectic structure of a Variorum edition necessarily appears to better advantage than in the running commentary on the text, where the obvious difficulty lies in compressing available material. The commentary in the present edition might have been curtailed with advantage. The reader who attempts to make his way through the notes to II. xlv, III. iv ff., IV. iv, VIII. xx and the general comments upon cantos VII, X and XII—to mention only a few instances—may easily be wearied and bewildered by diffuse exposition and citation that has little immediate bearing upon the matter in hand; he may turn with relief to the editor's succinct summings up of his authorities and wish there were more of this. A century and a quarter has passed since Todd produced his Variorum Spenser; and one conclusion at least that evolves from an examination of the present commentary is the lasting debt owed by every reader and editor of Spenser to that monumental work and its contributors, whose references and comments still hold their place notwithstanding the researches of later investigators. The new Variorum serves its purpose in assembling vast stores of material hitherto widely dispersed and not generally accessible. If tares occasionally obtrude themselves this is a risk inevitably attendant upon the eclectic method of editing and amply compensated by a copious store of sound criticism and scholarship.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

LONDON.

Shakespeare-Jahrbuch, vol. LXIX. Edited for the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft by WOLFGANG KELLER and HANS HECHT. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 1933. 242 pp. Geheftet RM. 8, gebunden RM. 10.

Professor Hans Hecht has joined Professor Keller on the editorial board of this annual publication in which the fruits of German Shakespeare study continue to prove its ardour and utility. The present volume shows clearly the trend of recent German thought reflected into the world of literature from other fields. German criticism has always been inclined to lay stress upon the moral and philosophical aspects of Shakespeare's plays, and in several essays we see here the same tendency to apply interpretative methods in this direction. Professor Max Deutschbein, in his ceremonial address upon *Individuum und Kosmos in Shakespeares Werken*, argues that the dramatist's outlook upon life was inspired by ideals common to the Germanic peoples, now revived of late in Germany. Hamlet himself is the greatest revelation not only of Shakespeare's own mind, but also of the 'heroic-German' spirit which is rooted in 'Pantragismus,' a concept which sees the true fulfilment

of human life in heroic death in defence of an ideal. And the same theme finds its place in Martin Luserke's article on *Shakespeare und das heutige deutsche Laienspiel*: Shakespeare is 'deutscher als unsere eigenen Klassiker.' So also Wilhelm Dilthey's discussion, in *Die Technik des Dramas*, of Freytag's theories points a similar moral, that the Germanic idea of the drama is based on a concept of cosmic order, in which the individual is of minor importance. Gerhart Gohler, again, in a long and thoroughgoing article upon the staging of *Cymbeline* in the modern theatre, illustrated with a diagram for sets on a revolving stage, bases his production upon an interpretative concept of the play, linking it up with heroic ideals breaking away from the individualism of the Southern Renaissance. In general, we see Shakespeare as a representative of Elizabethan England, devoted to ideals of honour and loyalty, and to its idolised 'leader,' Elizabeth.

A second article devoted to stage-technique is Torsten Hecht's *Shakespeare und das Problem der Raumbühne*. J. W. Draper writes upon *Shakespeare's Rustic Servants*, and George Fröhberg upon Restoration performances of Elizabethan plays, in original form or adapted.

Valuable reviews of current Shakespeare criticism, and the annual survey of German performances of Shakespeare's plays by Dr Jürgen Weisker, complete a handsome volume. Dr Egon Mühlbach's statistics show a marked decrease in performances in 1932-3 as compared with the previous year, a decrease which Dr Weisker attributes in part to the Goethe Centenary, and in part to the revolution which demanded of the theatre more urgent services in the national cause and ensured the diminution of foreign elements in the German theatre. It is interesting to note that the most frequent performances were of comedies, *The Shrew*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Twelfth Night*, and *The Merchant of Venice*, in that order, all well exceeding the hundred, followed by *Hamlet* with 90 and *Othello* with 77, and at the end of the list *Richard II*, with a single performance. Wireless broadcasts of Shakespeare showed an equal diminution during the year.

The President of the Society, Professor Werner Deetjen, comments upon the serious falling off in its membership, and hints at the consequent difficulty in maintaining the *Jahrbuch*. We may hope that improvement in the economic and political situation will solve this problem, for Shakespeare study owes too much to the Society and its *Jahrbuch* to view with equanimity any such loss to international scholarship.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

Spiritualismus und Sensualismus in der englischen Barocklyrik. Von WERNER P. FRIEDERICH. (*Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, LVII. Band.) Wien: W. Braumüller. 1932. 14 M.

'Art is never Baroque, and Baroque is never art,' declared Croce, but an important school of thought throughout Europe has arisen to disagree with this hard verdict. In Germany, especially, where the revival

is strongest, there is no lack of critics who will prove that English literature between Donne and Dryden had much more in common with the general movement on the Continent than has been acknowledged. Such works as W. F. Schirmer's *Die geistesgeschichtlichen Grundlagen der englischen Barockliteratur*, H. Schoffler's *Protestantismus und Literatur*, F. Strich's *Der lyrische Stil des 17. Jahrhunderts*, and F. Brie's *Englische Rokoko-Epik*, have not received in this country the attention they deserve. We may decline to regard (with Miss Helene Richter) the mingling of comedy and tragedy in Shakespeare as 'das Barocke,' and we may desire to modify Werner Weisbach's similar view of Hamlet's mind; but Dr Friederich's study on the whole achieves its purpose and deserves a place below H. J. C. Grierson's *Cross-currents* and M. Praz's *Secentismo e Marinismo*.

Dr Friederich's working definition of Baroque is 'die Gespaltenheit zwischen Ovid'schem Paganismus und mittelalterlicher Gottesfurcht,' and he sets out to trace, in the first half of the seventeenth century, a 'krasse Polarität zwischen Spiritualismus und Sensualismus.'

His method is over-simple. He takes seven poets, Donne, Herrick, Vaughan, Herbert, Crashaw, Carew, Suckling and accumulates passages from them all to illustrate community of theme, attitude and style. Carew and Suckling were chosen as typical Cavalier poets, Herbert and Crashaw as predominantly religious; while Donne and Herrick were taken together with Vaughan because 'sie beide Richtungen verkörpern und die Barockspannung zwischen Genuss und Entsagung in ihren Werken sehr stark zum Ausdruck kommt.' It is strange to find Herrick and Donne quoted largely in support of one another. Though he keeps the individuality of his examples clear, Dr Friederich loses much by treating all his poets so frequently *en masse*, without regard to chronology or the several movements to which they belonged. Little is told of the classical, Jonsonian, and Spenserian influences in the age. But in spite of a certain loss of proportion the arrangement of the book allows a bird's eye view of the common stock of ideas used by the 'Metaphysical' poets.

In the first part, 'Sensualismus,' the 'last vestiges' of Platonic idealism are all too briefly dismissed to make room for examples of anti-Petrarchian wit, compliment, moods of passion and perversion. The modes of erotic cynicism are well analysed, as well as the several forms of epicureanism. Turning to 'Spiritualismus,' Dr Friederich examines with a wealth of illustration the seventeenth-century preoccupation with sin, death, and damnation, touching on such themes as the problem of Whence and Whither, *Vanitas vanitatum*, the mystical way. In a third section he deals with the effects of the baroque antithesis as shown in the substance of the poetry. This is the least satisfactory part of the work, for instead of turning back, as he might well have done, to reveal beneath the externality of his previous illustrations the perpetual presence of a divided soul, giving to the flesh its bitter-sweet and to the spirit its variable ardours, he devotes most of his space to the ways of escape, to the cult of nature (shown in such poems as Herrick's *The Country Life*)

and to the cult of the inner life (whether through stoicism or religious conversion). This is interesting, but it obscures the central crux; for most of these men there was no way of escape; sense and spirit were not so much alternate as confused; Dr Friederich recognises it, but his arrangement fails to make plain, much less to explain, the complexity of individual minds, moods, and poems. His last section, however, in which the effects on style are treated with a wealth of detail and illustration, is perhaps the best general account of metaphysical technique now available. As an elementary survey the book is to be commended.

G. BULLOUGH.

SHEFFIELD.

The Clubs of Augustan London. By ROBERT J. ALLEN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. Pp. xii+305. 12s. 6d.

The eighteenth century was sociable by habit; and it was bitterly partisan. Civic life was better ordered, and far more sophisticated than it had been. In this atmosphere clubs and societies, still an English outcrop, sprang up apace. The story of London clubs, from their uncertain beginnings to the great institutions of our own day, has been variously told. Mr Allen is not breaking new ground. He confines himself, however, to the days of Dryden, Swift and Pope; and his interest is in the literary story of the societies he describes. But, as nearly every man-of-letters in the days of Queen Anne ranged himself with one faction in the state or the other, politics play a large part in the narrative of the rise and fall of Augustan clubs. The social distinction of the Kit-Cat was off-set by the squirearchy of the October Club or the middle-class character of the Mug-House. But by politics they were supported and divided.

The interest, hostile or friendly, displayed in coteries and clubs, in the days of Anne and the first Georges, is strikingly exemplified in numberless newspaper allusions and a mass of pamphlet literature. Mr Allen is to be commended for the industry with which he has ransacked contemporary news-sheets, lampoons, squibs, and more serious pamphlets for the material of his narrative. He has preserved the atmosphere of his period; and he has something new to say of societies even so well-known as the Kit-Cat or Swift's Brothers. If anything his pages are too crowded; and, possibly in consequence of this congestion, the humour of the story is a little lost. A bibliographical summary, also, would not have been out of place; but perhaps Mr Allen found a difficulty in compressing it within reasonable limits.

Whatever the professed objects of the societies of which Mr Allen treats, their informal character differentiates them from clubs as we conceive them to-day. The tavern and the coffee house, open to non-members, were their ordinary meeting-places, and convivial habits the bond of union. White's, the oldest surviving London club, was an exception to the rule. Even within Mr Allen's period it had transformed itself,

on a foundation of social exclusiveness, into a society with a home of its own and a ballot membership. Others came and went, dying with the death or indifference of their founders, or the disappearance of objects for which they were formed. The fame of Will's Coffee House and its notable gathering of wits centres in Dryden. After his death its prestige sank; and, as Steele wrote, packs of cards in the hand took the place of 'songs, epigrams, and satires.'

Mr Allen distinguishes his clubs by their character—those appealing to the man about town; fictitious clubs invented for satiric or other purposes; clubs which, as literary devices, conveniently framed periodicals, as, for example, Dunton's Athenian Society, Defoe's Scandalous Club, or the better known club groundwork of *The Spectator*, and authors' clubs. The distinctions are not always easily maintained. Some clubs appear in more than one chapter; others stray into curious company. Why are the Society of Antiquaries and Society of Dilettanti, very real bodies, briefly passed over in a section devoted to phantom societies? But every chronicler knows the difficulties besetting arrangement and omission.

Mr Allen has written a well-ordered and scholarly book, illustrated with a wealth of contemporary reference. He knows his period and is well read in it. A few statements are at fault, or open to question. He remarks, for example, on p. 267, that when Swift finally returned to Ireland in 1727 he had finished the business of his *Miscellanies* with Pope. This is not true even of the 1727-8 volumes; and there was a further volume in 1732. But this, and one or two minor inaccuracies, do not affect the value of Mr Allen's investigations and the very readable form in which he has cast them.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

ASPENDEN, HERTFORDSHIRE.

Wordsworth and Reed. The Poet's Correspondence with his American Editor: 1836-1850, and Henry Reed's Account of his Reception at Rydal Mount, London and Elsewhere in 1854. Edited by LESLIE NATHAN BROUGHTON. (*Cornell Studies in English*, xxi.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. xviii+290 pp. 16s.

Mr Broughton's careful edition of the Wordsworth-Reed correspondence provides us with further evidence of the iniquities of Knight. Was there ever an editor who took greater liberties with his text and had a surer instinct for omitting the passages of greatest interest? The letters of Wordsworth on pp. 13-15 and 56-7 of this volume provide illustrations of Knight's inexcusable handling of his material. There is not in most of these letters, as Mr Broughton recognises, any matter of great Wordsworthian importance, though they are not valueless: Wordsworth's own letters are usually brief and businesslike, in contrast to the rather florid style of his correspondent, but there are some exceptions. It is hardly correct to say, as Mr Broughton says (p. xii), that 'in this

correspondence we cannot escape the impression that the world at last was too much with him'; Wordsworth's anxiety about the financial operations of the States of the Union was altruistic, and it did not exclusively occupy his mind. Reed comes out well both in the correspondence with Wordsworth and in the later letters, full of frank enjoyment, in which he describes his experiences in England in 1854. One amusing piece of additional exegesis may be given here: 'Winifrid Anne' (p. 272) is the calf mentioned on p. 369. A member of the Hutchinson family tells me that all the cows of that breed, of which their owner was exceedingly proud, were called Winifrid, and it was a compliment to Miss Bronson, received as it was intended, to add the name of Anne. Mrs Reed's letters, which are included in an Appendix, complete the picture of friendly courtesy and hospitality given by her husband's of twenty years earlier.

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

Swinburne's Literary Career and Fame. By CLYDE KENNETH HYDER. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press; Cambridge: University Press. 1933. xii+388 pp. 16s. 6d.

A great deal of industry and enthusiasm, and an unflagging attention to detail have gone to the making of this book. Drawing a fine net through the ocean of English and American periodical and other literature of the last seventy years, Professor Hyder has secured a remarkable catch, big fish, little fish, and quantities of seaweed, and has obviously enjoyed the task of arranging it all in his museum. His *Bibliography* could be considerably extended from his own *Notes*, but even in its 'selective' condition it occupies no less than forty-five pages. Anyone who wishes to know what was being said about Swinburne between his first appearance and 1932, whether by recognised men of letters or by what the author calls the *criticules* and *criticasters* of the time, may apply to this book without fear of disappointment. (It is not easy to think of omissions, but perhaps it is surprising that Hardy is passed over so briefly, p. 247. He and Swinburne took pleasure in regarding themselves as the two most abused of contemporary writers. His expressions of disgust about the Swinburne obituary notices might have been quoted; and in so full an anthology of abuse the well-known remark of a Scottish journalist deserved a place—'Swinburne planteth, Hardy watereth, and Satan giveth the increase.') Students of the poet will no doubt find a good deal to interest and sometimes to amuse them in the new information here offered about Swinburne's public friends and enemies. On the other hand a continuous reading of so many opinions is a little overwhelming, and though there are plenty of newly discovered facts, they do not altogether justify the publishers in claiming that 'new light' has been thrown on 'both the man and the age.' Earlier writers who have generally 'been content to mention John Morley's attack on *Poems and Ballads*' are perhaps justified by the monotony of other attacks. *Ex uno disce omnes*—or nearly so. *The Pall Mall Gazette* thought *Poems*

and *Ballads* 'full of a mad and miserable indecency'; *The Scottish Review* wanted to know who could choose Dolores 'for the mother of his children'; the information is new but not surprising. Swinburne's own outbursts of vituperation are more amusing—there are fresh examples here, but very like the old. There is very little attempt at a critical analysis of the facts collected. Possibly the growth of Swinburne's reputation might have been correlated with the transformation of contemporary critical standards. If Wilde and George Moore delighted in what Morley had so signally condemned, the contrast is to be explained not only by the passage of time and the difference of persons, but also by the emergence of that 'aestheticism' for the development of which in England Swinburne himself had been partly responsible. It was no doubt unjust that he should have been made 'a target for part of the attacks aimed at the so-called æsthetic movement,' but there was just enough family likeness to make it inevitable. Professor Hyder strangely finds a natural affinity between Swinburne and Pater; the context (pp. 100-1) leads one to suspect that the real source of this impression lies in their common indebtedness to the French literature of their age; as A. J. Farmer has shown, the famous description of the Mona Lisa has wider roots than in 'poems like *Dolores*.' It would be unreasonable to add that among so many very positive opinions about Swinburne and his work expressed in this book, the author's remain very vague and inconclusive. If criticism is not his strength, neither is it his aim, and it might have been better to omit even the few deviations into personal comment which from time to time occur. Professor Hyder set out rather to record the facts than the significance of Swinburne's reception, and this he has done so thoroughly that it will certainly never need to be done again.

ROSS D. WALLER.

MANCHESTER.

Bernard Shaw et la France. Par MINA MOORE. Paris: H. Champion. 1933. 220 pp. 35 fr.

In a personal interview which Mr G. B. Shaw gave to Dr Mina Moore in 1931 he displayed considerable interest in her intention to study the influence on his works of the thought and style of the writers of a country for which he had always professed indifference. The interest was justified, for Dr Moore has produced from an apparently unpromising and over-specialised subject a dissertation that is exhaustive in its information, eminently sane and impartial in its criticisms, and, thanks to Mr Shaw's helpfulness in his interview, entertaining in its Shavian reminiscences. These last she wisely includes, however slight their bearing on the main theme; as, for instance, the incident at a dinner in Paris in 1890, when Sidney Webb puckishly assured the company that Shaw was en route for Oberammergau to play the rôle of Christ, or that of the landlady of a French country inn who, her curiosity aroused by Shaw's vegetarianism, solemnly asked his wife if he were a good husband.

Dr Moore's work falls naturally into three chapters. In the first she discusses Shaw's knowledge of the French language, which she concludes

to be slight; of the French national character, which is prejudiced; and of French art, literature and science, which is considerable but only rarely appreciative. She believes, however, that he benefited from the example of the plays of Molière and Dumas, the brilliant and trenchant utterance of Voltaire, the concision of Maupassant and the sociology of Brieux. The second chapter deals acutely with his treatment of themes from French history, notably in *Saint Joan* and *The Man of Destiny*. To the impartiality of Shaw's conception of Joan's character Dr Moore pays tribute, but she shows from a detailed study of the historical literature concerning the saint that, owing to Shaw's deliberate restriction of his reading of sources to Murray's translation of Quicherat, it is highly improbable that the play will live for its truth to history. Nor does she find much of permanent value in Shaw's many pronouncements on Napoleon, whether in *The Man of Destiny* or elsewhere. Her last chapter traces the course of Shaw's fortunes in France with the critics and the theatre-going public. From a sound analysis of the spirit of his plays, of their social and political ideas and of their literary form, she shows that the coldness of his reception is due not to any conspiracy against him, but mainly to the fact that where his ideas are not of merely insular application they either present no great originality or they are wholly repugnant to French tradition and sentiment. Moreover, the suppression of 'love interest' in favour of abstract philosophising presented in complex debates which, however prolonged, never reach a dramatic conclusion, is not agreeable to present-day French tastes. Finally, there is the obstacle of the poor dramatic quality of the authorised translation, Shaw having preferred orthodox Marxism to a sound knowledge of English or an acquaintance with the theatre on his translator's part. Not only does Shaw's dialogue lose its brilliancy and verve in the course of translation, but there creep in such schoolboy 'howlers' as the rendering of 'he sits down in dudgeon' by 'il s'assied dans le donjon.'

Dr Moore has said all that need be said on Shaw's relations with France, and she has said it well. In addition she has contributed sound critiques of those works to which her subject has led her to pay particular attention. The standard of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée* is worthily maintained in this its ninety-seventh volume.

F. E. BUDD.

LONDON.

Harrap's Standard French and English Dictionary. Edited by J. E. MANSION. Part I: French-English. London: Harrap. 1934. 912 pp. 42s.

As a nation we began well in French dictionary making. But the example set in 1611 by Randall Cotgrave was not well followed up. Somehow the required alliance between the erudite and the publishers was not effected. Generation after generation, our would-be French scholars were left to make what shift they could with French-English and English-French dictionaries notoriously inadequate. Consultation

of the dictionary, that humble necessary process in all language learning, was, as regards French, attended by irritating difficulties, and therefore very generally neglected. Who shall compute the resulting damage, to cordiality as to understanding, to linguistic scholarship as to literary, the monstrous total of positive error, subtle misrepresentation, false values, detestable translations? In recent times the gap between dictionary lore and living French and English usage was being reduced by the efforts of individual scholars, lexicography was gaining on her nimble quarry, when suddenly a wild rush of new words and new meanings (Great War, Motoring for All, Wireless, Cinema, etc.) seemed to render pursuit and capture more hopeless than ever.

It is therefore with both surprise and pleasure that we find ourselves able to report that capture has been effected, early in 1934. There is at last an adequate French-English dictionary, exact, complete, up-to-date—in so far as such terms are applicable to the lexicography of modern languages. This happy result we owe to the vision, the learning and the patient industry of Mr J. E. Mansion, aided by destiny (which made him as nearly bilingual as man may be)—and by Messrs Harrap (who gave him the opportunity, the time and the collaborators to bring so vast an undertaking to so triumphant a conclusion).

His French-English dictionary, to be followed soon by the English-French companion volume, is sound and ample, nobly planned, admirably printed. The various senses of a French word are clearly grouped and accompanied by excellent English renderings and illustrative phrases which leave no doubt as to its proper use, its literary or its social standing, and are themselves of considerable interest and utility. Dependent constructions, prepositions, conjunctions, receive scholarly and illuminating treatment (e.g., *que*, *conj.*). Proper names are, rightly, incorporated in the text (*Macaire*, Robert), including names of inhabitants of towns (*Bisontin*, *Stéphanois*, etc.). It is the sort of dictionary which one may not only consult with the certainty of finding one's quest, but browse in. It contains all the material that the most inquisitive reader of French can reasonably expect: stock phrases, hard words, rare words, ultra-modern words (down to *resquilleur*, gate-crasher), familiar conversational phrases in their perhaps less familiar spelling (*piquer un fard*), all with their best contemporary English equivalents (*Il est flambé*, His number is up; *Sois chic*, Be a sport; *système D*=*débrouille-toi*, resourcefulness, wangling), and all with their proper pronunciation (*hall* [*al*], hotel lounge).

In the belief that an honest reviewer tempers praise with blame, we devoted many days to a vain search for errors of omission or commission. Etymologies, it is true, are omitted, but wisely, we think, as being beyond the scheme of the work, which is essentially practical. Some sacrifice is made of terms which are purely historical, e.g., *abbé au petit collet*. The concessions to Mrs Grundy are generous, yet not excessive. In any dictionary some omissions are inevitable, unless it is to become so unwieldy as to defeat its own purpose. Within the wide limits laid down in the editor's preface we found his dictionary *complete*.

To all the multifarious questions, queries and conundrums which a professional teacher of French collects in the course of his daily avocations, it returned a correct, sometimes a crushing answer. We had the greatest difficulty in discovering useful additions to the forthcoming reprint, such as: *abyssin*, *attesté* in the sense of 'recorded,' *bois des îles*, *duperie* = 'credulity,' 'gullibility,' *pourtour* (of a photograph), and the phrases *mettre une certaine coquetterie*, *avoir le pied à l'étrier*, *purger sa peine*, *vieillir en beauté*. We are not quite sure that *un marabout* is 'a hot-water jug' and look for further enlightenment, under the (mysterious) word Kettle, in the companion volume. We doubt whether *officier de santé* is 'officer of health.'

But few indeed, and trifling, were the faults we could find. The fact soon became plain that with the publication of this dictionary French studies in England enter on a new era. Henceforth those who 'want to know' what a French speaker or writer really does mean, what exactly is the sense, the force, the quality of his words and phrases, will have at their disposal a handy, unfailing, extraordinarily precise *instrument de travail*. Those who wish to join the fraternity of accomplished and up-to-date French scholars will now have to pay an entrance fee of two guineas (five, next year) and familiarise themselves with the book of words.

R. L. G. RITCHIE.

BIRMINGHAM.

Three French Dramatists: Racine, Marivaux, Musset. By ARTHUR TILLEY. Cambridge: University Press. 1933. ix+206 pp. 12s. 6d.

When a man of really deep scholarship, gifted also with a style full of grace and charm, produces a work of popular exposition the result will almost certainly be a book that is a delight to read. In what he himself calls a 'rapid review' Dr Tilley makes a survey of the plays of these three great analysts of human passion and character who 'may be said to follow one another in spiritual succession, for Marivaux has been rightly called the disciple of Racine and Musset has learnt more than one lesson from Marivaux.' He does not, however, enter upon a long comparison between the psychology, technique and style of the three playwrights—that would almost inevitably have given his book the ponderous character of a treatise on comparative literature—but the many points of similarity are rather implicit in the similar methods of criticism brought to bear on the plays of each of the three. No demands are made upon the reader by parallel passages and confrontations, but after reading the three essays one cannot fail to grasp the nature of that 'spiritual relationship' between Racine, Marivaux and Musset, and see its various manifestations in the plays.

The biographical matter is reduced to the minimum needed for an understanding of the turn of mind of each writer as reflected in his work, and in each essay by far the most important part is a series of studies of the plays themselves with penetrating analyses of the principal characters and their reactions upon each other. These studies of the

plays, then, form the main substance of the book, and those of the tragedies of Racine are models of exposition and psychological observation in which, although no relevant point is missed, there is no unnecessary display of erudition or of that exaggerated subtlety with which some commentators of Racine obscure the main outline. Some of the character sketches from Marivaux are done with a delicacy of touch worthy of the master himself, and indeed this section of the book is wholly admirable. The chapter on Musset is not quite so successful. It opens with a very just estimate of what Musset owed to Marivaux, particularly in the matter of dialogue, and to Shakespeare—Musset was caught up by the vogue for Shakespeare which came over the young French Romantics on the occasion of the season in Paris of Kemble, Kean and Macready in 1827–8. Dr Tilley then gives a very long analysis of *Lorenzaccio* in which the elements of criticism and discussion of plot and character and Shakespearean influence are somewhat confusingly mingled. But his treatment of later plays, notably of *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*, is excellent.

One is grateful that throughout the book the many quotations from these three masters of exquisite dialogue are left in the original French. But it is unfortunate that the misprint *pas* instead of *par* on page 11 turns a couplet from *Bérénice* into nonsense. Also the date of the death of Mlle du Parc is erroneously given as 1688 (p. 21) and, much more serious, that of the production of *Phèdre* is given on p. 53 as 1667 instead of 1676. These, however, are but details. This book, scholarly and critical, but extremely interesting and readable, should be equally valuable to the layman seeking an introduction to the plays of Racine, Marivaux and Musset and to the student who knows his texts but, in order to read more intelligently, needs the help of an experienced and sympathetic guide.

L. W. TANCOCK.

LONDON.

La France de la Restauration d'après les visiteurs anglais, de la première abdication de Napoléon à sa mort (1814–1821). By MARCEL MORAUD. Paris: H. Champion. 1933. 25 fr.

Le livre de M. Moraud se range dans la catégorie des ouvrages, assez nombreux au cours des dernières années, qui ont été consacrés à l'histoire des relations anglo-françaises sous la Restauration. Il utilise les témoignages de visiteurs anglais qui affluèrent en France après la fin des guerres napoléoniennes. Il comprend six chapitres dont les deux premiers résument les impressions des voyageurs britanniques avant et après Waterloo, de 1814 à 1817. Le chapitre suivant a pour sujet l'émigration anglaise en France, et les trois derniers nous disent comment cette nation a été jugée au point de vue intellectuel, quel accueil elle a fait aux récits des voyageurs qui suscitent de légitimes protestations, enfin de quelle manière l'Angleterre a réagi d'elle-même contre les exagérations ou la mauvaise foi de la plupart de ces récits: peu à peu elle devient, à l'égard

de la France, plus capable de curiosité désintéressée et d'attention sympathique.

Il faut remarquer que les visiteurs de la Seconde Restauration sont fort inférieurs à ceux de 1814 et des débuts de 1815. Du domaine de l'observation où excellaient leurs devanciers, ils tombent dans celui du commentaire moral. Jusque vers 1817, ils ne se contentent pas de décrire les campagnes et les monuments de Paris; la France, tant honnie depuis le début du siècle, devient pour eux un champ d'études psychologiques, une matière à homélies, un 'exemple.'

De tous leurs écrits, le plus notable est celui de John Scott, intitulé: *Tableau des conditions morales, politiques, intellectuelles et sociales dans la capitale française*. Ce journaliste qui dirigea pendant quelque temps le *London Magazine* donna le ton à ses compatriotes et leur enseigna ce que tout Anglais devait savoir de la France. Celle-ci était représentée comme un pays manquant d'assise et de sincérité, capricieux à la fois et féroce, inapte aux grandes créations littéraires, où la corruption des mœurs était sans pareille. Il y avait positivement péril à lui faire confiance.

Les jérémiades de Scott et de ses émules eurent un fâcheux effet sur l'opinion publique en Grande-Bretagne. Des conservateurs s'émurent, et, au début de 1818, Lord Stanhope déclara à la Chambre des Pairs qu'il fallait dompter les passions malfaisantes d'un peuple reconnu incorrigible; pour cela on devait bien se garder de retirer trop tôt les troupes alliées qui occupaient encore le territoire français. Une telle déclaration blessa profondément les Français dont l'endurance avait des limites. Un peu plus tôt Lady Morgan avait indigné les royalistes par sa condamnation de l'Ancien Régime, et les libéraux, restés fidèles à l'idéal classique en littérature, par ses violentes attaques contre les écrivains du grand siècle.

'Après en avoir jusqu'à un certain point été victimes,' écrit M. Moraud, 'les revues anglaises arrivent à percer à jour la fatuité, l'ignorance et la présomption des moralistes intransigeants et insulaires de leur pays, et s'en détournent. A partir de 1818, ce n'est plus aux voyageurs mais bien à des correspondants à demeure, soit attitrés, soit occasionnels que les grandes revues d'Outre-Manche demanderont, sur notre vie politique, sociale et mondaine, les renseignements qu'elles avaient jusqu'alors tirés des journaux de voyage. Elles feront elles-mêmes un très louable effort pour aborder notre littérature et essayer de la comprendre.'

Dès 1820 les relations s'améliorent graduellement entre les deux pays: les esprits évoluent à peu près dans le même sens, et l'on voit, de chaque côté de la Manche, grandir une opposition libérale.

Les vitupérations de leurs compatriotes n'avaient pas empêché d'ailleurs d'innombrables Anglais de se fixer en France où l'existence devait avoir pour eux quelque agrément: d'après le *Blackwood's Magazine*, on comptait à l'automne de 1817 60,000 Anglais installés à demeure en France, et à Paris seulement il y avait jusqu'à 1,500 familles anglaises.

Et enfin tous les voyageurs britanniques n'étaient pas hostiles à l'esprit nouveau et à l'état de choses issus de la période révolutionnaire et

napoléonienne. Peut-être M. Moraud n'y a-t-il pas assez insisté. Il ne manque pas de citer les célèbres *Lettres* de Hobhouse et les observations de Birkbeck qui avait fait une enquête impartiale sur la condition des classes agricoles. Mais la prospérité dont jouissait la France, l'activité intellectuelle dont elle faisait preuve, ses heureux efforts d'émancipation dans beaucoup de domaines avaient frappé d'autres témoins, aussi perspicaces que Birkbeck. M. Moraud aurait eu avantage à se servir d'un livre comme celui de Frye¹ pour corriger les sévères appréciations de voyageurs souvent plus riches de préjugés que de connaissances.

JULES DECHAMPS.

LONDON.

Les écrits de langue française en Louisiane au XIX^e siècle. By EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER. Paris: Champion. 1932. 502 pp. 50 francs.

Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana. By EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER. Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society. 1933. 126 pp.

Les deux volumes de Mr Edward Larocque Tinker constituent un apport des plus intéressants à l'histoire des rapports intellectuels entre la France et l'Amérique du Nord. Ils nous donnent une étude approfondie du mouvement littéraire français en Louisiane à l'époque où ce mouvement atteint son apogée (1820-1861) et dans la dernière partie du XIX^e siècle, ce qui revient, en somme, à une étude complète du sujet puisque les premiers écrits littéraires, dus à un Français en Louisiane, datent de 1777 et que, depuis 1900, malgré les efforts de l'*Athénée Louisianais*, l'anglais a définitivement pris la place du français tant au point de vue littéraire qu'au point de vue de la pratique et de la conversation.

La principale difficulté de ce travail consistait dans la documentation. L'auteur ne s'est laissé rebuter par aucun obstacle : pendant une douzaine d'années il a fouillé méthodiquement les bibliothèques, les boutiques de bouquinistes, les greniers, les écuries, les abris de tout genre et il a arraché 'aux ravages de l'eau, de la pluie, du feu, des termites omnivores des collections de journaux de paroisses imprimés en langue française.' Il a aussi une magnifique récompense, qui a dû le faire frémir d'aise comme elle fait frémir d'aise tout cœur bibliophile : cette persévérance, cette obstination lui a valu l'acquisition de collections de journaux uniques au monde, de raretés d'une valeur inappréciable comme celle qu'il signale p. 8, *in fine*, ces 'exemplaires imprimés sur le dos des papiers de tenture à fleurs, à l'époque où la guerre avait rendu impossible la fabrication et l'achat du papier à journal !' Enfin il s'est, le cas échéant, abouché avec de vieux Créoles—ce qui lui a permis de contrôler plus d'un détail et même d'obtenir plus d'un renseignement dont aucun autre moyen n'aurait permis de soupçonner l'existence.

Tous ces matériaux Mr E. L. T., grâce à sa formation d'avocat, à son

¹ Major W. E. Frye, *After Waterloo. Reminiscences of European Travel, 1815-1819.* Edited with preface and notes by Salomon Reinach, London, 1908.

esprit critique et à l'enthousiasme qu'il éprouve pour son sujet, les a mis en œuvre avec un rare bonheur et il nous a donné un tableau des plus pittoresques de ces singuliers individus qui transportèrent sur la rive du Mississipi leur passion de culture française. Langue française, théâtre français, presse française, art français, science française, voilà ce qu'ils veulent maintenir et développer, malgré l'éloignement de la mère-patrie. Aucun sacrifice qu'ils ne consentent pour atteindre le but ! Dès qu'ils en ont les moyens, les colons ne se contentent plus d'envoyer leurs enfants aux écoles de Louisiane où pourtant l'enseignement se donne en français; ils ne considèrent plus comme suffisant de donner à leurs fils et à leurs filles des précepteurs et des gouvernantes venus de France: il leur faut davantage, pour leurs fils du moins, l'air du pays même, le contact avec le milieu intellectuel de France en France, les écoles et les grandes Universités de la métropole. Et c'est là un facteur important, dont Mr E. L. T. a eu fort raison de signaler l'intérêt au point de vue de l'influence française aux États-Unis. 'De retour au pays, ces hommes importaient leurs meubles, leurs tableaux, leurs vêtements, leurs vins et jusqu'à leurs idées, et c'est la raison pour laquelle les Créoles, bien que vivant sous le drapeau américain, furent toujours, de cœur et d'esprit, plus étroitement attachés à la France qu'aux États-Unis.'

L'auteur n'a pas, de son propre aveu, voulu faire œuvre littéraire. Il s'est contenté de nous fournir une mine abondante de renseignements et il nous a, en outre, présenté une galerie de portraits inoubliables. De quelle truculence, quelle verve, quel talent a-t-il fait preuve en cet art si délicat ! Comme ils se meuvent, comme ils *vivent* tous ces individus qu'il avait simplement dessinés sans autre souci que de nous les faire connaître ! Il semble qu'ils sont partie de nos intimes tous les personnages de cette foule bigarrée, ces politiciens, ces journalistes, ces poètes, ces romanciers, ces auteurs dramatiques, ces acteurs, ces musiciens, ces ingénieurs, ces architectes, ces militaires, ces commerçants, ces courtiers, transplantés si loin de leur chère France et pourtant demeurés si français d'esprit, d'âme et de cœur ! Beaucoup d'entre eux portent des noms connus; quelques-uns même des noms illustres. Sans nul doute, la lumière projetée sur certains ne manquera pas de provoquer de nouvelles études. On se livrera à des recherches sur les liens qui unissent ces déracinés à leur parenté spirituelle; on analysera la genèse et la portée de leur œuvre; mais, quoi qu'on fasse, on ne pourra se passer de l'excellent guide que Mr E. L. T. a mis à notre disposition. Son ouvrage est indispensable pour toute étude ultérieure sur l'histoire des écrits de langue française en Louisiane.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

Giovanni Berchet (1783-1851). By ETTORE LI GOTTI. Florence: *La nuova Italia*. 1933. 564 pp. 30 lire.

An exhaustive work on Berchet was long overdue, and Professor Li Gotti's book, which is detailed, well informed and studiously fair, is therefore doubly welcome. Berchet was held in so high an esteem by

his contemporaries and has met with so much adverse and often carping criticism from modern scholars, that the present author has been forced to make a survey of the earlier criticism before putting forward his own views. The procedure he has adopted is as thorough as it is fair to his predecessors, but seems to have rendered his progress towards a conclusion unnecessarily laborious. Berchet deserves attention as a victim of political persecution, as a theorist of Italian Romanticism, and as a poet. On the whole, his was a mediocre life. Having taken a fairly prominent part in the conspiracy previous to 1820, he narrowly succeeded in escaping from the clutches of the Austrian police, and was forced to spend nearly thirty years in exile. During this period he became by degrees reconciled to Carlo Alberto, whom he had violently denounced, so that when he returned to Milan, in 1848, he made every effort to break down the republican disaffection, and later became a supporter of D'Azeglio in the Subalpine Parliament. Despite the failure of revolution in 1848-9 and his earlier persistent pessimism, he was hopefully looking forward to the ultimate success of the national unification when he died in 1851. But he always seemed to lack political vision; he failed to realise timely the significance of Mazzini's idealism as well as the promise contained in Gioberti's programme; his heart was in the right place, his conduct was immaculate, but he was no politician. Despite this, even when poverty, boredom and ill-health beset him, he was so keen upon following the course of political events, that his biographer has been tempted into giving a fairly detailed account of the changing views and of the pronouncements of Berchet. Likewise, though no claims to originality can be made for the poet in connexion with the polemic between Classicists and Romanticists, his *Lettera semiseria* does stand out as one of the principal documents of that period, and Li Gotti is at pains in these pages to analyse and appraise it. His judgment is fair, occasionally penetrating and generally acceptable, but he might with advantage have resisted the temptation to express his opinions about wider, if cognate subjects, such as Italian Romanticism, for even the considerable and rather disproportionate space, which he has given to this, is really inadequate, and he has involved himself into the complexities of the question concerning the nature of Italian Romanticism which bring little light on the work of Berchet himself.

It was as a poet that Berchet gained fame; it is as a poet that he must fall or stand; and it is as a poet that Berchet is most baffling. His vocabulary was poor, his grammar uncertain; he was occasionally pedestrian, at times not immune from fustian and sentimentality; no wonder that he has been the butt of destructive criticism. None of his poems is completely satisfying as Li Gotti well shows, but he also insists, and insists rightly, that there is vigour and sincerity in the verses of Berchet, and a quality of rhythm and cadence that carries conviction. The result of a careful analysis of several poems seems to be that their merit rests principally on the moral force and the profound sincerity of the poet himself. It may be difficult to reconcile such a conclusion with any particular æsthetic theory, but it cannot be doubted that Berchet's

patriotic verses stirred the feeling of his contemporaries, and that he succeeded in giving a moving and rhythmically felicitous expression to the *nostalgia* of Italian exiles.

It is well known that during his exile Berchet was befriended by the Marchesa Arconati towards whom he nursed a very tender and innocent devotion throughout his life; she was moody and occasionally perverse, Berchet was exacting and inclined to grumble, but, on the whole, theirs was an admirable friendship, and it is admirably dealt with by Li Gotti in perhaps the best chapters of his book. This notice would, however, be incomplete, if no mention were made of the full notes which accompany the text, notes in which a number of obscure events are elucidated so as to render this work a valuable source of information for the history of Italian exiles in France and in England. While he was in London, Berchet, after some attempts at living by his pen, became a clerk in an office, and he heroically suppressed all his literary aspirations for seven years. It seems clear, however, that some of the articles he had written from Paris were published in English journals, and it is a pity that their identification, apart from one instance, appears now to be almost impossible. In the reviews which were published during those years there are a good number of articles which are evidently written by Italians; but the internal evidence is insufficient to allow them to be ascribed to any one in particular; sometimes even the work of a man possessed of so distinctive a personality as Foscolo, is only recognisable owing to external circumstances. There is thus but faint hope that some fortunate discovery may assist in tracing some of the articles which were written by Berchet, whose literary production is not so vast as to render such a discovery irrelevant. A praiseworthy aspect of Li Gotti's work is the, unfortunately unusual, accuracy in printing non-Italian names.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies. With some *Registros* of shipments of books to the Spanish Colonies. By IRVING A. LEONARD. (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. xvi, No. 3, pp. 217-372.) Berkeley: Univ. of California Press. 1933. 56 pp. \$1.

Mr Leonard's work is a good example of those studies which, having a narrowly defined and at first sight unpromising subject, throw light in unsuspected directions. He studied at the Archives of the Indies in Sevilla during the winter of 1930-1, and among the notes he there took were the eight lists of book-shipments which he reproduces. They are of 1585 (*bis*), 1586 (*bis*), 1596, 1597, 1601, and 1605. The last is included because no less than a hundred copies of *Don Quixote* are there dispatched to the colonies in two cases, the books being collected for shipment as early as March 22 in the year of issue. The shipment of 1601 is the largest in the series, consisting of no less than eighty-one cases of books, the property of a certain Martín Sánchez de Solís. The latest works by Lope de Vega are distributed among the cases, especially the *Arcadia* and

Isidro. There are twenty of his *Dragonteas* in case No. 68; a number of *Lazarillos* and (in case No. 21) '33. Libros de picaros.' These shipments of the latest novelties quite refute the allegation that what the colonists read were remaindered copies of books that had passed out of fashion in Spain. The novels of chivalry enjoyed precisely the same prompt sale though in proportions, as Mr Leonard points out, which are somewhat unexpected. The *Florisel de Niquea*, for instance, is about three times as popular as *Amadis de Gaula*. None of the true Arthurian novels are mentioned, but only the secondary *Jaufre*. This, however, may be an accident of record, for the practice of making registers of book-titles is due to a law promulgated by Charles V in 1550, and the lists are far from complete. However, the lists confirm what one already inferred from Cervantes' ignorance of the genuine cycle, that the mediæval Arthurian novel was dead by the middle of the sixteenth century.

The implications of this new information are admirably noted by Mr Leonard in his preface. It is clear that the colonists read novelties, not remaindered. It is also clear that they had a copious supply of fictional literature along with 75-85 per cent. of devotional matter. The numerous royal provisions prohibiting the export of fiction to the colonies have led historians of literature to believe that no such books were exported, and they have proceeded to charge the motherland with hostility to the literary development of the colonies. But the laws were not adhered to, and the lists contained fiction and verse in large quantities, with a perfunctory note by an official to say that the shipment included no prohibited works. The government and the Inquisition both respected public opinion. But if continually exported by book-sellers, it is reasonable to suppose that they were purchased by book-buyers. The size and regularity of the shipments refutes the suggestion that the books were seized and destroyed by the Inquisitorial authorities at the port of arrival. Mr Leonard describes the procedure of Inquisitorial inspection on arrival, and notes how the inspectors pass books of chivalry as a matter of routine, while being enjoined at the same time to abstain from conduct that would irritate traders. There remains the want of such literature in Spanish American libraries. This Mr Leonard ascribes to other causes: chains of readers, want of binding, climate, earthquakes, and especially the revolutionary turmoil since 1810. We have still to account for the curious fact that, so far as we know, the colonists took no part in the supply of this type of work, though active enough in lyrical and epic poetry and in the production of histories.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

Weltlohn, Teufelsbeichte, Waldbruder. Beitrag zur Bearbeitung lateinischer Exempla in mhd. Gewande nebst einem Anhang: de eo qui duas volebat uxores. Edited by AUGUST CLOSS. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, II. Abt., 37.) Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1934. viii + 126 pp. M. 6.

In this work Dr Closs of Bristol has assembled and presented with full introductions and critical apparatus three Middle High German poems,

preserved in the same manuscripts and all deriving from Latin 'exempla.' Fittingly dedicated to Professor Priebisch this edition has been most carefully prepared and is handsomely provided with eight plates of which the first is a clear facsimile of the writing of a page of the Paris MS. and the others show interesting illustrations from the Schloss Dyck, Dresden and Berlin MSS.

In the introduction to the *Weltlôn* with its introductory poem *Jâmers klage*, Dr Closs traces right back to Tertullian the motive of the evanescence of earthly joys and the consequent call to renunciation and he distinguishes such various issues as the struggle of the church against secular chivalry, of ascetics and reformers against ecclesiastical worldliness, of the mystics against entanglement by the sensory world and of the social reformers against the inequalities of the social system. The writings embodying these ideas range from homilies and tracts to poetic legends and a broadsheet with a woodcut of the fifteenth century. The MSS. in each of which all four of our German poems are contained, are as follows: P (Paris; written in the first half of the fifteenth century by Henricus Schran in Alsatian 'bastarda'), Dy (Dyck castle in the Rhineland; 1400-50; Alsatian), D (Dresden; early fifteenth century; Alsatian), B (Berlin; written in Alsatian 'bastarda' in the fifteenth century, the costume of the figures depicted pointing to about 1440). A careful comparison of the variants of the *Weltlôn* show that D and B form a group as against P and Dy, which, however, derive from a common exemplar. From a non-extant original O (datable to 1351 by a reference to a Strassburg sumptuary ordinance in v. 433, the anonymous poet being a South Franconian resident of Strassburg strongly influenced by Konrad von Wurzburg) issued a somewhat corrupt archetype X from which in turn proceeded the branches BD (through the intermediary of a missing link Y) and PDy (a looser group in regard to each other, but nearer to the archetype than BD was).

The *Teufelsbeichte*, preserved in the same MSS., has as its chief motive the devil's incapacity for repentance, a tale found as early as Chapter xxvi (*de confessione cujusdam daemonis*) of Caesarius of Heisterbach and widespread. In spite of the Alsatian provenance of the scribe the original appears to be Rhenish Franconian (v. 107/108 *verråden : gnâden*).

The *Waldbruder* is the tale of a hermit who prays for some sign to tell him how best to worship God. One day he sees at the door of his cell a wounded and naked man, bearing a cross and he tends him and washes his wounds. A Latin version is to be found in Add. MS. 15833, f. 95 of the British Museum—a vellum MS. of the fourteenth century once belonging to the Augustinian monastery of Waldhaus in Upper Austria—and there is a Middle Netherlandish legend in de Vooy's collection. Once more the dialect of the scribe is Alsatian, but the dialect of the original poem is Middle German of the late fourteenth century, cf. *quât, wuste, stênen* 'stehen'; *swigen : smiegen*, etc.

An appendix contains an East Netherlandish poem of the sixteenth century concerning a man who wished to marry two wives, the earliest version of which is found in the *Sermones communes* by Vitry (d. 1240).

The editor has undoubtedly performed an arduous task with great circumspection as well as devotion. He has spared himself no trouble in presenting us with reconstructed texts reached after a careful sifting of the variants, which he has set forth in the critical apparatus at the foot of the page, and after a full consideration of dialects, metres and probable dates. His introductions display wide reading especially in the clerical and legendary sources and contain allusions to modern survivals of the old 'motifs,' e.g., in Selma Lagerlof (p. 90), Bruno Wille and Hermann Hesse (p. 107) and even an anecdote of the *Londoner General Anzeiger* (p. 125). His proof-reading has been very thorough and only the following items were noted by the reviewer. p. 11 den *Elsass* (unless an Austrianism); p. 13, l. 5, *Êre*, *Mâze* lack the circumflex given elsewhere; p. 22, *B* should be in Roman type. Altogether Dr Closs may be congratulated on a highly creditable piece of work, in which he has been well supported by his publisher.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

Herder und Ossian. By ALEXANDER GILLIES. (*Neue Forschung*, XIX.) Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt. 1933. 190 pp. M. 9.

In recent years Macpherson's *Ossian* has been attracting considerable attention. Gillies' study is, however, the most important contribution to the German aspect of the subject since Tombo's bibliographical work at the beginning of the century.

The introduction adds but little to Tombo's discussion of the early translations and notices, but of special importance to the student of Herder is the fact that although Blair's dissertation was not translated until 1769, the contents were known to Herder through Weisse's summary four years earlier. Here we have the source of many of the ideas in the *Fragmente*. Gillies mentions this, but does not draw sufficient attention to it; he might well have shown the actual textual similarities that exist. On the other hand, the Ossianic poems themselves added nothing essentially new to Herder's views on popular poetry. Only the fact that his theories were already formed by his study of Homer and the Bible, and that *Ossian* so admirably illustrated them, can justify his refusal to consider the very thorough proofs of unauthenticity that were available.

Drawn by his own temperamental affinity to Ossian's sentimental melancholy, he thought that here was the example that confirmed his ideas about language and literature. Unacquainted as he was with the English text, he identified *Ossian* with his idealised conception of typical popular poetry; the mutilation of this ideal by Denis' hexameter version whipped him to resentment, which, finding its expression in the *Briefwechsel über Ossian*, lighted the tinder for *Sturm und Drang*.

After 1773 he overcame his 'Werther' mood, and one by one the other arguments in favour of *Ossian* collapsed. He soon distinguished between Celts and Teutons, and so it lost its validity as an example of ancient

Germanic poetry. But it had served its purpose in helping to advocate the northern mythology as more natural to Germany than the Homeric. As genuine primitive poetry it still served as a model for a return to the Germanic past; but in time, as the authenticity grew more and more doubted, it had to be accepted as a new artistic product. However, it still remained important for Germany; it was an example of a cultural tradition unbroken by any external influence; it should encourage scholars to investigate the German literature of ancient times.

This is a thorough and carefully documented study, and the conclusions are convincingly presented. The amount of space devoted to the periods before and after the climax of 1773 bears no relation to their importance, and a detailed examination of the translations would have yielded more interesting results than the chapters on Harold and Macdonald.

In an example of such careful scholarship, it is disturbing to find quotations misprinted, and especially a lack of orthographical uniformity.

H. T. BETTERIDGE.

BIRMINGHAM.

Spitteler's Weg und Werk. By ROBERT FAESI. Frauenfeld und Leipzig: Huber. 1933. 308 pp., with 15 illustrations and 2 facsimiles. M. 10.

This is the most important study of Carl Spitteler which has yet appeared in any country. It is a full and satisfying account of his life and of his works, which are treated in considerable detail, and it contains a bibliography¹, which, though the author disclaims exhaustiveness, is more than sufficient for any imaginable purposes. Professor Faesi divides Spitteler's work into four sections, holding that the novel *Imago* is the key to the whole, that the two versions of *Prometheus* are its kernel—this is clear enough to any intelligent student, but Professor Faesi's discussion of *Prometheus* is especially good—and that *Olympischer Frühling* is the great final synthesis of this kernel and of the additional elements which enter into the works (in themselves less important) which intervene. It is interesting to observe that Professor Faesi discerns in *Olympischer Frühling* qualities which modern criticism calls baroque, qualities which he also attributes in some measure to Gottfried Keller.

The most interesting and most informative chapter of the book is the last, in which, after having given an account of the separate works at which no one can have cause to cavil, the author attempts to estimate Spitteler's value as poet and thinker: he discusses the attitude of earlier critics to his work, and explains in great degree its failure to secure general recognition. He himself sums up Spitteler, with justice, as belonging to 'den grossten Dichtern des Weltschmerzes, des kosmischen Pessimismus. Denn beide Voraussetzungen erfüllt er: die Fähigkeit zur grandiosen kosmischen Empfindung und die Fähigkeit, das Leid in ganzer

¹ It is pleasant to find that Professor Faesi is more fully acquainted with the work which Mr J. H. Muirhead has done in England for the study and appreciation of Spitteler than I myself was when I published an article on *Prometheus* in the *Modern Language Review* last year.

Tiefe auszuloten.' He has, however, the belief in the value of external beauty, which leads him to the same standpoint as that of the young Nietzsche: 'Nur als ästhetisches Phänomen ist die Welt gerechtfertigt.' Yet he avoids the obvious pitfalls of such a Weltanschauung: he has the will power to withstand his own gloomy view of life: his heroes do not withdraw from the world, but work for it and in it, even though their efforts are doomed to ultimate failure. So in the end Spitteler's creative genius 'mündet in die religiöse Sphäre, reicht zu den letzten Mysterien des Daseins.' His achievement resembles the *Ring* of Wagner more than any other epic poem—the comparison is apt, but it can only be made with great reservations—but it is, Professor Faesi finally says, 'perhaps harder to judge than any other modern work.' It is, and that is no doubt the real secret of its small popularity.

A. H. J. KNIGHT.

CAMBRIDGE.

SHORT NOTICES

Studies in English, Nos. 11 and 13 (*University of Texas Bulletins* 3133, 3326; 1931, 1933) cover a very wide ground. The common theme is the elucidation of 'sources' or 'influences.' In *Is Thomas Heywood's Hand in Sir Thomas More?* Professor R. A. Law comparing Hand B's orthography and literary style with Heywood's two known manuscript autographs decides against the ascription of Hand B to Heywood. The essay would have been more convincing had it been more thorough. The game of 'Essex-hunting' through the plays can be carried too far. In *Shakespeare, Coriolanus and Essex*, Mr W. T. Conklin has adopted the dangerous practice of first lifting likely passages from the play and then comparing them with an only partially true picture of Essex. The extracts hardly suggest a portrait of Essex. He might have remembered that one of the accusations against Essex at his trial was his flattery of the multitude. Professor D. T. Starnes, in *The Picture of a Perfit Common Wealth and Sir Thomas Elyot and the 'Sayings of the Philosophers'* traces convincingly the indebtedness of a whole group of books of sententious sayings (*Politeuphuia* or *Wits Commonwealth*, *Wits Theater of the Little World*, *Belvedere the Garden of the Muses*, *A perfit Commonwealth*, *Vertues Commonwealth*) to Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour* and *The Moral Philosophy* of William Baldwin, augmented and enlarged by Thomas Palfreyman (1575 and later editions).

D. C. C.

The second edition of Miss M. St Clare Byrne's invaluable *Elizabethan Life in Town and Country* (London: Methuen. 1934. 295 pp. 7s. 6d.) is enlarged by an introductory chapter which surveys afresh the trend of Elizabethan studies in the nineteenth century and after, and mediates sensibly between the romantic pictures of Symonds and the distortions of some recent realistic accounts which lose the pattern in the detail.

The Bibliography is brought up to date, and furnishes a very useful reading-list. The Index is not always a convenient guide. Few would think of 'Popular Festivals' as a heading when searching for 'May-Games.' On the other hand 'Upright Men' and 'Oxford, carriers to' as well as 'Carriers,' have separate entries. The 'Inns of Court' are nowhere to be found. A chapter on the legal system, which was so familiar a part of Elizabethan life, is indeed a desideratum in this admirable book. It is true that Miss Byrne deals fully with the local functions of justices, an important aspect of the matter. C. J. S.

In his very readable British Academy lecture (*The Treatment of Shakespeare's Text by His Earlier Editors, 1709-1768*. London: Humphrey Milford. 1933. 36 pp. 1s. 6d.), Dr Ronald B. McKerrow directs our attention to the indebtedness of the reading public of the last two centuries, and indeed of our own, to the labours of the editors from Rowe to Capell. This acknowledgment once made, the author devotes the body of his discourse to exposing the misguided character of their textual labours. While Rowe is to be credited with tidying up speech tags and stage directions, he failed to finish the job, and his textual revision is not based on any systematic consultation of the quartos. Though such collation was initiated by Pope, he was an inveterate improver. Theobald first enunciated the major principle that 'every author is best expounded in one place by his own usage in others,' and Capell assembled more of the quartos than his predecessors and produced the best eclectic text; yet, like all these editors except Johnson, both failed to discriminate between the problems involved in editing classical MSS. of independent authority and those inherent in working with a group of printed texts partly independent and partly derivative from each other. This distinction Dr Johnson perceived; yet his text, unhappily based on Warburton's, makes little advance, the great and enduring merit of his edition residing in his exegetical and critical observations. Brief as this survey is, Dr McKerrow gives the subject its most systematic treatment thus far. He is possibly a little hard on Theobald. The eighteenth century took the Heminges-Condell preface too literally; all the quartos were suspect, though many dropped lines were restored with their aid. Theobald seems, however, to have recognised both the unity and the progressive deterioration of the folios text; his practice is not to depart from the reading of F_1 save for what he considers good and sufficient reason. The modern editor, to be sure, demands weightier reason; but that is the chief difference. I make this suggestion on the authority of Mr Henry N. Paul of Philadelphia, who for many years has devoted his leisure to the collection and study of the eighteenth-century editions. Two contributions to this subject by him will appear in the June and November numbers of *Modern Language Notes*. H. S.

The importance of the so-called 'private' theatres of Jacobean and Caroline times in the development of theatrical technique has long been

realised and most serious students have a fairly clear idea of the features which a performance in one of them would present. But there has hitherto been no work exclusively concerned with any one private theatre to which students could turn for a succinct account of the general lines on which performances there were organised. As far as the limitations of a pamphlet permit Mr J. Isaacs provides such an account for the Blackfriars Theatre in his *Production and Stage-Management at the Blackfriars Theatre* (London: H. Milford, for the Shakespeare Association. 1933. 28 pp. 2s.). In the light of evidence gleaned from a large body of printed plays and from prompt copies and theatrical 'plots' of the period 1600-42 he touches briefly on practically every aspect of the mechanics of play production in a theatre well reputed for its artistic presentations. The function of producer, he suggests tentatively, was executed by the author where the players were children, and, where they were adults, by one of the more important actors. The duties of the producer's assistants are indicated as accurately as the evidence permits. Stage-lighting, the arrangement of impressive tableaux by artistic grouping of characters, the varied employment of the lower and the upper stages, and the use of elaborate properties, costumes and scenes in the manner of the Court Masque (the technique of which, according to Mr Isaacs, was largely adopted in the private theatre in the 1630's) are discussed as contributions to visual effect, while the increasing part played by music as an aid to aural effect and, more subtly, as an integral element in the structure of a scene, forms the subject of some particularly enlightening paragraphs. When opportunity offers Mr Isaacs illustrates the continuity of theatrical practice from mediæval to modern times. In the space at his disposal Mr Isaacs has been able to give only a limited selection of the material evidence on which his conclusions are based. It is, therefore, interesting to learn that he has in mind a more comprehensive and detailed work on *Shakespeare and the Art of the Theatre in Renaissance Europe*. Those attracted by the matter of the present pamphlet will await the larger volume with lively anticipation.

F. E. B.

Miss Stockholm is to be congratulated on producing an eminently satisfactory edition of Massinger's play *The Great Duke of Florence* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst. 1933. xcvi+231 pp.). Her thesis contains, among other things, a comprehensive study of the sources and parallels of the Edgar-Alfrida story, and an extremely interesting discussion of the relation of the play to the German play, *Der Herzog von Florentz*. The ingenious reconstruction of the links missing in this relationship is probably correct. On the other hand, a notable omission is the absence of any account of the provenance or inter-relation of the quarto texts. Some of the space lavished on the unnecessarily bulky glossarial notes might well have been given to a discussion of these important matters.

One minor blemish is the lack of consistency in the spelling of Ethelwald: cf. pp. xxxiv, xxxv, etc.

J. H. W.

The first comprehensive account of Walter Mountfort's *The Launching of the Mary* (*Malone Society Reprints*, 1933. xv+125 pp., with 8 facsimiles) given by Dr F. S. Boas in 1923 in *Shakespeare and the Universities*, contains (p. 199) a paragraph which serves well to notice this edition: 'The manuscript of *The Launching of the Mary* is of exceptional interest. Written on shipboard, censored by the Master of the Revels, revised by the author, annotated by the playhouse manager, it exhibits all the stages through which the "copy" of a play passed before (if ever) it was sent to the printer's...the manuscript...lends support to the view that in the case of...the...Elizabethan dramatists the author's autograph copy was used and annotated in the theatre, and...from this copy...the printer set up his text.' Mr J. H. Walter has now transcribed the play and prepared a critical edition of the manuscript for the Malone Society. Both Dr Boas and Mr Walter refer to the literary and dramatic shortcomings of the piece; but, written in 1632, and dealing with the East India Company and especially with the life of the seamen's wives, touching on such matters as the Amboyna massacre and our relations with the Dutch, the play is of considerable historical importance both in itself and as evidence of the extensive use of the drama for propaganda in public affairs. It is unnecessary to speak of the value of such a text, well prepared as this is, to the study of language and the many matters included in textual criticism. In addition to the points mentioned by Dr Boas may be instanced that of punctuation. In his defence of Shakespearean punctuation in 1911, Mr P. Simpson relied chiefly on early printed texts. His valuable work could now be profitably developed from the material provided in this volume, in which the play is now first published, and for which students are greatly indebted to Mr Walter and to Dr W. W. Greg, General Editor of the Malone Society's publications.

J. H. P.

The three articles in *Seventeenth Century Studies* (Princeton: University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. viii+335 pp. 21s. 6d.) were written by members of the graduate school of the University of Cincinnati under the direction of the editor, Dr R. Shafer. They treat of Massinger, Ford and Butler in relation to the intellectual background of the century. To carry out such a project successfully demands a nice sense of proportion and a profound knowledge of the century, neither of which these studies reveal. The intellectual background is too little in evidence; the comprehensiveness and the limitations of each author are but faintly indicated; intellectual content is regarded as static and not as vitally progressive; in fact, the comparative analysis which the preface implies is not clearly emphasised at all. Little that is new is brought to light; the studies are nothing more than exercises on facts which are, for the most part, well known to students of the period.

Miss Cochnower's study of Ford is more comprehensive and valuable than the others, though it is marred by irritating sequences of short sentences: cf. pp. 163, 167, etc.

On p. 145, n. 6, for 'Cuzman' read 'Guzman.'

J. H. W.

The fairest and the least praise that can be given to Alexander Gray's *Arrows: A Book of German Ballads and Folk-Songs attempted in Scots* (Edinburgh: Grant & Murray. 1932. xii+134 pp. 7s. 6d.) is that they reproduce the feeling of the originals. The introductory essay may, as Professor Gray modestly asserts, be the work of an amateur, but it has merits often wanting in the work of specialists—good sense and witty phrasing on the problems of the origin and transmission of folk poetry, and the equally great though different problems of the art of the translator. Anyone who has practised that art, with however little success, will read this exposition of its difficulties with sympathy and with admiration for the courage and skill shown in attacking some of them here. There are also useful Notes, and a Glossary which will be helpful to the Southern reader.

E. C. B.

Mr Geoffrey L. Bickersteth is always interesting even when we find him unconvincing. The thesis of his Tylorian lecture—*Form, Tone, and Rhythm in Italian Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. 38 pp. 2s.)—is that, whereas what gives continuity of spirit and form to English poetry is love of freedom, the informing spirit of Italian poetry is love of justice: 'a love of justice expressing itself in a form or order which reveals the inflexible determination to see that every part shall contribute its own appropriate, hence effective, service to the whole.' It is this love of justice, 'Roman justice,' that is the foundation of the poetic theory and practice of Dante; it dictated the 'pattern, shape or structure' of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, and, turning from pattern to tone, it inspired the irony and the harmony of Ariosto, his gauging 'the exact requirements musically and in relationship to one another of every phase of every emotion which he uttered.' On these three poets, and on Carducci, Mr Bickersteth says incidentally many illuminating things, but his zeal for his theory carries him to extravagance. The 'amor che ditta dentro,' of Dante's famous definition of poetry, is surely something more universal than love of justice, however 'Roman,' and it is amazing to find so keen a student as Mr Bickersteth perverting the spiritual meaning and significance of the noblest episode of the *Inferno* by stating that Ulysses is in Hell for neglecting 'il debito amore,' and that his voyage is 'a symbol of love in the process of creating poetry.'

E. G. G.

Giovanni del Virgilio owes his fame to-day to his correspondence in Latin verse with Dante, which occasioned the latter's two Eclogues giving, under their pastoral disguise, a precious representation of the exile's life and thought during those last years at Ravenna: a correspondence to which Giovanni's bucolic epistle to Albertino Mussato forms a worthy epilogue. But his was 'frons inornata,' and presumably he was regarded more seriously as scholar than as poet. The one important extant document relating to him concerns his contract to lecture upon the Latin poets at Bologna. His course on Ovid, hitherto only casually noticed or inaccurately described, has been exhaustively studied by

Fausto Ghisalberti, *Giovanni del Virgilio espositore delle 'Metamorfosi'* (Florence: Olschki. 1933. Estratto dal *Giornale Dantesco*, xxxiv+110 pp.). After an introduction, elucidating the place of the Bolognese rhetorician's work in relation to the general mediæval tradition and his own originality, we are given the complete text: *Allegorie Librorum Ovidii Metamorphoseos prosaice ac metricè compilate*. It is essentially an allegorical interpretation of the 'Ovidio Maggiore,' with interesting points of contact with the treatment of classical myths by Dante. Not only students of Dante, but all interested in classical studies in the fourteenth century, will be grateful to Signor Ghisalberti for this valuable publication. E. G. G.

An attractive contribution to the publications connected with the fourth centenary of the death of Ariosto comes to us in the shape of a complete one-volume *Orlando Furioso*, in a format small enough to find place in the pocket while presenting a clear and readable type (*Orlando Furioso* di Ludovico Ariosto, edizione integra, introduzione ecc. a cura di Nicola Zingarelli. Milan: Hoepli. 1934. lxxv+600 pp. 28 lire). Zingarelli's ample and learned introduction surveys the field of the history of the romance of chivalry, and its development in Italy from the Franco-Italian poems of the Duecento and Trecento to its transformation by the poets of the Renaissance. We are puzzled by the statement (p. xvi) that the *Entrée de Spagne* contains 'significativi accenni a cose contenute nella *Divina Commedia*.' After the masterly work of Santorre Debenedetti little remains to be said as to the way in which a modern edition of the *Furioso* should be based upon the text of 1532, but Zingarelli's relevant section of the introduction (pp. lxx-lxxiv) has an independent value and supplements the results of his predecessor. E. G. G.

We have seldom read a more delightful and stimulating 'prolusione' than that of the new Professor of Italian in the University of Cambridge (*Italian Perspectives*, an inaugural lecture by Edward Bullough. Cambridge: University Press. 1934. 68 pp. 2s. 6d.). Its main theme is familiar: the meaning and consequences of Italy's 'Latinity' with its 'vista down the ages,' a linguistic continuity that 'is also the outward symptom of a continuity of culture which again is very real and effective.' But it receives fresh light when it is shown how Italy has the unique possession of a national tradition that is 'by its very constitution also European'; for 'the national inheritance of Italy lies at the same time embedded in the foundations of Europe as far as the Roman-Christian tradition extended.' Hence three specific contributions made by Italy to the patrimony of the civilised world—Roman Law, the Renaissance, and the Romantic Movement—have, like the poetry of Dante, a certain 'universality': contributions that have an *Italian* quality, and yet represent a *European* tradition. And Professor Bullough, very happily, would point to the Fascist movement as seeming 'to present again the same combination of national and European qualities, besides being the

attempt, on a larger scale than ever before, to re-integrate the political and the cultural unities of the country.' We hope that this lecture is an anticipation of an important volume on the same thesis from Professor Bullough's pen.

E. G. G.

M. Wilmotte's translation, into modern French prose, of the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach is restricted by the size and format of the series in which it is published (*Les Cent Chefs-d'Œuvre Étrangers*), and in fact covers only a small selection of the main episodes. The portions translated are accompanied by explanatory footnotes, and are linked together by brief synopses of the intervening narrative. This abbreviated but competent rendering should be especially useful to students of Old French literature interested in the different forms of the Grail-legend, who are unable to gain a firsthand knowledge of Wolfram's version. The introduction, despite certain misunderstandings, omissions and wrong inferences, furnishes, on the whole, a sympathetic and reasonable account of Wolfram, at which there is no need to cavil. Allowance must be made, both here and in the notes, for prejudices inseparable from the French intellectual outlook. 'Plaisanterie un peu lourde' is typical of the comments on Wolfram's humour. And when we read that 'Wolfram a éprouvé le besoin un peu puéril de hausser la dignité des personnages, et le nombre des rois, princes et princesses qui défilent dans son poème est impressionnant,' we remind ourselves that that tendency *un peu puéril* is one of the many links between him and Shakespeare. M. F. R.

In the autumn of last year, when the tidings of George's death had only just reached us, there appeared a book by Ernst Morwitz entitled *Die Dichtung Stefan Georges* (Berlin: Bondi. 1934. 4 M.). It represents a continuous chronological account of George's works, each section being devoted to a single work of the poet, and though on the whole avoiding æsthetic problems it forms a welcome supplement to the studies of Wolters, Gundolf, Drahn, Koch, and others. Such analysis, which relies on paraphrase, must of necessity destroy the subtleties of poetry. Nevertheless we must be grateful for the author's interpretation of the poem *Die Fremde* (so often misunderstood) as the invasion of a hitherto simple world, of *Die Lämmer* as a symbol of the antithesis between parental simplicity and modern youth, and other poems. Praise of the fatherland is sung here as elsewhere. Morwitz subtly penetrates the magic gloom of the 'Traumdunkel,' and then echoes the triumphant advent of the new life proclaimed in George's last works. George who foresaw the hapless collapse of his country seeks the key to its resurrection which he discovers not in war, but in the victory of the spirit. Morwitz like others before him rightly claims the ideal of virile and ascetic heroism as a heritage from Hölderlin, not from Goethe. This study can certainly rank as the best general introduction to George's works.

A. C.

In the *Festgabe Philipp Strauch* (*Hermaea*, xxxi. Halle: Niemeyer, 1932) edited by G. Baesecke and F. J. Schneider, a band of eleven scholars united to do honour to a fellow-scholar on the attainment of his eightieth birthday on September 23, 1932. Of the linguistic articles may be noted a thoughtful study by H. Hempel on the significance and expressive value of the German tenses indicating past events (preterite, present, perfect), the upshot of which is that the preterite is the tense for an imaginative or reproductive, essentially receptive experience, the present substitutes a vivid impression for the bare remembrance, and the perfect represents a present attitude of emotion, evaluation or adjudication towards a past event; J. Kisch's alphabetical list of loan-words taken from the twelfth century onwards by the German immigrants into Transylvania from their German homes, e.g., *də Mätschn* < *damascena* 'damson,' *Scherts* < *cort-ex* 'bark,' *Finster* with feminine gender; John Meier's interpretation of Hildebrandshed 12 f., 18 f. and 27 ff. by picking out the 'spliced' sentences (12 b and 13 b; 18 b and 19 b; 27 b and 29) from the interwoven strands; G. Baesecke discusses the fortunes of Cod. Lat. 7640 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; E. Sievers attempts a chronological ordering of the works of Hartmann von Aue on a melodic basis. A Low German version of a sermon on the poor in spirit and a High German dialogue on the same theme are edited by M. Palincke as material for a study of Eckhart. K. Bihlmeyer treats of the Swabian mystic Elsbeth Achler von Rente (died 1420) and publishes a German bibliography of her of the fifteenth century. The West German humanists are represented by Eberhard Tappe whose life and works are discussed by K. Schulte-Kemminghausen. F. J. Schneider comments on Karl Ludwig von Knebel's translation of the Elegies of Propertius. Some features of the history of the 'Gesellschaft der Freunde Kants' at Königsberg, founded in 1805 by Dr William Motherby, are delineated by R. Unger. Finally, A. Leitzmann closes an interesting volume by restoring to their original state some passages of Lachmann's letters to Haupt, bowdlerised by their editor, Johannes Vahlen, in 1892. W. E. C.

THE ENGLISH ASSOCIATION. RESEARCH FUND FOR ENGLISH LITERATURE

The English Association proposes to establish a Research Fund to assist publication of work in English Language and Literature. To this Fund the Association has decided to contribute, and it invites donations and annual subscriptions, which should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer of the Association, or to the Secretary (A. V. Houghton), at 4 Buckingham Gate, London, S.W. 1.

The Editors of the *Modern Language Review* feel sure that the project will commend itself to all who are desirous of furthering English scholarship, an aim that is common to this journal and to the English Association.
C. J. S.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

January—March 1934

With the collaboration of Dr MARY S. SERJEANTSON (English).

GENERAL.

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SKELTON'S 'PHILIP SPARROW' AND THE
ROMAN SERVICE-BOOK

PARODIES of the Breviary and Missal of the Roman Church and of the hymns and psalms they contained are of such common occurrence in the Middle Ages that illustration is almost unnecessary. Prof. P. Lehmann in his *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1922) has included a study of such parodies, and examples may be found in F. Novati's *La Parodia Sacra* and Lehmann's *Parodistische Texte* (Munich, 1923). It has generally been assumed, however, that Skelton's *Philip Sparrow* is simply another such parody in which the vernacular element, owing to the comparatively late date of the poem, is predominant.

The object of this article is to define the relationships of *Philip Sparrow* and the Service-book.

THE SERVICES FOR THE DEAD.

Throughout *Philip Sparrow*, which is a lament for a dead sparrow—singularly devoid, in spite of expectations, of imitation of Catullus—the Services of the Roman Church for the Dead and for the dying are extensively used; and while the poem is in no sense a parody on the typical mediæval lines, verses and antiphons and psalms from the Services form an undercurrent of commentary reminding the reader that throughout the half-serious lamentation runs a systematic mockery of the Services for the Dead.

These Services are of various functions.

(i) *Commendatio Animæ*, where the soul of the dying man is commended to God with a short litany, a series of Orations and the reading of Psalms 117 and 118.

(ii) *Officium Defunctorum*, the two most important parts of which are the Services at Vespers and at Matins—they began with the antiphons *Placebo Domino in regione vivorum* and *Dirige, Domine, Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam*, and the head-words *Placebo* and *Dirige* are continually used as short titles for the Vespers and Matins in the Office for the Dead.

(iii) Both of these Services are from the Breviary. In the Missal is found the magnificent *Missa pro Defunctis*, with its introitus *Requiem*

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aeternam dona eis, Domine, and its sequence, the great hymn of the day of judgment, the *Dies irae, dies illa*.

(iv) At the close of the Mass, if Absolution is to be celebrated, the Missal contains the order for the *Absolutio super Tumulum*, where the celebrating priest puts off the maniple and assuming a black cloak recites a short oration, after which the Responsory is sung—*Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna, in die illa tremenda*.

'PHILIP SPARROW' AND THE SEVERAL SERVICES.

Skelton uses all these forms except that of Matins, and *Philip Sparrow* is remarkable in the way it uses first the Vespers in the Office for the Dead, then without indication or warning becomes the mediæval Mass of the Birds—on this occasion naturally the *Missa pro Defunctis*; again without warning shifts into the Absolution over the Tomb; and then with a few lines on the coming on of night returns to the close of Vespers in the Office. After a section on the composition of a Latin epitaph, which owes nothing to the mediæval use of the Mass but much to the mediæval habit of erudition—for the poet cites dozens of authors in as many lines—we find ourselves at the *Commendatio*—commendations, not of the soul of Philip Sparrow, but, with an obvious play on the double meaning of the word, on the beauty of the girl who was supposed to have recited part one. The poem ends with a defence that was probably a later addition.

OFFICIUM DEFUNCTORUM—VESPERS.

The first three hundred and eighty-six lines use throughout the Vespers in the Office. The borrowed passages run in pairs—in every case an antiphon followed by the first lines of the following psalm, the whole rigidly keeping to the order in the Office—and never, strange though it appears, once parodying it, though the temptation to parody the psalms was obvious enough and had excellent authority. Dunbar's method in the *Dirige to the King at Stirling* admitted no such self-denial. Instead, as the following analysis shows, Skelton remained content to tell the mock serious tale, punctuating it throughout with the key-phrases from the Office in their precisely correct order.

The poem begins with the antiphon *Placebo*; the next couplet replies with Psalm 114, *Dilexi [quoniam, exaudiet Dominus vocem orationis meae]*, and goes on to describe the grief of the girl at the death of Philip. There is no trace of parody.

After the antiphon, *Heu, heu me [quia incolatus meus prolongatus est]*,

we have Psalm 119, *Ad Dominum cum tribularer, clamavi*, where in the poem God is implored

Phyllipes soule to keep
From the marees deep
Of Acherontes well
That is a flood of hell;
And from the great Pluto

and from a legion of similar horrors that may perhaps echo the 'free my soul from unjust lips and from the guileful tongue' (*a labiis iniquis et a lingua dolosa*) of the second verse of the psalm.

The antiphon follows, *Dominus [custodit te ab omni malo]*, and the poem quotes the appropriate Psalm 120, *Levavi oculos in montes*, but instead of the Lord who keeps Israel we get

Sometyme he wolde gaspe
When he saw a waspe;
A fly or a gnat
He wolde flye at that,

and we are shortly brought to the antiphon, *Si iniquitates [observaveris, Domine: Domine quis sustinebit?]*,

Si iniquitates,
Alas, I was euyll at ease!
De profundis clamavi,
When I saw my sparowe dye!

—where Psalm 129, *De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine*, is mocked for a couple of lines and then promptly dropped for

Phillip had leue to go
To pyke my lytell too

and

Phillip wolde seke and take
All the flees blake
That he could there espye
With his wanton eye,

which in its turn yields, unexpectedly enough, to the solemn antiphon 'Despise not the works of thy own hands, O Lord' (*Opera [manuum tuarum, Domine, ne despicias]*), a sufficiently incongruous ending for the exploits of Philip 'upon my naked skyn.'

Undeterred by incongruity, the poem quotes the following Psalm 137, *Confitebor tibi, Domine, in toto corde meo*, and continues with the exploits of Philip till we return to the lament

Good lorde, have mercy
Upon my sparowes soule,
Wryten in my bederoule

and the verse—perhaps this time more appropriate!—*Audivi vocem [de caelo dicentem]*, to which the Response is 'Blessed are they that die in the Lord.'

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The poem correctly follows with the *Magnificat*—which turns out to be a fierce curse against the cat that slew Philip,

Of Inde the gredey grypes
Myght tere out all thy trypes!
Of Arcady the beares
Might plucke away thyne eares!

till we are brought up with the

*Kyrie, eleison,
Christe, elerson,
Kyrie, eleison,*

of the Sarum Breviary.

The external form of the Office is still preserved in the succeeding lines:

For Phylip Sparowes soule,
Set in our bederolle,
Let us now whysper
A *Pater Noster*,

representing the *Pater noster* after the *Magnificat* which the Rubric marks *secreto*, i.e. in a whisper.

Psalm 145, *Lauda, anima mea, Dominum*, of the Office follows immediately but no attempt is made to follow it out. The poem begins on a completely new tack—a Mass of the Birds.

MISSA PRO DEFUNCTIS.

The mediæval Mass of the Birds arose from two sources—the close association of birds with Venus, and the use of religious language and religious forms for her worship, which led to parodies of the actual Services, Venus taking the part of the Virgin, as Bacchus in the Drinking Masses took that of the Deity. But as W. A. Neilson has shown (*The Court of Love*), in many of these Masses there was no real parody. Only the formulæ of the Services were used—and these often with little discrimination or appropriateness. J. de Condé's *La Messe des Oisiaus* is one of the few Bird Masses which follow the Order of the Mass from the *Introibo* of the nightingale, point by point, to the *Ite, missa est* of the blackbird.

Philip Sparrow represents a further step. There is no trace of the Court of Love convention which had associated love with the birds. Instead, they gather together to mourn the death of Philip and to celebrate, not a lover's Mass, but the obviously appropriate *Missa pro Defunctis*—the Mass for the Dead, led by Robin Redbreast:

He shall be the preest
The requiem masse to singe.

But with the change from the Office for the Dead to the Requiem Mass, Skelton changes his method. He makes no attempt to follow out

the formulæ of the Mass, as J. de Condé had done, and as he himself had done in the earlier part of the poem. Only the general details are used, and that in no special order. The robin is priest. The parrot reads the Gospel (the *Oratio*), the thrush the *Epistola* (Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians, 1 Thes. iv, 13-18):

The mauys with her whystell
Shall rede there the pystell.

The stockdove, the peewit and other birds sing the versicles, the peacock the *Graduale*:

The pecocke so prowde,
Because his voyce is lowde,
And hath a glorious tayle,
He shall syng the grayle.

The puffin and teal give alms, and the ostrich for lack of a singing voice,

Let hym ring the bellys;
He can do nothyng ellys.

Skelton's debt to the mediæval Bird Masses is clear. He used the Mass and the birds, but he dropped the conventional love theme of the French poets, and refashioned the Bird Mass to his own (in this case) more funereal purpose.

ABSOLUTIO SUPER TUMULUM

At line 513 a new element and a new Service are introduced. The Phoenix is brought in and given special duties, those associated with the priest celebrating the Absolution over the Tomb, a continuation of the Mass for the Dead, but in itself a separate Office. The Phoenix blesses the hearse and censes it

With aromatycke gummes
That cost great summes.

He is dressed

As a patryarke or pope
In a blacke cope

and he is bidden to sing:

He shall sing the verse
Libera me.

Now the celebrating priest of the Mass does not in fact wear a black cloak, even for the Mass for the Dead. But in the Rubric to the Absolution over the Tomb, we find the following directions:

Finita missa, si facienda est Absolutio, celebrans...deposito Manipulo, accipit pluviale nigrum, i.e., the celebrating priest puts off the manipule and assumes a black cloak. And at the close of the oration, the priest is directed to sing the Responsory *Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna*.

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And the other details of the poem fit the Rubric and verses for this Office with complete precision. The eagle is to be

the sedeane
The quere to demeane,

i.e., the *Subdiaconus* of the Rubric, while

The hobby and the muskette
The sencers and the crosse shall fet;
The kestrell in all this warke
Shall be holy water clarko

assign three more duties mentioned in the Rubric—the *Subdiaconus* bears the cross ('*Subdiaconus...defert crucem*'), and two Acolytes carry the incense and the holy water ('*praecedentibus duobus aliis Acolythis, uno cum thuribulo et navicula incensi, alio cum vase aquae benedictae et aspersorio*'). These coincidences, with the citation of the significant Responsory *Libera me*, leave no doubt whatsoever that the Mass for the Dead sung by the birds changes at line 513 for the succeeding Office—the Absolution over the Tomb. This ends at line 570.

OFFICIUM DEFUNCTORUM AGAIN.

In the next line (571) the poet is back again at the Vespers in the Office for the Dead. Evening is coming on—

And now the darke cloudy nyght
Chaseth away Phebus bright,
Taking his course toward the west,
God send my sparoes sole good rest!

and Skelton returns with telling effect to the close of Vespers for the Office, with *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine*, the closing lines of the final psalm; to which the verse follows *A porta inferi*; the antiphon *Credo videre bona Domini* of the Sarum Breviary and the verse *Domine, exaudi orationem meam* of other forms of the Office; to end with the final words of the Office, the *Dominus vobiscum*, the command *Oremus*, and the *Oratio*—the Oration with which the Office for the Dead at Vespers closes—*Deus cui proprium est misereri et parcere*, the special form of the Oration used when the body was present in the church. And here, for the first time in six hundred lines, Skelton parodies the Office—

On Phillips soule haue pyte!

and Philip is commended to the appropriate joys of his particular heaven in a few lines of parody on *sed iubeas eam* (i.e., the soul—*anima*) *a sanctis Angelis suscipi, et ad patriam paradisi perduc*i.

The whole conception is wonderfully clever; and the use of the Service formulæ add point and piquancy to an excellent piece of poetic workmanship. The use of the Vespers for the Dead, the change to the Requiem

Mass and again to the Absolution are finely handled, while the final return to the Vespers for the Office is a piece of masterly technique. It is almost a pity the poem goes any further.

ORDO COMMENDATIONIS ANIMAE

After a passage (lines 603–844) on the composition of a Latin epitaph for Philip, which need not be dealt with at this point, line 855 opens a new and independent section, the Commendacions, where the last of the Services is used, the Commendations of the Soul. But there is even less attempt than in the Mass of the Birds to follow the form of the Breviary. Indeed even the meaning of Commendations is altered. *Commendatio* in the Breviary was a commendation of the soul to God. The Commendacions in *Philip Sparrow* mean the praise of Joanna Scroupe, the supposed author of part one. The use of the Breviary is even more incidental and is confined almost to a running commentary derived from the psalm used in the *Ordo Commendationis*, Psalm 118. Starting with the couplet

Beati immaculati in via (Psalm 118)
O gloriosa femina,

he closes each verse-paragraph with four lines of Latin,

Hac claritate gemina
O gloriosa femina,

the invariable first couplet, and a second couplet consisting of a line from each of the sections in turn of Psalm 118 followed by a line of Latin generally derived from the Vulgate psalms. Only one example is necessary—

Hac claritate gemina
O gloriosa femina,
Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo, domina,
Et ex praecordiis sonant praeconia,

where line 3, as usual, is from Psalm 118, and line 4 is from the Hymn of St Thomas Aquinas sung at Matins on the Feast of Corpus Christi. This one example is sufficient to show that the structure of the Commendacions is completely different from that of the lament and that there is actually no great connection between the two parts. There is no reason why the Commendacions should not be of a later date.

At the end of the Commendacions (line 1238) Skelton makes a belated attempt (perhaps too a *later* attempt) to link them with the lament, and for a few lines he adheres once again to the Breviary—

Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine!
With this psalme, *Domine*, probasti me
Shall sayle over the see
With *Tibi*, *Domine*, commendamus—

this last being the final Oration, *Tibi, Domine, commendamus animam famuli tui*, of the *Ordo Commendationis Animae* from the Breviary. But, with the shift Skelton made in the meaning of 'commendation,' it is used with little enough appropriateness.

CONCLUSIONS.

The first obvious conclusion is that *Philip Sparrow* is no parody in any accepted sense of the word. Dunbar's *Dirige to the King at Stirling* is pure parody, following the Matins in the Office for the Dead and parodying the Responsories and each of the three lessons in turn, finishing with a word-for-word parody of the close of the Service in Latin. The typical Drinking Mass also parodies closely. *Introibo ad altare Dei* appears as *Introibo ad altare Bacchi*; *Deus vobiscum* as *Dolus vobiscum*; and even *Amen* as *Stramen*.

Nothing of the sort appears in *Philip Sparrow*. The formulæ of the various Services are introduced, but they are unchanged and perhaps not always even ridiculed. Instead they give a mock-serious background to the lament for Philip that is at any time liable to lose its mockery. There is no parody, and I doubt if there is even mockery, in the close of the first three Services:

God send my sparoes sole good rest!

Skelton was as serious over Joanna's loss as Catullus over Lesbia's, and his use of the Services for the Dead give a touch of formality that have an attraction of their own, even in comparison with the Latin poet.

I append a list of the Services used and the corresponding lines in *Philip Sparrow*:

Officium Defunctorum (Breviary), 1-386.

Missa pro Defunctis (Missal), 387-512.

Absolutio super Tumulum (Missal), 513-570.

Officium Defunctorum (Breviary), 571-602.

Ordo Commendationis Animae (Breviary), 845-1260.

IAN A. GORDON.

EDINBURGH.

SAMUEL PEPYS, TACHYGRAPHIST

THAT Pepys used shorthand for his diaries arouses curiosity on two points, first why he used such a device instead of ordinary script, and then whether his style in the great diary is influenced in any way by his use of this medium.

Pepys's motives for using Thomas Shelton's Tachygraphy have long been canvassed. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was confidently asserted that the diary was written in cipher and, consequently, that his chief motive was secrecy, an explanation which received apparent support from the impropriety of many of the entries, particularly those which discuss the conduct of important officials and courtiers. When, however, it became known that the script was no cipher but a system of shorthand quite popular among Pepys's contemporaries, opinion swung towards the view now generally held, that, although he may have been impressed by the cover it afforded, he was mainly persuaded to use Tachygraphy by the convenience of its speed. Shorthand, it is argued, was too popular in the seventeenth century to appeal to anybody as a secret cipher.

This argument suffers from the defect of so much criticism of Pepys's diary, that it regards that diary apart from other contemporary shorthand writings. Although there are several diaries, scriptures and other documents written in shorthand, and at least forty different systems in the seventeenth century, the subject has been so little studied that it was not until 1932 that even the corrupt state of the existing transcriptions of Pepys's diaries was noticed¹.

In the seventeenth century, despite the number and popularity of shorthand methods, there was a general conviction among shorthand inventors that their systems could be used as ciphers as well as means for fast writing, and they usually account this one of the chief advantages of their methods. Thus, the earliest printed stenography, Timothe Bright's *Characterie*, 1588, has the sub-title 'The Art of Short, Swift and Secret Writing by Character.' It is this belief that explains the fact that the most numerous documents written in shorthand which have survived from the seventeenth century are versions of the Bible and Psalms. Protestants of the time genuinely feared that the Catholics, if ever they had the opportunity, would entirely suppress the Scriptures,

¹ Cf. letters in *The Times Literary Supplement* of August 11 and 25, 1932, from Mr Edwin Chappell and the present writer.

or suspected that Puritans travelling abroad with the Bible upon them went in grave danger of losing life or liberty; and many of them turned to shorthand versions in the belief that they would not be recognised as Scriptures, and would thus safeguard their owners against the perils that attended people carrying ordinary versions. This belief is expressed very forcibly by Thomas Shelton in the Preface to his *Tutor to Tachygraphy*, 1642, where he stresses the importance of the fact that gentlemen and merchants in foreign parts could safely carry Bibles and Testaments written in this script 'without fear of the bloody inquisitors'; while an even more graphic expression of the same point of view is put forward in the following tragi-comic note written in the fly-leaves of a manuscript shorthand Bible now in Dr Williams's Library:

The penman of this shorthand manuscript of the Holy Scriptures was the venerable Mr Thomas Newman, born in the Cloth Fair near Smith Field, London, at the most malignant period of the plague of 1665. In the reign of King Charles II, when the protestant religion was in hazard of being subverted, he was apprentice to a London draper in the place of his nativity, and, under pious apprehension lest the Holy Scriptures should be called in and suppressed, that he might if possible preserve that invaluable treasure, determined to transcribe them in shorthand. So conscientious was this excellent youth not to deprive his master's service of his time, that he secretly determined and strictly adhered to the resolution of sitting up two whole nights in every week until he had accomplished the object. The discovery was made by the watchman, who called on the master and informed him that for some time he had frequently observed the light of a candle during the hours of his night watch, which he thought became him to mention, lest it might be from some improper cause....

This employment occupied him from October to the March following. The sitting up so many nights in a cold shop without fire was thought to be the cause of a profound deafness which afflicted him many years until his death.

In early life he had learned the value of 'the pearl of great price.'

This is certain, that despite the apparent popularity of shorthand in the seventeenth century, it was not so widely used that many people did not believe it could be employed as a secret cipher.

A further statement in the *Tutor to Tachygraphy* suggests that among these must have been a number of diarists, for Shelton says that 'sometimes a man may have occasion to write that which he would not have everyone acquainted with, which being set down in these characters, he may have them for his own private use only, and I have taught divers who have learned it for that very end.'

We do not know whether Pepys learned his shorthand from a writing master or, as was usually done at the time, from the book alone: nor do we know exactly when he began to learn it. Although many of his letters were duplicated in shorthand, none of these is dated earlier than 1661. It is, therefore, possible that he may have learned Tachygraphy with the express intention of using it for his diary, which, as Lord

Ponsonby suggests in his book *Samuel Pepys* (English Men of Letters, 1928, p. 73), would not have been begun on the spur of the moment, for Pepys was too deliberate a person, but must have been contemplated some time before it was actually commenced. One is even tempted to think that Shelton's *Tutor*, a popular book which Pepys must have seen many a time in the Paul's Yard bookshops, suggested to him the idea of keeping a journal 'which he would not have everyone acquainted with.' For, from Pepys's well-known remark to Sir W. Coventry concerning the undesirability of its being known that he kept a diary, we may feel confident that the element of secrecy was one reason, if not the only one, why he used shorthand.

As for the argument that the shorthand was too popular for Pepys to consider it as a cipher, it is pertinent that the diarist mentions only two other persons who knew shorthand, W. Hewer, who also used Shelton's method, and Sir W. Coventry, whom in 1661 Pepys saw reading the shorthand Psalms. It is impossible, however, that these Psalms were written in Shelton's method, for the printed 'singing psalms' in that system are believed to have been first published in 1665¹: it is quite likely that they were the Psalms engraved in Jeremiah Rich's system and first published c. 1660.

Lord Ponsonby supports the current opinion, however, that Pepys used shorthand 'as a convenience much more than as a secret cipher,' and there is much to be said for this point of view. Pepys was sufficiently competent as a stenographer to make verbatim reports of speeches: the shorthand of his report of Charles II's escape from the battle of Worcester² bears all the marks of having been taken down at a colloquial speed, yet the transcription he made is accurate (apart from stylistic improvements), and although the shorthand of the diary is much more neatly and carefully written, Pepys might well have written it at eighty words a minute. This facility led him, whenever he was pressed for time, to take to shorthand in making duplicates of documents. For example, on November 17, 1666, he writes: 'in the afternoon shut myself in my chamber, and there till twelve at night finishing my great letter to the Duke of York. It was a great convenience that what I had writ foule in short hand, I could read to W. Hewer, and he take it fair in short hand, so as I may read it tomorrow to Sir W. Coventry.' Shorthand was used in this way for copying many of his letters, and for writing those

¹ Cf. J. Westby-Gibson, *Bibliography of Shorthand*, 1883, and W. J. Carlton in *The Library*, June 1933, p. 74.

² MS. in Pepysian Library.

jottings on business and Parliamentary matters which are strewn throughout the Rawlinson MSS. relating to Pepys in the Bodleian Library.

But it seems unlikely that Pepys could have envisaged the possibility, when he began the diary, that he would often be hard put to it to find time to make his entries. Yet from the beginning the diary is written in shorthand. Nor was Pepys always pressed for time. Nevertheless, he continued to write in shorthand. In his business documents, when speed was not vital, he invariably dropped into longhand. Why, therefore, did he not occasionally use longhand for entries in the diary? It is hardly convincing merely to say that he had formed a habit, and one is inclined to think that the true judgment on this question is that Pepys used shorthand largely because of its secrecy, although he must at times have greatly appreciated its convenience.

Reference has been made above to the occasion when Pepys saw Sir W. Coventry reading the shorthand Psalms; and the diary states that he was greatly amused by the abbreviations for phrases which they contained. Until the present writer examined the original manuscript of the diary, it had always seemed possible to him that Pepys might have used such phrases himself. It is, however, little wonder that Pepys was amused by them, for many of them are delightfully absurd. William Addy's Bible (1687) contains two which would have pleased Pepys: a wavy line surmounted by a dot ('and the spirit of God hovered over the face of the waters') and a scrawl superimposed upon a circle ('all over the world'). Stenographers rejoiced so much in these phrases that Milton's friend, Samuel Hartlibb, proudly affirmed that in Dalgarno's system 'the whole Bible can be written in nine or ten sheets' (Sloane MS. 4377, No. 7). Pepys, however, does not employ any but the most commonly used shorthand phrases, and so escapes the trap, that might have ensnared a more enthusiastic stenographer, of fitting his style to the shorthand in order to write *maximum in minimo*.

Another feature of the shorthand writings of the time is the habit of abbreviation. Since the publication of Timothe Bright's *Characterie* in 1588, it had been usual for shorthand inventors to recommend in their text-books that, to secure speed in shorthand, it was necessary to take only the sense and not the actual words of what was being reported. This recommendation had the result in many documents of such abbreviation as is shown in the following literal transcription from a volume of shorthand Psalms contained in Additional MS. 39582 in the British Museum:

1. The Lord is my shepherd I shall not want.
2. He makes me to lie down in green pastures he leadeth me beside still waters.
3. He restoreth he leadeth me the paths right(eous)ness for his names sake.
4. Yea though walk through the valley shadow death fear no evil for art with me thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.
5. Thou preparest table before me the presence mine enemies thou anoint my head my cup runneth over.
6. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all days my life and will dwell house lord for ever.

This document, written in Henry Dix's shorthand about the year 1640, gives the impression of jottings or notes, and something of the spirit of being written without *arrière-pensée*, characteristic of Pepys.

The importance of this style of abbreviation in relation to the diary is obvious. A habit of contraction adopted in the course of making reports would probably persist, with the sequel that shorthand notes of original matter would tend to assume the character of jottings suited to expansion in transcription. It must be borne in mind that the editions we have of Pepys's diaries are literal transcriptions from the shorthand notes (with, however, numerous errors and such 'improvements' upon the originals as the editors, Lord Braybrooke, John Smith and Mynors Bright, saw fit to make). Now, the difference between the style of the diary and that of the letters and business documents is striking. Quite apart from its lack of personal element, which one would naturally not expect to find in papers relating to business, the style of Pepys's letters, even of those to intimate friends, moves by means of long periods with a slow gait that suggests the progress of a dignified and somewhat solemn civil servant. There are very few of the short, verbless phrases, or those sentences strung together in child-like fashion with 'and's' and 'so's' which lend to the diary that *naïveté* which is one of its greatest charms. Where in the diary is there any such sentence as this one from a letter to Captain Thomas Langley (6th March, 1678/9)¹?

For what you write touching the discourses you have met with in your neighbourhood about the election Harwich has made in their choice of Sir Anthony Deane and me, as if he were an Atheist and myself a Papist, I take the suggestions which any shall make of that kind to be so foolish as well as malicious that I shall not give myself the trouble to say or you to read more in answer thereto than this, viz., that as to Sir A. Deane, whoever knows him as well as our friends of Harwich and I do, knows that he has too much wit to be an Atheist, it being the fool only that Solomon tells us says in his heart, There is no God.

This contrast of style is perhaps most graphically illustrated in the series of documents which John Smith transcribed in 1841 and published as the Tangier Diary (1683-4), and which was in November last reprinted by Messrs Dent and Sons¹. The relative documents in Rawlinson MSS.

¹ *Letters and Second Diary of Samuel Pepys*, edited by R. G. Howarth, 1932.

C. 859 and A. 190 contain all the actual diary and a number of business documents and reports, also written in shorthand, which Pepys wrote during the same expedition. Smith in his edition saw fit to incorporate long passages from the latter documents into the diary itself, to excise a great deal of the personal element in the diary entries, and to bowdlerise them with such puritanical fervour that even the references to Pepys's sea-sickness (and he was constantly sea-sick) are omitted. This pernicious editing has had two results, first, that the Tangier Diary has gained a reputation for dullness which the actual diary does not wholly merit, and, secondly, that a curious hare has been started in Pepysian criticism, for the latest editor, Mr R. G. Howarth, commenting in his Preface on the fact that in this diary 'where he had the opportunity to digress into personalities, he stuck to his task like an official and permitted himself few irrelevancies,' has suggested a most fascinating 'psychological' explanation. It is now known that Mary Skinner, from 1670, shortly after the death of Pepys's wife, became his mistress, and that the liaison continued for thirty-three years until the diarist's death. The change, says Mr Howarth, from the promiscuous lover of the earlier diary to the pedestrian philosopher and moralist of the Tangier Diary 'is due, it may be assumed, to Mary Skinner.' Nothing could serve to show more strikingly the difference that exists between the style of the diary and the style of the documents which Pepys wrote for the information of other people.

There are numerous letters which Pepys wrote in shorthand, but they all seem to be copies of letters originally written in longhand and, in consequence, afford no opportunity of comparing Pepys's epistolary shorthand style with his longhand style. This problem of the influence of shorthand upon the diary might well be capable of definite solution if we had any example of Pepys's own transcription from his shorthand notes. We have, of course, his famous transcription from the report which he took down from Charles II of the King's escape from the battle of Worcester, but it has the disadvantage of being a report and not Pepys's own account. Despite this, it does give some little evidence of the modifications which Pepys might have made had he transcribed his own diary. The shorthand of the report contains frequent insertions which suggest that Pepys read it over to the King, who made these amendments, before it was transcribed, so that the shorthand probably represents the King's approved account. Yet, over and above these Royal corrections, Pepys made in his transcription numerous small emendations, such as those shown in the following passage:

Longhand

So we rodd through a towne, short of Wolverhampton, betw. that and Worcester, and went through, there lyeing a Troope of ye Enemyes there that Night. Wee rode very quietly through ye Towne, they having no boddy to Watch, nor they suspecting us noe more then we did them.

Shorthand.

So we rid through a town...short of Wolverhampton between that and Worcester and went through the town where there was a troop of the enemies lying that night we riding very quietly through the town and not having no body to watch or stop there not suspecting us nor we them.

Such amendments are frequent, while alterations of tense, and similar small changes, are fairly common, and there are several independent insertions.

Pepys, therefore, was not disposed towards a literal transcription of the shorthand which he wrote, even when he was transliterating the report of his King. We may feel confident that, had he transcribed his own diary, he would have made much more drastic alterations. He would probably have made the style more periodic, and would certainly have regularised those sudden changes of tense that abound in the diary as we now have it. Such changes would certainly not have been improvements.

Quite apart from the question of improvements, it is indisputable that, owing to certain characteristics of Shelton's Tachygraphy, some few features of the diary are partly due to the impossibility of making an absolutely accurate transcription of the diary. In Shelton's system, single signs often do service for different words or for several forms of a verb, and it frequently happens that two or more of these variants will fit into the sentence. Thus, the sign for *have* also represents *has*, *hath*, *had*; *see* is often written in the same way as *saw*; and *come* as *came*; and the haphazard fashion in which the transcribers have dealt with such forms accounts for numerous variations of tense in the diary. Yet, from other definite forms, it is apparent that Pepys was in the habit when writing his diary of changing his tenses without regard to regularity, and it is doubtful whether he himself could have said what tense of the above verbs he had originally had in mind in any particular case.

There are many other small ways in which the shorthand may be held to be directly responsible for unusual forms, such as when Pepys uses an adjective with adverbial force, as in 'exceeding fine,' where the omission of the adverbial ending may be due simply to the accidental omission of a dot from the shorthand.

One would be hard put to it to say exactly how much of the colloquial style of the diary is due to the use of shorthand, but it seems clear that it owes some little debt at least to the script. For one thing, the fact that marks of punctuation in Shelton's shorthand are confined to the

full-stop would naturally deter a writer from attempting a periodic style. Then it is plain that Pepys uses colloquial past tenses, such as *I sung*, *I ridd*, *I drunk*, in shorthand, but elsewhere adopts the forms which were then beginning to be regular and have since become standard.

We may, therefore, be certain that the use of shorthand influenced to some extent the sentence structure of the diary, and it may also have modified his choice of words. Tachygraphy is very ill-adapted to writing long words, which it is often much easier to write in longhand; and since Pepys in 1660 was not so proficient in shorthand as he became later (the Tangier Diary contains extremely few longhand words apart from names, while the earlier diary has many words written in full), it is open for consideration whether this difficulty of writing learned words in shorthand has not something to do with the simple and homely vocabulary of the diary.

Even apart from technical questions, however, there is one most important way in which shorthand influenced the style. A method of writing which enables an author to jot down without check his most rapid thoughts, observations and impressions naturally lends itself to a discursive, unstudied manner of statement. It imposes no brake upon the writer's fancy, and outruns a mental censure. Or, more simply, the plain fact that Pepys often had little time to write his entries makes it certain that the diary would have been much more precise and chronological had it not been for the good offices of shorthand. It would certainly have been briefer, and it is most likely, judging from other diaries, that what would have been omitted would have been the opinions and descriptions.

It is tempting to overstate such a case as this, but the following matters are clear. The style of Samuel Pepys when he writes in longhand is prosy, adopting long, periodic sentences and a rather pedantic vocabulary, while the style of his diaries, written in shorthand, is by contrast colloquial, with loose sentences and a racy, often homely, vocabulary. In some minor ways, the latter style is undoubtedly due to the use of shorthand instead of longhand, whether by reason of mistakes in transcription or in the shorthand, or of the limitations imposed by the system of shorthand used. This system was unfitted to facile use in any but a colloquial style; its speed in such a style naturally lent itself to the rapid outpouring of ideas and impressions, with some consequent neglect of the fashion in which they were set down; and the traditional shorthand device of abbreviation may have lent its force to the same end.

W. MATTHEWS.

THE BASIC MANUSCRIPT OF THE MARCADÉ 'VENGEANCE'

Up to the present time the work of Eustache Marcadé of Corbie has been recognised only in the well-known Arras manuscript¹ of his *Mystère de la Vengeance de Notre Seigneur*. Yet a textually and artistically superior manuscript has remained since 1812 in the Duke of Devonshire's library at Chatsworth House (Derbyshire)² without hitherto becoming the object of a single adequate investigation. Incidentally, the manuscript which has been thus neglected brought the fourth highest price among the more than ten thousand lots offered at auction in the widely famous Roxburghe sale. The *Vengeance* came to my attention during a visit to the library for the purpose of examining the Chatsworth copy of *Gillion de Trazegnies*³.

To the Duke of Devonshire my thanks are due for the privilege of repeated access to the mediæval French manuscripts in his possession. Mr Francis Thompson, who is in charge of the Chatsworth collections, has been especially helpful in adjusting the facilities of the library to my interest. I desire also to acknowledge my indebtedness to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant which in 1931 enabled me to devote several weeks in Chatsworth and Arras to the *Vengeance* of Eustache Marcadé.

Except for obscure mentions⁴ in 1791, 1812, and 1908, I have found

¹ Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 697, ff. 309 b-485 d.

² In the records at Chatsworth the *Vengeance* was not even classified as a dramatic work. Cf. the entry by J. Lacaita, *Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth*, iv, London, 1879, p. 329: 'VENGEANCE de notre Seigneur. Cy commence la vengeance de nre seigneur ihucrist. 2 vols. fol. ol. mor. g. e. and Roxburgh (sic) arms. A MS. on vellum with very fine illuminations. It was bought at the Roxburghe sale for £493. 10s. It had belonged to the Lamoignon Library.'

³ Cf. my article in *Romania*, LVIII, 1932, pp. 66-77; also Durrieu's reference in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXXI, 1910, p. 71.

⁴ *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. de Lamoignon, garde des sceaux de France*. A Paris, chez Merigot jeune, Libraire (3 vols.). At the end of volume II a *Catalogue particulier des manuscrits* (p. 17) records under number 168 'Le Mistère de la vengeance de Notre Seigneur J.C. mis en rime François, & par personnages. Vol. in-fol. velin avec miniatures.' The same manuscript, figuring as no. 3712 in the Roxburghe sale, was auctioned off on June 5, 1812. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Library of the late John Duke of Roxburghe* . . . , London, 1812, p. 110: '3712 Le Mystere de la Vengeance de Notre Seigneur J. Christ, 2 vol. fol. MS. sur velin décoré avec beaucoup des plus belles Miniatures. Ceci est le plus superbe MS. de ce genre.' In the preface (p. 15) to the catalogue, George Nicol singles out the *Vengeance* from among the French dramatic manuscripts to give its beauty particular praise. In 1908 Sydney C. Cockerell notes the Chatsworth *Vengeance* with cavalier brevity (especially in comparison with his comment on the *Gillion de Trazegnies*, pp. 79-80) in the catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition (p. 80). The catalogue does, however, contain a photograph (plate 6) of the case in which the *Vengeance* and eleven other volumes were displayed; the manuscript is open at folios 8 v^o-9 r^o (first volume) and 165 v^o-166 r^o (second volume), but is too remote from the camera to be read easily.

only one further specification that the Duke of Devonshire's manuscript contained a mystery play. In 1908 Count Paul Durrieu made a cursory examination of the manuscript while it was on exhibit at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London. Two years later he published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (LXXI, pp. 53-63) a brief note which manages, not without inaccuracies, to name the copyist and the miniaturist and which links the manuscript with the Burgundian ducal court. Durrieu admits failure to identify the particular version of the *Vengeance* which the manuscript preserves. The scantiness and inexactness of his contribution will render duplications in the following account virtually negligible.

In the 1467 and 1487 inventories of the Burgundian ducal library are two references to a *Vengeance de Notre Seigneur* which lead to a complete identification of the Chatsworth manuscript. The earlier inventory includes 'ung autre livre en parchemin couvert d'ais noirs, bien clouez, intitulé au dehors: *C'est la Vengeance de Nre Seigneur Jhes-Christ*; comançant au second feuillet après la table, *Contre Jh. Ch. leur Seigneur*, et au derner, *savoit la mort de J. C.*'¹ Another description, appearing in the 1487 inventory², calls the manuscript 'ung autre grant volume couvert de cuir noir, à tout cloans et cinq boutons de léton sur chacun costé, historié et intitulé: *La Vengeance de notre Seigneur Jésus-Crist*; encomenchant ou second feuillet, *Come Jésus-Crist leur Seigneur*, et finissant ou derrenier, *in secula seculorum. Amen.*'

Still more enlightening is some further information which has been preserved in records of the ducal court of Burgundy. Final identification now becomes possible from an article published in 1865 by Alexandre Pinchart³, who, to be sure, regarded the *Vengeance* of the inventories as a lost manuscript. A document⁴ of July, 1468, from which he quotes gives the following account⁵ of payment to copyist and illuminator:

Audit Loyset⁶, pour avoir fait encoires xx ystoires de plusieurs couleurs ou livre intitulé: *la Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur Jhésu-Crist*, toutes d'une grandeur, audit pris de xviiiij s. chascune ystoire: xviiiij livres.

Pour avoir fait xxiiiij grandes lettres à champaigne d'or et vingnettes dedens, à xij deniers pièce, font: xxiiiij s.

Pour avoir fait relier et couvrir ledit livre: xxxj s.

¹ MS. 792 in J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique, ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berry, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens*, Paris, 1830, p. 133.

² Barrois MS. 1680 (p. 240).

³ 'Miniatures, enlumineurs et calligraphes employés par Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire et leurs œuvres' in the *Bulletin des Commissions royales d'Art et d'Archéologie*, iv, pp. 474-510.

⁴ Register 1923 in the Chambre des Comptes of the Archives du Royaume at Brussels. The citation concerning the *Vengeance* occurs on f. 173 r^o (cf. Pinchart, pp. 475-7). Another copy is at Lille, in the Archives du département du Nord.

⁵ Pinchart, p. 476.

⁶ I.e., Loyset Liédet of Hesdin.

Pour x gros cloux de letton; pour petis cloux, pour les attachier dessus, et pour courroyes de cuyr à le fermer: xiiij s.

A Yvonnet le Jeune, clerc, escriptvaïn, pour avoir contre escryt et grossé en lettre bastarde ledit livre intitulé: *la Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur Jhésu-Crist*, pour Mondit-seigneur (i.e., Philip the Good) contenant xxxviij kayers de parchemin, au pris de xvj s. le kayer, font: xxx livres viij s.

Pinchart assumes (p. 485), in view of the date of the document, that 1468 was likewise the date when Yvonnet le Jeune executed the manuscript. This might at first sight appear inconsistent with the inventory of 1467¹, which definitely links the *Vengeance* with the library of Philip the Good (d. June 15, 1467). It is possible, however, that the duke ordered the manuscript to be prepared, but did not live to see its completion². It is equally reasonable to suppose merely that the payments to scribe and illuminator were deferred until after the accession of Charles the Bold. That such payments were not always prompt is illustrated, for example, in the case of Jean Wauquelin, who completed his *Girart de Roussillon* June 16, 1447, but was not paid until the following year³. In any case, July, 1468, is a proven *terminus ad quem* for the Burgundian *Vengeance*, and at the earliest it could scarcely have been finished more than two or three⁴ years before.

There is but little more in the early record to be tabulated about the *Vengeance* manuscript prepared for Philip the Good. It continued to be mentioned in inventories of the Burgundian ducal library down into the sixteenth century, as late as the catalogue of Viglius de Zuichem in 1577. But at some date prior to 1643⁵ it had disappeared entirely. That this is, however, the same *Vengeance* which found its way to the Lamoignon library, fell into the hands of the Parisian bookseller Merigot in 1789, became the property of the Duke of Roxburghe, and finally entered the collections of the Duke of Devonshire, is a fact which the evidence supports unmistakably.

The Chatsworth *Vengeance* in the first place identifies itself satisfactorily with Barrois 792 and 1680. Like Barrois 792 it has a table of rubrics, and the second folio after the table begins with v. 38: *Contre jhesucrist leur seigneur. V. 14878 (Scauoit la mort de jhesucrist)* is the first on f. 302, which is the next to last leaf in the manuscript. Barrois

¹ For a discussion of the authenticity of 1467 as the date of the inventory, see G. Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1909, pp. xxxviii-xli.

² Cf. Doutrepont, p. 222.

³ Cf. Doutrepont, pp. 22-9, and particularly the payment records quoted on pp. 23-4.

⁴ In the Chatsworth manuscript a script hand has written the phrase *En l'an 1465* in very light ink in the upper left-hand corner of f. 1 r°. Although the writing may be that of a contemporary or even of the copyist himself, it does not follow that 1465 is necessarily the date of the manuscript.

⁵ Cf. J. Marchal, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale des Ducs de Bourgogne*, 1, p. ccliii.

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1680 likewise begins its second folio with r. 38, and ends its final folio with the last line of the Chatsworth version (v. 14972: *In seculorum secula. Amen*).

The slight discrepancies between the Chatsworth manuscript and the Barrois descriptions become only the more negligible in the light of comparison with the payment record published by Pinchart. It is possible on the basis of several additional manuscripts to compare the illumination and the calligraphy of the Chatsworth manuscript with other products of Loyset Liédet and Yvonné le Jeune¹. It is they, incidentally, who executed the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript (français 22547) of the *Faits et gestes d'Alexandre le Grand*². On the ground of workmanship there is no objection to crediting them with the confection of the *Vengeance* now at Chatsworth. Both the Burgundian *Vengeance* and the Chatsworth copy contain thirty-eight quires which, in the latter, comprise the usual eight leaves each³. Both copies have twenty miniatures⁴, which at Chatsworth are of fairly uniform dimensions⁵. The Burgundian manuscript is credited with twenty-four 'grandes lettres à champaigne d'or et vignettes dedens,' or just one more than in the *Vengeance* at Chatsworth. The Chatsworth text begins with an elaborate initial letter after every miniature⁶ save on f. 261 v^o alone. This single exception was scarcely intentional, and it may well have been overlooked in the Burgundian payment record. Such an oversight would explain the scant disagreement as to the number of initial letters.

The magnificent manuscript at Chatsworth accords so convincingly in size, illuminations, text, and calligraphy that its identity with the

¹ Cf. Durrieu, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXXI, pp. 61-2. Cf. also Doutrepont, p. 35 (and note 6) for comment and bibliography on Liédet, and p. 212 (and note 3) for Yvonné.

² Further manuscripts with miniatures by Liédet are in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale, 6-9, and 9244), Paris (Arsenal, 5072-75), and Munich (120, Gall. 7). MS. fr. 24378 in the Bibliothèque Nationale may likewise owe its illuminations to Liédet; cf. L. F. H. Lowe, *Gérard de Nevers (Elliott Monographs 13)*, pp. 7-8. H. Martin and Ph. Lauer (*Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, Paris, 1929; cf. pp. 49-50) have published photographs (plates lxi-lxvi) of several Liédet illuminations.

³ The number at the beginning of many of the quires is still visible. The fact that this numbering terminates with 39 instead of 38 is explained by the skipping of a number between 18 and 21. Quire 18 begins at f. 134 r^o and quire 21 at f. 150 r^o. The manuscript as it is now bound contains 303 vellum leaves with writing and two which are blank (one at the beginning and one at the end). Thus the 38 quires sufficed for the contents of the Chatsworth manuscript, and the second blank vellum leaf was presumably added in binding.

⁴ The miniatures in the Chatsworth manuscript are on folios 3 r^o, 9 r^o, 28 r^o, 38 r^o, 48 r^o, 60 v^o, 92 r^o, 110 r^o, 127 v^o, 137 r^o, 144 v^o, 165 v^o, 174 r^o, 206 r^o, 215 r^o, 227 r^o, 239 v^o, 247 v^o, 261 v^o, 299 v^o.

⁵ The miniatures all measure from 14.5 to 15 cm. across, but in the vertical sense the range is between 11 and 15 cm.

⁶ The four letters not connected with miniatures appear on folios 38 v^o, 77 r^o, 168 r^o, 221 r^o.

Vengeance executed for Philip the Good is not open to question. Its history thereby becomes known for upwards of three centuries of its existence. This chronology is, however, not complete without a reference to its present form in two volumes, for it is regularly listed as a single volume in the early records. The fact that the stamp of the Bibliotheca Lamoniiana appears to-day on the inside front cover and on the second folio of each volume indicates that the *Vengeance* had been rebound in two volumes at least prior to 1789, the date of its purchase by Merigot. The present bindings have in effect every appearance of belonging to the period around 1700.

As for physical characteristics not so far mentioned, the 137 leaves in the first volume measure 367×262 mm. and the 168 leaves in the second measure 366×263 . The 606 single-column pages (unnumbered by the scribe) regularly have thirty lines each, except where miniatures appear. The calligraphy is in the *lettre bâtarde* characteristic of the sumptuous manuscripts executed for the Burgundian ducal court. Now and then, however, an occasional word¹ is joined to the text of Yvonnet le Jeune in a light cursive script of the same period. It is this same script which may be seen sometimes in catchwords (e.g., the *Aux gens* of v. 9354 in the bottom margin of f. 189 v^o) at the end of quires. The rubrics, which are often elaborate, are in red ink and the versified dialogue in black.

The manuscript, which is bound in olive morocco, is in an excellent state of preservation. Each volume bears the Roxburghe arms, on front and back cover alike, together with the motto *Pro Christo et patria*. The monogram (a script *D* beneath the block letters *W S*) of William Spencer, sixth Duke of Devonshire, is stamped in each corner of the front and back covers; above each of these sixteen monograms a ducal coronet is represented. On each volume the spine, which has much gilt tracery, is stamped in eleven places with a letter *W* beneath a coronet. Some of the *W*'s, to be sure, are concealed by the leather strips which carry labels for each volume:

VENGEA
DE
N.S.J.C.
TOM I
M²
7 4

VENGEAN
DE
N.S.J.C.
TOM II
M
7 5

¹ Cf. vv. 3401 (rubric), 6684, 6775, 7060, 9061 (rubric), 9455, 11845, and line 22 of f. 93 v^o. The same hand presumably wrote in the *En Van 1465* on f. l r^o (cf. *supra*, p. 407, note 4).

² The catalogue references, *M* 74 and *M* 75, are considerably separated from the indications above.

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On the inside front cover of the two volumes the Lamoignon stamp is accompanied by the library numbers *Y 66* and *Y 67*, respectively. The *48 B* which also appears on each inside front cover designates the book-case number and shelf letter in the Chatsworth Library. On the verso of the fly-leaf, volume one shows the Roxburghe sale¹ number 3712, and volume two the number 7310. The number 7310 is likewise recorded in volume one on the verso of the paper leaf following the fly-leaf. The recto of this paper leaf bears also in the first volume the reference *M 70* corrected to *M 74*, and in the second volume *M 71* corrected to *M 75*.

The first two folios of the Chatsworth manuscript give the title² and the dramatis personæ. The first day³ (vv. 1-4186) of the mystery begins on f. 3 r^o, the second day (vv. 4187-8394) on f. 87 r^o, the third day (vv. 8395-11433) on f. 169 r^o, and the fourth day (vv. 11434-14972) on f. 230 v^o.

The remainder of the present investigation will be devoted to the manuscript tradition of Eustache Marcadé, a problem which assumes very new aspects with the discovery of the manuscript at Chatsworth. Discussion of the language of the copyist will be reserved for a later study, to accompany a treatment of the language of Marcadé. For the moment it is sufficient to remark that the Chatsworth scribe, Yvonnet le Jeune, while betraying northerly leanings, is nearer than Marcadé to standard literary French. The Arras copyist, on the other hand, parades more regional habits than either Marcadé or Yvonnet. For greater convenience, the Chatsworth manuscript will henceforth be labelled C, and the Arras manuscript A.

At first glance it might seem, inasmuch as the Arras *Vengeance* required only three days for performance, that C would differ from it radically. It is, in fact, true that A lacks over a thousand lines⁴ which are present in the Duke of Devonshire's manuscript. But the verses which C and A have in common are closely united.

In addition to the testimony of C and A, there is a late fifteenth-century mystery play which is indispensable to a complete study of the Marcadé manuscript tradition. The *Mystère de la Vengeance de Notre Seigneur* which was published for the first time by Antoine Vêrard in 1491 is

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 405, note 4

² *Ly* (sic) *apres sensuyuent les noms des pesonnages* (sic) *contenus en ce liure nomme et intitule la vengeance de n're seigneur ih'ucrist* (f. 1 r^o). It is perhaps here that the reason may be found for the repeated failure to record this *Vengeance* as a dramatic writing.

³ The verse numbering adopted in this study is that of a critical text based on C.

⁴ A few lines in A are absent from C, so that the actual quantitative difference between the manuscripts involves a plurality of 993 verses for C. The total number of lines in C is 14954, while A contains 13961.

based in large part on the work of Marcadé¹. This later drama, to be designated from now on as V, not only derives its theme from Marcadé but has perpetuated with little or no change a large quantity of his original verse as well. It is in virtue of these verses, carried over from Marcadé with almost verbatim servility, that V sheds light on the relation between C and A. The word for word similarity between the two plays is confined almost entirely to the second day in each, but even with this limitation it embraces a span of nearly five thousand verses.

The division of the play in each of the three copies provides an immediate and clear-cut hint for manuscript grouping. Although performance requires four days according to CV and only three according to A, it is not the scheme of C but that of A which governs the arrangement of the days in V. This apparent contradiction is readily explained. The first two days begin at the same point in C, A, and V, respectively, but the second day includes less in C than in AV. The disparity involves upwards of a thousand lines, for C ends the action of the second day with v. 8343 and AV only with v. 9390. Hence, since only one² of the two remaining days in V is based on Marcadé, and since the narrative elements of the whole play in A reappear almost without exception in V, it follows that the V redactor worked not only from a three-day version of Marcadé but from one which was divided exactly after the manner of A.

The resemblance of V to A is further borne out by their failure to include the several long passages which appear only in C. The Chatsworth manuscript includes eight such passages ranging from 60 to 167 verses each and eleven more ranging from 4 to 32 verses each. There is no trace of any of these passages in AV, and it is reasonable to suppose that without exception they were absent from the redaction behind V as well. In the second day of the play, where V is following his Marcadé

¹ No manuscript copy of this later mystery is known. For a minute analysis of its narrative, cf. Louis Paris, *Toules peintes et tapisseries de la ville de Reims*, II, Paris, 1843, pp. 606-918. The Marcadé and Vêrard mysteries are compared in two German dissertations: Bernhard Oldorp, *Untersuchungen über das Mystère 'La Vengeance Nostre seigneur, Paris 1491, Anthoine Vêrard' und sein Verhältnis zu dem 'Mystère de la Vengeance de Nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist etc.'*, Handschrift Nr. 697 der Stadtbibliothek zu Arras, Greifswald, 1907, and Otto Geister, *Die Teufelszenen in der Passion von Arras und der Vengeance Jhesucrist. Ein Beitrag zur Verfasserfrage*, Greifswald, 1914. For the purposes of any comparison between the published mystery and Marcadé, there is no advantage in utilising the editions (1493, 1498, 1510, circa 1526, 1531, 1539) subsequent to the first Vêrard printing. I have examined the editions of 1491, 1493, 1498, 1510, 1539 sufficiently to be satisfied that the variations are infinitesimal and of no interest or significance (cf. also Oldorp, pp. 5-6). The information available to me concerning the other two printings points clearly to the same evaluation. In allusions to the published *Vengeance* I shall consequently confine all references to the 1491 Vêrard edition.

² The third day in V is based on Josephus, Hegesippus, and Boccaccio (cf. Oldorp, p. 31).

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source most closely, the verses which immediately precede and follow the passages in C are contiguous in AV; a fact which can be verified for four of the longer passages and also for four additional separate couplets¹. It is perhaps not entirely accurate to say that V lacks any trace of these verses; textually there is not a vestige, but the narrative in V may possibly have been influenced slightly by material in vv. 6128–6253 and 8653–8752. The Vêrard edition (f. 59 v^o) contains a few verses which probably arose independently but which might have been suggested from the scenes (cf C, vv. 6128–72, 6197–6253) representing the preparations for the capture of Pilate. Between vv. 8652 and 8753, both C and V contain a scene² relating to the signs and portents which anticipate the destruction of Jerusalem. The details and the phraseology are very different in the two versions and the fundamental theme is merely one which would readily enter the materials of any writer dealing with the expedition of Titus and Vespasian. But the fact that this scene appears in exactly the same place in C and in V may not have been due wholly to coincidence.

While exclusions and inclusions of brief passages³ are scarcely indicative of the relative value of C and A, they are helpful in a comparison of CA with V. In the first place, A contains sixteen couplets for each of which one of the requisite lines is missing. All of these lines are present in C and, in the three instances where Marcadé phraseology is being followed, they are also present in V. C is likewise guilty of incomplete couplets upon eighteen occasions. In all but one (occurring in a long passage preserved by C alone) of these cases, there is no omission in A, nor does the V redactor leave any gap in the five couplets which adhere to the wording of the earlier *Vengeance*. In addition, V has preserved two couplets, in neither instance indispensable to the context, of which one is present only in C and the other only in A.

It is already evident, both from the division into days and from the exclusions and inclusions, that the Marcadé text behind V is to be linked with A but is at the same time to be regarded as superior to the manuscript in Arras. The impression of this superiority is not diminished by an examination of differences in readings. Like the exclusions and inclusions, the readings continue to show accords between A and V, and they add to the CV agreements which would imply individual alteration in A.

¹ I.e., vv. 4450–9, 4910–11, 4946–7, 5144–5, 6128–6253, 6307–6415, 7563–4, 8653–8752.

² In V the scene is only 84 lines long.

³ It may be noted that the printings of 1493, 1498, 1510, and 1539 support the 1491 edition without exception in regard to all exclusions and inclusions discussed in this investigation.

It must be conceded that the readings furnish no testimony which points satisfactorily to elements of common error.

Faulty metre in C is not infrequently the explanation of agreement in AV by themselves, but the second day of the play contains a number of accords which are perhaps not the mere result of arbitrary modification in the Chatsworth manuscript. A few of the better illustrative cases are listed, despite the fact that individually they are not always of overpowering significance:

- v. 4582: C *tibre* (i.e., the Tiber), AV *tinbre*.
- vv. 4809-11: C *Mars ioy et mes compaignons*
Loyrent aussi bien que my
Qu'il disoit aux femmes ainsi.
- In v. 4810 AV read *Loyrent comme moy aussi.*
- v. 4991: C *Mais maintenant la chose empire.*
 AV *Mais la chose trop fort empire.*
- v. 5539: C *prendre grant*, AV *prendreés*.
- v. 6613: CAV *Monseigneur le menrons nous* (AV omit *nous*) *pendre*.
- v. 6966: C *Vo noblesse vostre clemence.*
 AV *Vostre noblesse et excellance.*
- vv. 7197-8: C *Puis que mauves fait empereur*
Et vostre souverain seigneur.
 AV *Puis que mauvez fait cest honneur*
Se (V omits *Se*) *que de faire vostre empereur.*
- v. 7418: C *Point ny a grant peril au fort.*
 AV *Il ny a pas grant pril* (V *perte*) *au fort.*
- v. 8099: CAV *Sire affin que ie delibere*
Sans abusison (AV *affeccion*) *franchement.*

Similarly some of the more plausible specimens of CV agreement may be noted:

- v. 5629: CV *chauderon*, A *grant chaudron*.
- v. 6271: CV *Troussons il le fault emmener* (V *amener*)
 A *Car il nous vous couurent mener.*
- v. 6609: ACV *Tout droit pendre a j. bon* (CV omit *bon*) *gibet*.
- vv. 7246-7: CAV *Qua* (A *Qui a*) *ma semblance soit* (A omits *soit*) *fourmee*
Et faites (A *Soit et fay*) *crier hault et bas.*
- v. 7307: ACV *Soit pour battre ou soit* (CV omit *soit*) *pour tuer*.
- vv. 7487-93: C *Ca crapault venes en enfer*
Boute lui la broche de fer
Toute ardant dedens celle pance
Faisons lui beaucoup de meschante (sic)
Et puis le trebuchons la bas
En la chaudiere avec iudas
Cayphe et herode le grant.
- V *Sa crapault saillez vistement*
Or le trainons appertement
En la grant fournaise denfer
Boute lui ta broche de fer
Toute ardant dedens la pance
Faisons lui beaucop de meschance
Et puis le trebuchons la bas
En la chaudiere ou est iudas
Cayn et herodes le grant.
- A *Ca crapaut ca venez vous ent*

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*Boutons lui des fols plus de cent
Nous grauves tous dedans la pance
Faisons lui biancop de meschance
Et puis le tresbuchons la bas
Avec le trahitre judas
Et avec herode le grant.*

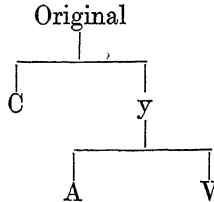
- vv. 7933-5: CAV *Que si bonne solucion* (A *excusacion*, V *saluacion*)
Donroit pour excusacion (A *D. et telle saluacion*)
Que chascun en seroit (A *c. se tenroit*) *content*.
v. 7948: ACV *De mener contre eulx vo* (CV *omt vo*) *bataille*.
v. 7976: CV *ie viuray*, A *viueray*.

CV are not without further points of agreement which may be indicated here. For instance, the city of Jaffa in CV is regularly called *Japhe* (v. 8553 ss.), whereas in A it is garbled into *Jasse*. The three messengers who come to Jerusalem in search of a remedy for Vespasian's illness are *chevaliers* (v. 5139 ss.) in CV and *escuiers* in A; on f. 52 d (v. 18), however, V calls them *escuiers* as well. It is Zorobabel according to CV, and Gamaliel according to A, who speaks the lines 5831-64. Pilate's gaoler at Lyon is referred to in CV as the *geaulier* (v. 6514 ss.), and in A as the *tourier*.

The textual concordances which have been enumerated are typical in that, like the rest of the reading testimony, they fail to postulate any definite grouping among the redactions of the *Vengeance*. Even the evidence of those concordances which involve either dialectal or metrical particularities is quite inconclusive. Study of the prose materials (rubrics and epistles) has shown that they too contain occasional agreements of V with A by the side of others with C.

There are, however, definite observations which are justified by the testimony of the readings, especially if this testimony be considered in conjunction with that of the exclusions and inclusions. (1) The printed edition virtually never supports an erroneous manuscript reading, and even then only in a fashion so trivial as to be unconvincing (cf. vv. 4582, 6609, 6613, 7307, 7948). (2) From the point of view of numerical frequency, V agrees noticeably more with A than with C. (3) Despite the resemblance between A and the V-ancestor, which is more marked than the resemblance of either version to C, there is as yet no obstacle to a hypothesis that C, A, and V are derived, each independently of the other, in three separate direct lines from the original form of the play. (4) At the same time, nothing militates against a hypothesis that AV have a common source in which the original play has already been subjected to changes not reflected in C. (5) In no case can it be maintained that C is based on any intermediate form of the play which has likewise served as a source for one and only one of the other extant versions.

The manuscripts of the *Vengeance* of Eustache Marcadé are derived either independently or else in conformity with the diagram given below. Obviously the first of these alternatives is the less complimentary to C. No proof exists, however, which establishes the validity of either classification to the exclusion of the other.



The study of manuscript relations has not of itself fixed the basic version for a critical edition of the *Vengeance*. The choice between C and A must, in the last analysis, be made in terms of their respective intrinsic virtues and failings.

The several long passages¹ occurring only in C must of necessity figure largely in the selection between the two manuscripts. A brief résumé will clarify subsequent discussion of their significance. The first two and the last of these passages make a connected whole which sets forth an imprisonment and rescue of Joseph of Arimathea (vv. 3002-75, 3314-25, 13774-13940). In vv. 6128-6253 C elaborates on the journey of the individuals sent by Tiberius to capture Pilate, and also includes the speculations of Ysmael and Ysacar, high priests in Jerusalem who deplore Pilate's misrule and hope for his downfall. Josephus, *duc et capitaine de Iherusalem*, who according to C makes his first appearance² at v. 6307, pronounces a lengthy discourse (vv. 6321-6415) concerning the just punishment visited on Pilate. In vv. 8653-8752 Ysmael and Ysacar are fearful about the signs over Jerusalem; Sadoc and Nacor (*Juifz, hommes de mestier*) envisage the prospect of famine. In the course of warnings to other leaders in Jerusalem, Josephus, according to C (vv. 9820-79), interprets at some length the appearance of a comet over the city. The besieged city of Jonaspere is urged by its own leader, Japhet, to surrender to the Romans: in C alone (vv. 8966-97) he repeats and enlarges upon the views which he has already set forth in vv. 8945-58. A little further on, C furnishes a scene (vv. 9391-9460) where devils revel over the slaughter at Jonaspere and gleefully anticipate the impending

¹ In addition to the long passages treated above, C alone also contains occasional brief ones which involve mere banalities of no interest or value to the present discussion.

² A does not introduce him until v. 9706.

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destruction of Jerusalem. Since A has only three days, the discourses of the *prescheur* and the *meneur du jeu* at the beginning of the fourth day (vv. 11422-11572) appear only in C.

There are plausible reasons for not attributing all these passages to Marcadé and consequently for not including them in a critical edition:

(1) Not one of them is essential to the narrative or to the understanding of the *mystère*.

(2) The episode of Joseph of Arimathea involves a repetition which the author himself openly admits¹. The speech of Japhet of Jonaspere in vv. 8966-97 is also a repetition.

(3) The pseudo-scientific digression about the comet represents an interest which is not so much as suggested at any other point in the entire *Vengeance*.

(4) The third day ends in C without the usual discourse of the *prescheur*. Such an omission occurs in no other instance in either manuscript of the *Vengeance*. Consequently the transition in C from the third to the fourth day does not wholly conform to the regular practice of Eustache Marcadé.

The validity of these four points needs comment. First, how many mystery plays are free of materials not essential to the narrative or to the comprehension of the theme? Specifically, the *Vengeance de Notre Seigneur* contains a liberal allowance of such passages, supported, moreover, by both A and C. Secondly, the element of repetition is not foreign to the drama of Eustache Marcadé; consequently neither the reappearance of Joseph of Arimathea nor the amplifications of Japhet's plea should cause surprise. Furthermore, the first imprisonment of Joseph is merely recounted and not represented on the stage. Thirdly, the sinister aspect of comets is not an unusual theme in the Middle Ages, but admittedly the character of vv. 9820-77 still leaves some doubt as to their

¹ When Joseph is finally rescued and tells his story to the Romans, Titus exclaims (vv. 13826-39):

Vous m'esbahisiez grandement;
Joseph, comment se puet il faire?
J'ay aultrefois oy retraire
D'ung qui Joseph avoit a nom,
Noble, saige et de grant renon,
Lequel ensevelit le corps
Jhesus après ce qu'il fut mors
Et despendu jus de la croix.
On m'a dit aussi, je m'en croys,
Qu'a celle cause et occoison
Enclos fut en forte prison,
Mais Jhesus dehors l'en osta
Quant au tiers jour resuscita.
Vous n'estes pas doncques cellui?

authenticity in the *Vengeance de Notre Seigneur*. The problem of the division into four days will be reconsidered presently.

A hypothesis that the additional lines of C might have been the work of more than one individual can be dismissed, not as a theory which is necessarily false, but as one for which visible evidence is lacking. It is possible, to be sure, that the comet digression was contributed by a separate redactor, but, beyond recognition of its contrast with the rest of the play, speculation as to its authorship is not illuminating.

While granting the absence of definite proof, one must be willing, however, to recognise that there are important grounds for crediting Marcadé with the passages preserved only in C. The possible authenticity of vv. 6128-6253 and 8653-8752 has already been pointed out (*supra*, p. 412). It is significant that throughout all the passages the habits of language, versification, and style harmonise completely with the habits of Marcadé in the rest of the *Vengeance*. With the possible exception of the dissertation on the comet, the subject-matter of the passages is in keeping with the other narrative elements of the play. In fact, in the comprehensive testimony of dialect, versification, content, and poetic quality, nothing prohibits attributing the complete redaction in C to Marcadé. It must be repeated, in review, that any positive demonstration of the authorship of the passages missing from A is not even remotely possible, but at the same time certain qualities of their author are undeniably evident. That as a poet he is indistinguishable from Marcadé is not open to question¹. The evidence so far considered has inclined toward a presumption that Marcadé was responsible for the verses which only C has preserved.

The conclusions in the preceding paragraph are not affected by the evidence concerning the number of days required for performance of the *Vengeance*. Despite the absence of a sermon² at the end of the third day in C, nothing invalidates a hypothesis that it was Marcadé himself who divided the play into four days. Concrete evidence on this question is not wholly lacking, for there is a record of at least one representation of the *Vengeance* during the lifetime of the author³. Eustache Marcadé died⁴ January 10, 1440; the *Chronique de Metz* records⁵ a *Vengeance*

¹ That there is also a sameness between versifiers of mystery plays is also not open to question.

² There is similarly no sermon at the end of the second day in the Arras *Mystère de la Passion*.

³ Cf. J. M. Richard, *Le mystère de la Passion, texte du manuscrit 697 de la Bibliothèque d'Arras*, pp. xxi-xxii.

⁴ Cf. A. Thomas, *Romania*, xxxv, 1906, pp. 587-8.

⁵ Cf. L. Petit de Julleville, *Les mystères*, II, p. 13.

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which required 'environ quatre jours' for performance in September, 1437. No further record of the division of the play has been available to me. The day-by-day plan of the *Vengeance* shown at Metz may, to be sure, have been arranged independently of the author, or it may even have been a play not written by Marcadé at all¹. But at least it is known that a four-day *Vengeance* existed while Marcadé was still living; there is no evidence for a three-day division anterior to the Arras manuscript.

The theory of successive editions should be mentioned, but only for the sake of completeness. It is perhaps possible that A represents the earliest form of the play, and that Marcadé subsequently enlarged it to the extent indicated in C. But since there is no evidence either to maintain or to destroy such a theory, it is useless to pursue the matter further.

Perhaps the most persuasive asset of A is the often quoted ten-verse colophon² which identifies the author and reviews his station in life. This colophon is absent from C. The discrepancy here between the manuscripts merely falls in line with what is now known of their history. Manuscript A, which has been in Arras since the sixteenth century³ and perhaps since its execution, was written by a copyist to whom the career of Marcadé of Corbie was well known. Yvonnet le Jeune, located slightly farther north from Corbie and composing manuscript C some twenty-five years after the death of the author, either knew nothing of Marcadé or simply chose to ignore him. The colophon, which clearly implies that A was composed after the death of Marcadé, is consistent with Richard's acceptable dating⁴ of the manuscript between 1450 and 1480. Since the colophon proves only the Arras copyist's knowledge of Marcadé without proving anything for or against Yvonnet le Jeune, it is of no great significance to the Marcadé manuscript tradition.

The date and the language of C and A are of no help in determining their value as representatives of the original play. The manuscripts are so nearly contemporaneous as to make the priority of either impossible to determine. It has already been mentioned (*supra*, p. 410) that the language of Marcadé is apparently about midway between the northern dialects of the two copyists.

In addition to the sixteen incomplete couplets already noted (*supra*, p. 412), A is guilty of some two score prominent textual blunders, while C

¹ It is hardly probable that the *Vengeance* printed in 1491 by Vérard was written as early as 1437.

² Cf., for example, A. Thomas, *Romania*, xxxv, p. 584.

³ Cf. Richard, *Mystère de la Passion*, p. v.

⁴ *Mystère de la Passion*, p. vi.

commits less than half as many. At least three of the exclusions of A may be regarded as bourdons. The absence of vv. 12191–12200, although not essential to the narrative, may be explained by the fact that *vaspasien* is the end word both in v. 12190 and in v. 12200. A case which is even more patent is the exclusion of vv. 14640–51; in C vv. 14640 and 14652 are identical. The error of A in vv. 3441–2 is another of the same order; C reads *Muce et enclos sans ouverture Couuert secret sans couuerture*, while A has preserved only the one line *Muce et enclos sans couuerture*. Equally conspicuous among the remaining blunders in A are fifteen or more badly rhymed couplets. These, together with a number of lapses in the interior of verses, make up an aggregate of mistakes which for the most part betray mere elementary wool-gathering.

C, although no model of textual perfection, admits less than a dozen unjustifiable rhymes, which in a few instances¹, to be sure, involve havoc to entire verses. Among the other errors in C should be noted the substitution of Jaffa for Jonaspere in the dramatis personæ (f. 2 v°) and in the rubric after v. 8924.

Both manuscripts often violate the requirements of versification, but they rarely agree on metrical irregularity in one and the same line. In other words, Marcadé was a more conscientious versifier than either Yvonnet le Jeune or the scribe of A. Somewhat over a hundred² verses have an incorrect syllable count in C, but in A the situation is deplorably worse, for the Arras copyist has spoiled the metre more than two hundred and fifty times. Since the verse of Marcadé appears to have been comparatively free of hiatus, and since the Arras scribe tolerated it only in some twenty-five lines, it follows that C is clearly weakened by the presence of more than a hundred and thirty examples. Yet even if hiatus were as reprehensible as an incorrect syllable count, the choice between C and A would, on metrical grounds, be still unmistakably in favour of C.

The foregoing pages have sought to exhaust the several avenues of approach which might identify the extant redaction truest to the authentic text of Eustache Marcadé. While they have shown that such identification eludes formal proof, they have recorded factors which plainly single out C as the logical basic manuscript for a critical edition. In this introduction to further study of the *Vengeance de Notre Seigneur*

¹ E.g., vv. 1170–1 (CA *Ou il ioue danchantement Comment ioseph darimathre* [A *Ou cest vng miracle euident*]), and vv. 3117–18 (C *On gaigne souuent par donner Souuentesfoys pour dire voir*, A *Beaux dons donnez font pardonner On gaigne souuent par donner*).

² These figures do not include seeming inaccuracies caused by fifteenth-century hesitations between diphthongisation and separation of contiguous vowel sounds.

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it remains merely to summarise the reasons which have determined the choice of the Chatsworth manuscript:

- (1) Textual errors are less numerous in C than in A.
- (2) Although both copyists are careless with the rules of versification, C is somewhat the less frequent offender.
- (3) The Vêrard printing, while linked with A, contains at the same time enough agreements with C to show that the latter is comparatively free of individual variations.

(4) C divides the *Vengeance* into four days, the time allotment specified for the only known performance given during the lifetime of the author.

(5) C contains 1020 verses which are not in A. These lines include a series of passages so closely in keeping with the rest of the play that it is not possible to deny their presence in the authentic Marcadé text. Although proof of their composition by Marcadé is not available, any decision to suppress them from a critical edition would not be justifiable.

In conclusion, the discovery of the Chatsworth manuscript not only sheds new light on the work of the first important author of French mystery plays; it also supplants the long respected Arras manuscript as the basis for a future edition of the *Vengeance de Notre Seigneur*.

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'THE DRAUMA-JÓNS SAGA' AND ITS SOURCES

SINCE the *Drauma-Jóns saga* was edited by Hugo Gering in 1894¹, it has attracted little attention, despite the appreciative words written by Gering at the time concerning its stylistic and narrative merits. Nor has the origin of the little tale been investigated. Gering contented himself with the statement that a foreign source had 'very probably' been used by some Icelandic author of the fourteenth century; Finnur Jónsson added merely that, although some of the elements in the saga might be foreign, the entire plot was first put together in the north, and was not directly imitated from any single source². The composition as we have it is indeed due, most probably, to a single Icelandic author, but Finnur Jónsson understated the man's indebtedness to alien material. We shall see that the entire plot is a tissue of borrowings from oriental narrative, which reached Iceland by devious routes.

For convenience it is best to summarise the plot in three separate sections, each of which presents a separate problem for investigation.

I. *Jón and Ásgautr*. Jarl Heinrekr of Saxland has earned so much celebrity for his interpretation of dreams that he wins the sister of the Emperor as his wife. When, therefore, a rich and charitable *bóndi* named Ásgautr has a puzzling dream, he decides to refer it to Heinrekr. On the way, he stops and talks to a smith named Jón, who remarks that he too can explain dreams, though he is not as famous as Heinrekr. 'The best chance I can see for you to become known among men,' replies Ásgautr, 'is for you to tell me first what it is that I dreamt, and after that, the meaning of it.' Jón therefore describes the dream, which has to do with fire springing up from the ground on the *bóndi's* islands, and adds that it signifies buried treasure. Jarl Heinrekr explains it in the same way. He is astonished to learn of Jón's feat, and makes him welcome at court. Jón has a foreboding of evil to come. Nevertheless he helps Heinrekr to guess 'untold' dreams as well as interpret them. Heinrekr takes all credit for this, and his fame increases, but he becomes jealous of Jón.

II. *Jón and Jarl Heinrekr*. The Jarl urges Jón to impart his secret to him, but Jón insists that it is inborn, and not to be learned. Thereupon the Jarl bids his wife enter Jón's room while he is asleep, kill him, 'cut out his heart, and prepare it with spice and chopped meat for his [the Jarl's] meal next day.' The lady unwillingly goes into Jón's room, and he, pretending to be asleep, overhears her lament. He consoles her, and suggests a solution of the difficulty. A dog's heart is substituted for Jón's; a waxen image representing Jón is buried in place of him; he himself is hidden. Needless to say, the dog's heart fails to give Heinrekr the art of guessing dreams. When the Emperor visits him, expecting to have a dream surmised without being told, Heinrekr regrets deeply the absence of Jón, whom he supposes dead.

As Heinrekr is confessing his inability to guess dreams, his manner betrays an evil conscience. His wife, the Emperor's sister, 'saw how shamefully her husband was humiliated for his crime; and she also saw that it was her duty to proclaim the truth and free an innocent man. So it came about that she chose that way out that touched them least, and told them that Jón was alive and in her care.' She recounts the whole story to her brother, who consults Jón concerning his dream.

¹ *Zeitschr. für deut. Phil.*, xxvi, 1894, pp. 289-309.

² *Oldnord. og oldisl. Litteraturs Historie*. 2nd ed., iii, p. 97.

III. *Jón and the Emperor*. Jón himself recounts the Emperor's dream: it had seemed to him that he beheld the streets of his city flooded, but not all persons were equally submerged. Deepest in the water were the Empress and a servitor of hers, a Fleming. The Emperor's councillors were also quite deeply submerged. This, according to Jón, means that the Empress and the Fleming have been committing adultery, and the other persons are involved in so far as they know of the affair and connive at it. The Emperor is angry, but restrains himself. Jón intercedes both for Heimrekr and the Empress. Heimrekr confesses his guilt and is exiled. The Empress and her lover are caught *in flagranti* by Jón, and exiled also. As a reward, Jón receives the Emperor's sister in marriage. His parents share in his good fortune.

I.

The first episode, *Jón and Ásgautr*, belongs to a small group of oriental tales concerning the superiority of an amateur interpreter of dreams—who sometimes guesses them untold—over a number of mercenary professionals who often deceive their clients. In *The Seven Sages of Rome*, a collection of eastern stories widely read in Europe in the Middle Ages, we find an account of seven councillors of the Emperor Herod who charge a besant apiece for the dreams they interpret for the people. 'Sum was soth, and sum was lese,' as the English version puts it¹. The Emperor is suddenly afflicted with blindness, but these diviners are unable to explain the reason. An old man tells them they will learn this only from a fatherless boy—none other than Merlin, who like Jón has the gift of explaining dreams before they have been recounted to him. When the seven councillors find him, he is doing this for a man who has dreamt of a spring of water suddenly appearing in a dunghill. This, says Merlin, betokens hidden gold. The boy explains to the Emperor that his blindness is caused by the evil practices of his seven ministers, who deceive the people with their interpretations. When the ministers are put to death, the Emperor recovers his sight.

This story, known as *Sapientes* in the collection, has recently been studied by A. H. Krappe, who pointed out an important analogue collected among the Turkish tribes of southern Siberia². It is particularly important for us, since in one respect it is even closer to the *Drauma-Jóns saga* than is *Sapientes* itself. According to the southern Siberian tale, an old woman on her way to consult some mullahs about a dream (she has imagined snakes under her own house) stops and tells it to a young boy who is skilled in the art of interpretation. The boy tells her that the mullahs will not be able to explain the dream, and writes out his own interpretation, bidding her present it when they confess their inability.

¹ *The Seven Sages of Rome*, ed. Killis Campbell, New York and Boston, 1907, pp. 88 ff. This is the eleventh tale in the collection.

² A. H. Krappe, 'Studies on the "Seven Sages of Rome,"' *Arch. Rom.*, xvi, 1932, pp. 271-82.

According to him, the snakes signify gold buried under her house. When the mullahs read this, they refuse to divulge the message to the illiterate woman, and one of them steals the gold when she is asleep. They fear the boy as a dangerous rival, so they buy him in order to kill him. When he warns them, however, that a new man will arise from his blood to kill them, they free him. Soon after, the King dreams that his feet are submerged in a tub of water, and many snakes are winding about his legs. The mullahs are unable to explain this; the King threatens to execute them; in desperation they bring the boy before the King. The boy says that the dream signifies a plot by the mullahs to destroy their ruler. The false councillors are thereupon put to death, and the boy succeeds them¹.

It is clear that the *Drauma-Jóns saga* follows the same formula of rivalry between professional, dishonest diviners and a more highly gifted boy. Jón, Merlin, and the Turkish lad all prove their art first by explaining a dream which betokens hidden gold. Being taken to court, Jón and the Turkish hero arouse the fear and jealousy of the older seers, who try to kill them. Each of the three heroes saves himself finally by discovering the treachery of the evil councillors to the King. In the saga, to be sure, the ministers are represented by one person, Heinrekr; but in all versions the life of the younger man is threatened. Jón's manner of saving his own life differs from that used by the other two, because at this point the saga passes to another type of plot; but at the very end Jón also interprets a dream about water to the Emperor, and thus reveals hidden treachery to him. This second dream is somewhat closer to the one in the Turkish legend than to that in the *Seven Sages*.

There is no reason why a well-read Icelander of the fourteenth century should not have known the *Seven Sages*, either in Latin or a vernacular translation. If our author used this version for his *Drauma-Jóns saga*, its similarity to the Turkish Siberian tale may be simply fortuitous. On the other hand, Icelandic literature of the fourteenth century was nothing if not eclectic. A number of stories reached Iceland by way of Byzantium and Russia, both orally and in writing. It is not impossible that this particular plot was carried by the same route. The existence of a Russian folk-tale also derived from *Sapientes* in the *Seven Sages*² adds to the likelihood. The saga is closest to *Sapientes* in attributing to Jón, as to Merlin, the ability to guess dreams before they have been described to him.

¹ W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türk. Stämme Sud-Sibiriens*, IV, St Petersburg, 1872, pp. 154 ff.

² J. Vogl, *Die ältesten Volksmärchen der Russen*, p. 45; quoted by Killis Campbell, *Seven Sages*, Introd., p. c.

II.

The second episode, *Jón and Jarl Heinrekr*, is a variation on the very popular and widely distributed oriental theme of the rivalry between two court ministers, the temporary disgrace of one of them, and his restoration to power when his wisdom is sorely needed. This type of plot seems to have been especially popular in ancient India, where it no doubt corresponded to fairly frequent occurrences in real life. In the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, for instance, there is a situation bearing a generic similarity to the *Drauma-Jóns saga*¹. Vararuchi and Çakatāla are rival ministers of King Nanda, and the former advises the King to imprison the latter, lest Çakatāla reveal a secret dangerous to the King's safety. But Vararuchi later regrets this, as he notices the King's unworthiness, and he brings about Çakatāla's release. Soon it is Vararuchi whose life is endangered, because of an accusation of seducing the Queen. Çakatāla is ordered to put Vararuchi to death, but he spares him, saying: 'I will have someone else put to death in order that the news may get abroad, and do you remain hidden in my house to protect me from this passionate King.' Thus Vararuchi is saved, and someone else is executed in his place. In due time, King Nanda has cause to regret the loss of his wise minister, because he is afflicted by a madness no one else can cure. Seeing that the time has come, Çakatāla now confesses what he has done, and produces Vararuchi, who of course cures the King.

There are other eastern stories of similar structure. In the *Çukasaptati*, King Nanda and his minister Çakatāla appear once more. This time (significantly for us) the King regrets having imprisoned his minister when the King of Kerala, supposing the sage to be dead, challenges Nanda with difficult riddles. In a Persian tale², as in the Icelandic saga, the wise Bakhtiyār is restored to favour because no one else can interpret a dream of his master; in a Bengal tale, the *guru* (sage) Çārdanana, having been condemned to death and concealed in a hiding place underground, is brought back to favour when it is realised that no other man can cure the King's son of madness³.

The general formula used in these stories resembles the second episode of our saga: Jón also serves Heinrekr with his wisdom, is condemned to death, is saved and hidden away by the person sent to kill him, is buried in effigy, and restored to the world when his unique wisdom is

¹ C. H. Tawney, *The Ocean of Story*, I, London, 1924, pp. 38 ff. Here the name of the second minister is transliterated Śakatāla.

² A. Bricteux, *Contes Persanes*, Liège, Paris, 1910, p. 113, no. 4.

³ Léon Fée, *Les 32 Récits du Trône*, no. 1. Quoted by de Vries, *op. cit.* (see p. 425, note 1), p. 393.

sorely needed. But there is another variation of the same plot, represented by a number of oriental versions, which is known to have reached mediæval Greek and Slavonic literature, and which therefore may have served as a direct source for the saga. I am referring to the legend of Ahikar the Wise, recounted in very similar texts in Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Old Turkish, and Old Slavonic. The verbal similarities appearing again and again in these texts point to a single source of great antiquity. How ancient it must have been we can surmise from the fact that the Aramaic fragment is as old as the fifth century B.C., and that there are besides a number of unmistakable references to it and its characters (whose names remain surprisingly constant in all versions) in the Book of Tobit. Because of its connexion with various ancient cultures and with Biblical criticism, the legend of Ahikar has been the subject of much learned research. It is not necessary to recapitulate here the work of the many distinguished orientalist who have occupied themselves with the problem. It will be sufficient to summarise the story and point out its possible relation to the *Drauma-Jóns saga*¹.

Ahikar (Achiacarus in *Tobit*; Old Turkish and Armenian Khikar, Russian Akrynos, and Arabic Haiqar²) is a learned adviser of King Sennacherib of Assyria, son of King Sarhedon. (The Aramaic and the B-text of the Armenian give the correct chronological order: Sennacherib should be the father of Sarhedon³.) Having no son to succeed him at court, he adopts his nephew Nadan (Nadin, Nathan, Anadan), has him reared opulently, and presents him to the King as his heir. Nadan becomes envious of his uncle's power, and uses his own position at court to undermine Ahikar. He forges letters, using Ahikar's seal, to the enemy kings of Persia and Egypt, inviting them to enter the country and receive the Assyrian army from Ahikar. Sennacherib believes in the treason of Ahikar when he sees this correspondence, and condemns his minister to death. But the officer who is to execute Ahikar apparently owes him a debt of gratitude. In the Armenian version, Ahikar reminds him of it in these words: 'Remember how that they betrayed thee to Seneqarim the King's father; and I took and kept thee until the King asked for thee, and how, when I led thee before him, he gave me mighty gifts⁴.' (Thus Ahikar's predicament is a repetition of the other man's, exactly as in the Sanscrit story of Vararuchi and Çakatāla.) The executioner and Ahikar's wife dig a refuge for him underground; a condemned criminal is executed and buried in Ahikar's place. Nadan wastes his uncle's property in riotous living and terrorises the servants. He even violates his uncle's wife. But soon the King finds himself regretting the absence of Ahikar. The Pharaoh of Egypt sends a demand, under threat of war, for a magician-sage who can build a palace in the air, and answer all riddles and questions. Nadan is obviously inadequate. So

¹ A discussion of the cycle, together with the chief texts accompanied by translations, will be found in *The Story of Ahikar* by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and Agnes Smith Lewis, Cambridge, 1913 (2nd ed.). The most recent discussion from the point of view of comparative literature and folk-lore is by Jan de Vries, *Die Märchen von klugen Ratselösern* (= *Folklore Fellows Communications*, no. 73), Helsingfors, 1928, pp. 374 ff.

² The Arabic version appears as one of the supplementary *Arabian Nights*. See Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, vi, Liège, 1900, pp. 36-43.

³ See François Nau, *Histoire et Sagesse d'Ahiqar l'Assyrien*, Paris, 1909, p. 4.

⁴ Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis, *Story of Ahikar*, p. 41. For the similar speech of Haiqar (Arabic) see p. 142. The Slavonic text states that the friend of Akrynos was restored 'when the guilty man was discovered.'

Ahikar's friend now produces him, reduced to a lamentable state from his long imprisonment. After forty days' rest, he is sent into Egypt. His exploits in answering riddles and eluding impossible tasks need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that he returns loaded with gifts and honours, and his King permits him to do with the treacherous Nadan as he pleases. Ahikar does not kill him directly, but preaches at him so long, with such an abundance of proverbial wisdom¹, that Nadan dies of it. As the Armenian version says: 'In the same hour Nathan swelled up and all his body burst asunder.' Presumably an evil conscience caused this sensational result; but it may also have been suppressed fury at the obligation to listen to so much gnomie wisdom.

The proverbs attributed to Ahikar constituted one of the chief charms of his story for oriental readers. We have evidence that they were known to the Greeks also, for Clement of Alexandria, in arguing that the vaunted wisdom of the pagan Greeks was really borrowed, tells us that Democritus was heavily indebted to Ahikar: 'The moral works of Democritus come from the Babylonians, for they say that he inserted in his own writings the translation of the *stele* [i.e., pillar-stone such as the Babylonians used for inscriptions] of Ahikar, and wrote at the beginning of it: Thus says Democritus².'

There is little doubt that a direct translation of the oriental Ahikar romance must have existed in Byzantine Greek to serve as source for the Old Russian. The existence of independent versions in South Slavonic dialects makes this all but certain. Moreover, an extant Greek text has made such extensive use of the story in another setting as to leave no doubt that it was known, in one form or another, in mediæval Byzantium. This text is the fictitious biography of Æsop, long attributed to Maximos Planudes (fourteenth century), but now dated at least as early as the tenth century³. According to the *Life of Æsop*, when the great fabulist has become an elderly man, he serves King Lykeros of Babylon. Having no children of his own, he adopts a noble youth named Ennos and presents him at court as his successor. But the ungrateful Ennos repays this favour by starting an intrigue with Æsop's concubine. Æsop, learning of this, expels Ennos from the house; whereupon the latter, for revenge, forges a letter to 'those who contended against Lykeros in wisdom'

¹ 'The Proverbs of Ahikar' are sometimes found by themselves, without the story. The Ethiopian fragment consists of the proverbs alone (Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis, p. 128 f.); and collections of them existed in Russian. See V. Jagić, 'Der weise Akynios,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i, 1892, p. 107. A Serbo-Croatian collection has been published by V. Jagić, 'Prilozi k Historiji Književnosti Naroda hrvatskoga i srbskoga,' *Arhiv za Povjestnicu Jugoslavensku*, ix, 1868, pp. 137 ff.; a Syrian collection by Smil Grunberg, *Die weisen Sprüche des Achikar*, Giessen, 1917.

² Clement of Alexandria, *Stromates*, i, ch. 15. (See François Nau, *Histoire et Sagesse d'Ahikar*, pp. 35 ff.) The Greek is: Δημόκριτος γὰρ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους λόγους ἠθικοὺς πεποιήται. Λέγεται γὰρ τὴν Ἀκικάρου στήλην ἐρμηνευθεῖσαν τοῖς ἰδίοις συντάξαι, συγγράμματα. κάσιν ἐπισημήρασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ· τὰδε λέγει Δημόκριτος, γράφωντος.

³ C. Halm, *Fabulae Aesopicae Collectae*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 226 ff. See Paul Marc, *Die Überlieferung des Aesopromans*, Leipzig, 1910.

(πρὸς τοὺς ἀντισοφίζομένους Λυκῆρῳ), offering them treasonable help over the name and seal of Æsop. The King believes this evidence, and angrily orders Hermippos, a friend of Æsop, to kill him; but Hermippos saves him by concealing him in a tomb¹. Ennos succeeds to the position of Æsop. But Lykeros regrets the loss of the sage when he receives a challenge from Nectenabo of Egypt, demanding that Lykeros send him architects able to build a castle between heaven and earth, and a man able to answer all riddles and queries. If Lykeros does not comply, Nectenabo threatens to collect tribute from him. Lykeros now laments the absence of Æsop; so Hermippos reveals what he has done. Æsop is led forth, squalid and miserable, from his concealment. He forgives Ennos, but overwhelms him with such a sermon that the repentant youth dies of it. Then Æsop journeys to Egypt, and meets the requirements of Nectenabo just as Ahikar had done: that is, chiefly by parrying them. The tasks and riddles are precisely the same; so are Æsop's replies.

This part of the biography of Æsop is unmistakably taken from the cycle of Ahikar, though it is not clear precisely which eastern version was used. The changes are not very important. The name of the King of Egypt, Nectenabo, is taken from the mediæval romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes. There is less emphasis placed on Æsop's proverbs than on Ahikar's. The adopted son, Ennos, seduces his father's concubine before betraying him, and dies before Æsop's departure for Egypt instead of afterwards. None of these modifications appear in the Old Russian story of Akyrios, which, as we have seen, came from a Greek version which must have followed the eastern Ahikar romances closely and literally².

The legend of Ahikar belongs to the general type of stories about persons who distinguish themselves at solving riddles. Very often this person is a young boy or wise peasant girl. The plot about rival ministers has been thought by some to be the oldest of all these forms. Theodor Benfey supposed that a sage skilled in solving riddles was originally the hero, but later a woman—*die kluge Bauerntochter* of Grimm—was substituted³. On the basis of the more extensive material collected by Bolte and Polívka⁴, de Vries comes to a somewhat different conclusion. He thinks that many of the changes which Benfey considered Asiatic

¹ Ed. Halm, 286: ὁ δὲ Ἑρμιππος φίλος τε ἦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ καὶ τότε δὴ τὸν φίλον ἐπέδειξεν. ἐν τινὶ γὰρ τῶν τάφων μηδενὸς εἰδότες κρύψας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔτρεφεν.

² See V. Jagić, 'Der weise Akyrios,' *Byz. Zeitschr.*, I, 1892, pp. 107 ff.

³ *Das Ausland*, xxxii, 1859, pp. 457 ff., 486 ff., 511 ff., 567 ff., 589 ff.

⁴ *Anmerkungen zu den Märchen der Brüder Grimm*, II, esp. p. 373.

may just as well have occurred first in Europe¹. He believes that a very old *märchen* must have existed on the subject of the rival ministers: 'Wir kommen also zum Ergebnis, dass es ein altes indisches Märchen gegeben hat, in dem ein König seinen gefangenen Minister aus der Haft entlässt, weil er eine schwierige Aufgabe, die ein anderer Fürst ihm aufgibt, lösen muss².' But he leaves the specific origin of the Ahikar group an open question. It may be that the story is a Hebraic invention using Indian or Babylonian motives; or it too may have been borrowed directly from India in its present form.

The second episode of the *Drauma-Jóns saga* uses the formula of the rival ministers with considerable freedom. The chief change is the substitution of a woman, the wife of Heinrekr, for the friendly executioner who spares his victim and conceals him until his prince needs the missing man's wisdom. This is not a felicitous change, for it seems fantastically unlikely that Heinrekr should order his wife—the Emperor's sister!—to do his murdering for him. The Icelandic author's purpose may have been in part to economise in the number of his characters. Other changes in the plot are less obvious. The waxen image buried in Jón's place recalls the body of a condemned criminal used in the Ahikar legend; the interpreting of dreams is a fairly close equivalent for the solving of riddles. But in the saga, the Emperor, who embarrasses Heinrekr by a request which only Jón can fulfil, is not a distant and hostile monarch like the King of Egypt; he is the visiting brother-in-law of Heinrekr. In other words, if Jón and Heinrekr are like the rival ministers, the Emperor plays the part of both Sennacherib and the Pharaoh of Egypt. In place of the envy of Ahikar's nephew Nadan we have the professional jealousy of Heinrekr; and the saga makes no use of forged letters or an accusation of treason. This may mean that there was some intermediate story, perhaps a lost offshoot of the Ahikar legend, known to the sagaman. If so, I am unable to suggest where he found it.

Certain details of the saga may indicate the influence of another popular personage famous for his skill in solving riddles: namely King Solomon, especially as he appears in the Russian ballads and *märchen* derived from Arabic and Talmudic lore by way of Byzantium. There is one *märchen* called 'The Tsar's Son,' extant in a number of variants, which touches upon the *Drauma-Jóns saga* at several points³. Solomon, the hero, pro-

¹ *Die Märchen von klugen Ratsellösern*, p. 12 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 369 f.

³ Bibliography given by de Vries, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff. The origins of this group have been worked out by A. Vesselovskii, *Slavianskiiia Skazaniia o Solomone i Kitrovase*, St Petersburg, 1872. As de Vries says: 'Es waren . . . byzantinische Schriften, welche diese Sage nacherzählten und die nach Russland gelangten, wo sie nachher in die Volksüberlieferung eindringen,' *op. cit.*, p. 322.

vokes his mother's bitter hatred by making remarks concerning her frivolity and lack of judgment while he is still in her womb. She therefore plans to ruin him, and when he is born she orders him to be given to a neighbouring blacksmith, and the blacksmith's son to be substituted for the Tsarevitch. (In some cases she orders him to be killed, but the nurse saves him and gives him to the blacksmith.) One day when both the Tsar and the blacksmith are out walking with their supposed sons, Solomon remarks that a certain site would be fitting for a great harbour, while the false prince remarks that it should be used for a smithy. This makes the Tsar suspect that an exchange has taken place. Accordingly he sets a number of difficult tasks for Solomon, which the lad successfully parries. Finally the Tsar bids the smith come before him 'neither naked nor clad, neither by path nor by road, neither mounted nor afoot,' etc. Solomon tells the smith how to comply. After one more test, Solomon is recognised and accepted by the Tsar as his son¹.

The connexion of this *märchen* with the Ahikar cycle is clearest in the account of the riddles and tasks by which the Tsar tests his son. Solomon replies to these exactly as did Ahikar at the court of the King of Egypt. One point of similarity with the *Drauma-Jóns saga* is the fact that both Solomon and Jón are discovered imparting wisdom to all comers in a smithy. Both the Tsar and Ásgautr are astonished at finding such talent in an obscure place. The prominence given to a woman persecutor, who is also the saviour of the hero, in the saga, may be due to the combined influence of Solomon's mother and nurse. Finally, both the *märchen* and the saga emphasise the importance of heredity. The Tsar concludes after hearing Solomon's wise remarks that wisdom is inherited and that royal blood will show, even in a smithy; at the conclusion of the saga, Jón tells the Emperor that his gifts are inherited from his mother's family—though it is not clear why the blacksmith's wife should have passed on such an extraordinary endowment. In fact, Jón's background is never fully explained.

Many of the romantic sagas of the fourteenth century contain eastern material which may quite easily be traced westwards as far as Byzantium. After that, we are left to wonder how the romance reached Iceland. The

¹ D. N. Sadovnikov, *Skazki i Predaniia samarskago Krava* (= *Zapiski imp. russ. Obshch., po Otdel. Etnogr.*, XII), St Petersburg, 1884, pp. 206 ff., no. 63. In the version given by V. N. Dobrovol'skii, *Smolenskii etnograficheskii Sbornik* (same series, XX), part I, St Petersburg, 1891, pp. 245 ff., the nurse saves the infant Solomon from being thrown into the river and exchanges the children. Another version collected by Boris and Iurii Sokolov, *Skazki i Pesni belozerskago Krava*, Moscow, 1915, p. 203, no. 113, has both children reared together. The story ends with a brief account of the marriage of Solomon and the elopement of his faithless wife, as it is told in a number of the Russian ballads.

Drauma-Jóns saga presents precisely the same problem. No evidence adduced here is actual proof that the story passed north by way of Russia; but the existence of Russian forms of it may indicate that such was the case, especially in the absence (so far as we know) of western European versions¹.

III.

The third and final episode, *Jón and the Emperor*, represents an extremely simple, very popular oriental tale reflecting (as so many of them do!) on the licentious nature of woman. The general formula is this: a suspicious and puzzling circumstance, such as a dream, causes a King to make inquiries; no one can find the true explanation at first, but finally a sage vizier or a precociously wise boy or girl reveals that the dream (or other circumstance) indicates the existence of lovers concealed, usually disguised as handmaidens, by the King's wife (or wives). A typical example is furnished by an episode in the Sanscrit version of the rival ministers, already quoted². King Nanda orders the death of a Brahman guest who merely speaks to the Queen at a window. Thereupon a dead fish in the market-place laughs aloud. The King, struck by this, orders his wise minister Vararuchi to find out the cause. Vararuchi learns it from a female ghoul: 'All the King's wives are dissolute, for in every part of his harem there are men dressed up as women, and nevertheless while these escape an innocent Brahman is put to death.' In other stories a male fish laughs aloud because the prudish Queen who refuses to buy it (or eat it) has a lover concealed in her apartment³. Frequently the person who correctly interprets this unnatural mirth is a clever girl who is promptly married by the King after the adulterous Queen has been put to death. But it is sometimes a wise lad who reveals the scandal in the harem. For instance, in the *Tūti Nāmeḥ*⁴, the laughter of the fishes is explained by a boy who, like the Merlin of Geoffrey of Monmouth, has no father.

In a considerable group of stories, the mirth comes from a wise man who himself explains it later to the discomfiture of the adulterous Queen.

¹ It is worth noticing that two other details found in 'The Tsar's Son' appear elsewhere in Icelandic literature. The *Ragnars saga Loðbrókar* (chapters 5 and 6) uses the stipulation about approaching a king 'neither naked nor clad, neither walking nor riding,' etc.; the *Völsunga saga* (chapter 12) proves by the characteristic remarks of a queen and her maid-servant who have exchanged places that royal blood can easily be detected in humble surroundings.

² C. H. Tawney, *The Ocean of Story*, I, pp. 46-8.

³ E.g., J. Hinton Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, London, 1888, pp. 484-90.

⁴ Transl. by Georg Rosen, Leipzig, 1858, p. 258. For other tales of laughing fishes, see R. Kohler, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, pp. 605 ff.

This type, which is closely related to stories of Merlin in western Europe, has been thoroughly studied by A. H. Krappe, whose conclusions need not be recapitulated here¹. Closer to the *Drauma-Jóns saga* is the group in which a puzzling dream first arouses the suspicion of the monarch². Usually a girl does the interpreting of the dream. A mediæval Latin tale found in a thirteenth-century compilation tells how the King of Sheba is distressed to hear a voice announcing to him in a dream that his Queen sleeps with an ape. The warning is repeated even after the King orders all apes to be killed. A wise girl investigates the mystery, detects a lover of the Queen who is disguised as a maid, and finally marries the King herself. Her daughter is the wise Queen of Sheba who visits King Solomon³. The story was also told in vernacular languages in western Europe. In the Italian version of Sercambi, the King falls ill after his ominous dream, and the quest for an interpreter is also a quest for someone to cure him⁴. This brings the plot closer to *Sapientes* in the *Seven Sages*.

There are several innovations by the author of the saga. He has made the secret lover of the Empress a serving man, not someone disguised as a serving woman. The dream of the Emperor resembles the one used in *Sapientes* (a flood of water indicating domestic treason). Moreover, the Emperor's councillors are guilty of connivance with the faithless Empress, just as they are guilty of treason in *Sapientes*. The final episode of the saga is, therefore, linked with the source of the first. The nature of the dream is influenced by *Sapientes*, but its significance connects it with the oriental stories of adulterous queens.

The preceding analysis no doubt gives an impression of dry and mechanical composition on the part of the sagaman. Yet it is apparent that he combined his three themes with considerable ingenuity, using the same *dramatis personæ* throughout. It is not easy to unravel the plot, and for that reason some of the specific suggestions here made concerning its sources may be mistaken. Even so, it is safe to conclude that most of the matter in the *Drauma-Jóns saga* is ultimately of eastern origin. The saga has given a northern setting to professional seers, wise viziers, harems, concealed lovers, and rival ministers such as one en-

¹ 'Le Rire du Prophète,' in *Studies in English Philology in Honor of Frederick Klaeber*, Minneapolis, 1929. One of the versions discussed by Krappe is in Icelandic (the *Hálfs saga*).

² See de Vries, *op cit.*, p. 357.

³ Albert Wesselski, 'Der Affe der Konigin,' in *Marchen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1925, p. 20. R. Köhler, *op cit.*, II, p. 602, gives a mediæval Spanish-Hebrew version quite similar to this, in which all the wives of a certain king are equally guilty.

⁴ Rodolfo Renier, *Novelle inedite di Giovanni Sercambi*, Torino, 1889, pp. 22 ff. For the French version, see E. Langlois, *Nouvelles françaises inédites du quinzisième Siècle*, Paris, 1908, pp. 46 ff.

counters in the *Arabian Nights*. Despite all changes and adaptations, they remain clearly recognisable.

The changes introduced into the saga are most interesting, because they reveal something about the author and his social and cultural background. Most obvious is his preoccupation with Christian moral values. Jón counsels and practises humility and forgiveness of wrong at every turn. When the Jarl's wife is sent to kill him, he says, 'Do not weep, my lady, but do what thou art commanded to, for I shall not flee. And know that he who orders a crime is more answerable therefor than he who commits it under duress.' He intercedes for Heinrekr when the attempt on his life has been discovered. Likewise when he reveals the Empress's infidelity, Jón exhorts the Emperor to be merciful: 'My lord,' he says, 'remember the long-suffering of our Master, and be like Him in seeking no revenge, though thou mightest; but follow His example and grant life to these two, albeit they are worthy of death, so that they may have time to reform.' The Emperor (unlike his predecessors) is willing to do this, but he sends Jón ahead to exile the guilty pair, 'for he would not enter his castle until it had been cleansed of this great evil.' The Emperor's sister is also imbued with humility and mercy, and it is most appropriate that she should be given in marriage to Jón, after her husband has been disposed of by the comparatively mild sentence of exile.

The social ideals of the author find expression in his portrayal of Ásgautr, who first discovers Jón's talent for interpreting dreams. This *bóndi* from the north is not a mere colourless figure, a person whose sole business it is to have a dream and seek an explanation. He is a generous husbandman who has shared his crops with his neighbours in time of famine. Jón assures him that he is entitled to the gold buried on his islands, since he will surely use it well. And Ásgautr does share the treasure with his neighbours as he had shared his grain. He represents the feudal ideal of social relationships: amelioration of injustice and inequality by beneficent generosity on the part of overlords. The only problem is to find overlords like Ásgautr and the Emperor for every one. The sagaman was an idealist—following the feudal and ecclesiastical doctrine concerning human society.

A certain strain of pessimistic fatalism appears in the saga also. When Jón hears that he has been praised to Jarl Heinrekr by Ásgautr, he receives the news with gloomy foreboding. 'It has now come to pass, *bóndi*,' he says, 'as I surmised, that thy words would harm me, for my family will win no advancement of Jarl Heinrekr. Rather must I en-

counter such misfortune if I go to him, that my father and mother may not be able to send word after me. Yet I must go to him none the less, although I know all this, for it is [the will of] Providence, which rules all.' The sense of compulsion by an inescapable fate, and of conscious, open-eyed acceptance of it, is not peculiar to Scandinavian literature, although it finds frequent expression there. Nor is the phrase 'oriental fatalism' applicable to oriental literature alone. The fatalism of Jón need not be eastern, despite its connexion with a plot derived from the east. It may be Boethian (Latin), or it may be Germanic. Man's general reflections on his relation to the stream of causation in the universe are not so easily traced as specific plots concerning rival ministers, harems, and adulterous queens.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

GREENE'S 'RIDSTALL MAN.'

The first entry in Greene's *James the Fourth* includes 'Bohan, a Scot, attyred like a ridstall man.' The difficult word *ridstall* was explained by Skeat as *stable-cleaner*, but by Bradley (*Coll. Papers*, 256; *M.L.R.*, April, 1906) as a misreading of *raskall*. The word, accordingly, does not appear in *N.E.D.* Might one hazard the guess that *ridstall* is simply *Ridstall*—Ridsdall, i.e., Redesdale? Redesdale is not in Scotland, but about 1590 it was scarcely in England either, and a south-country dramatist of that day might be excused some vagueness among these remote northern names. ('I'm not such a hignorant hass,' continued [Mr Jorrock], 'as not to know where Newcastle is. I've been i' Scotland myself! Durham at least.') Anyhow, Greene does not localise this scene. A 'Redesdale man' could quite well stand, vaguely and generically, for a Border reiver. The 'rank riders' were sufficiently notorious, so that Andrew Boorde's beggar might apologise for those 'silly pure men' with some hope of appreciation.

It is perhaps irrelevant that the action of the play takes place about the Borders, but if Bohan (? Buchan) wished to retire from the world he could scarcely choose better than Redesdale, 'a dale,' Master Camden attests, 'too too voide of inhabitants by reason of depredation.' There he *might* meet the King of the Fairies, and certainly would not meet the minions of the law. There also, as Camden's antiquarian researches suggest, he might have his pick of habitable tombs—but that is carrying the thing further than Robert Greene ever dreamt of. What is relevant is, first, that a withdrawal to Redesdale in 1590 was most emphatically a withdrawal from the civilised world, as far from the settled country as from the court and the city; and, second, that a theatre-audience of 1590 would recognise one dressed as a Border reiver—whether Redesdale or Coquetdale or Ewesdale they would not ask and makes no difference—as one who belonged to a wild and lonely No Man's Land on the edges of Scotland: both of which are exactly what Greene wanted. Given the current pronunciation of the name, all the emendation *ridstall* requires is a capital letter to it.

W. L. RENWICK.

A NOTE ON 'SIR GAWAYN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT,' 2414 ff.

Bot hit is no ferly þaȝ a fole madde,
 And purȝ wyles of wymmen be wonen to sorȝe,
 For so watȝ Adam in erde with one bygyled,
 And Salamon with fele sere, and Samson eftsoneȝ—
 Dalyda dalt hym hys wyrde—and Dauyth þerafter
 Watȝ blended with Barsabe, þat much bale poled....

It has not, I think, been noted that this passage is an instance of the frequent borrowings by romance writers and poets from the prose homilists which Dr G. R. Owst has been teaching us to look out for. In *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (1933), p. 385, Dr Owst quotes a specimen of these reflections on women, from a homily in MS. Harl. 45 (fol. 101 b):

Who was strengre than Sampson, wyser than Salamon, holyer than David? And
 git thei were al overcomen by the queyntise and whiles of women.

These warning examples, as he shows, early became a stock item in the homilists' repertory, passing thence to the didactic and satirical poets. To the poetical references given by Dr Owst we may add, besides these lines in *Sir Gawayn*, passages in the rhymed *Alisaunder* romance (*Metrical Romances*, ed. H. W. Weber, 1810, I, p. 314, ll. 7709-15); in Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*, Book III, ll. 1172 ff., and again in ll. 1576 ff.; and in Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid*, ll. 197-203. The list of victims is subject to slight variation, though Samson and Solomon are always included; Lydgate omits Adam but adds Shechem (Genesis xxxiv). The *Alisaunder* lines are a fairly close parallel to those in *Sir Gawayn*, and seem worth a little further consideration:

Adam was byswike of Eve;
 And Sampson theofort, also,
 Dalaȝa dude him wrong and wo;
 And Davyd the kyng was brought of lyf
 Thorugh the gyle of his wyf;
 And Salamon, for a womanis love,
 Forsok his God that syt above.

The *Alisaunder* romance was probably written about 1300, and it is fairly safe to assume that the *Gawayn* poet was acquainted with it. He would certainly approve of the didactic turn given to the episode in which these lines occur—the enticing of Alexander to lechery and sloth by Queen Candace; but in his own poem he prefers to make his hero a model of purity rather than a warning example of sinfulness. It seems likely enough, at any rate, that the *Alisaunder* lines quoted were in the later poet's memory as he wrote Gawayn's speech to Bercilak. Gawayn, however, avoids the curious blunder of attributing David's death to

Bathsheba, for which there is, so far as I know, no justification either in the Bible or elsewhere. The *Gawayn* poet also makes a more subtle use of the commonplace sentiment; his hero adds the sly and quite unhomiletic advice to men for dealing with women in general:

hit were a wynne huge
To luf hom wel, and leue hem not, a leude pat coupe.

Finally it must be said that these parallels are conclusive against one of the chief arguments used by Mr C. O. Chapman in presenting the claims of John de Ergholme to the authorship of *The Pearl* and *Sir Gawayn* (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, June, 1932, pp. 346-53). The occurrence in Ergholme's Latin poem *John of Bridlington* of a passage similar to *Sir Gawayn* 2414-19 has evidently no special significance.

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AN INTERPRETATION OF DONNE'S 'ELEGIE—THE DREAM.'

Of this poem¹, one of Donne's most delightful, and surely the most memorable and pleasing of his Elegies, Professor Grierson writes thus: 'the tenor of the poem is somewhat obscure; the picture is addressed in terms that could hardly be strengthened if the lady herself were present².' The purpose of this paper is to suggest another interpretation of the poem, which may perhaps help to remove some of the obscurity which Professor Grierson acknowledges.

The 'image' which is addressed throughout the poem is, I suggest, not a material and objectively visible portrait. It is used to refer in the first place to a mental picture, and in the second place to an abstract, metaphysical 'idea,' corresponding to that which Donne had in mind, when, writing of *The Anniversaries*, he explained that he described the Idea of a woman, and not the vivid rich personalty of any one particular woman³.

The beginning of the poem reminds one forcibly of Platonic 'forms' or 'ideas,' in virtue of whose reflection alone, objects of sense have any value:

Whose faire impression in my faithful heart,
Makes mee her *Medall*, and makes her love mee,
As Kings do coyne, to which their stamps impart
The value⁴.

¹ Donne's *Poetical Works* (ed. Grierson), I, p. 95.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 76.

³ Jonson, *Works*—ed. Herford and Simpson, I, p. 133. Cf. 'Biathanatos,' p. 123: 'more to ideate and forme....'

⁴ Compare, too, Donne's *Poetical Works*, I, p. 257, lines 221-5.

And even as the 'forms' and 'ideas' are considered by Plato to be greater than their actual reflections, and to possess greater value, so Donne maintains that this image is 'more than she.'

This fusion of 'image' and 'idea' is not peculiar to Donne; one might say it was common during his period¹. Spenser uses the term 'idea' to include both the Platonic abstract, and pictorial meanings:

Within my hart, though hardly it can shew
thing so divine to view of earthly eye,
the fayre Idea of your celestiaall hew
and every part remanes immortally².

This dual significance of 'image' is the basis of the thought expressed in the verses following the ones already quoted from *The Dreame*³. Donne maintains that the 'idea' or 'image' alone is true, for it is on that account that it is 'more than she.' He points out also that

Honours oppresse weake spirits, and our sense
Strong objects dull.

By 'honours' Donne refers, indirectly I suggest, to the 'image.' Hence the 'image' oppresses Donne and produces pain. This is borne out by the statement: 'for paine is true⁴.'

The faculty which apprehended immutable truth is 'Reason⁵'; in consequence reason departs with the image which, it may be noticed, is cherished in the very seat of reason, the heart. Reason can only bring pain. But 'phantasy,' which relates in the first place to the senses, cannot reveal such truth and can in consequence 'present joyes meaner than you do.' Since Donne desires that his love should provide joy rather than sorrow and pain he concludes: 'So if I dreame I have you, I have you.'

That the identity of a concrete⁶ picture and an abstract idea is basic in the construction of the poem appears, however, not merely from the way it can be adapted to a prose explanation of the poem, but also from the fact that it accounts for several important characteristics possessed

¹ See Ben Jonson, *Magnetic Lady*, *Induction*; Greene, *Menaphone* (1589); Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, 2, lines 68-9, *Much Ado about Nothing*, IV, 1, 224-7.

² *Amoretti*, XLV—cf. *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, lines 283-4.

³ This suggestion, semantic pluralism, already holds an honourable position in Dante exegesis, cf. *Modern Philology*, xxx, Nov. 1932, pp. 129-40, and *Romanic Review*, xxi, pp. 1-42.

⁴ The pain meant here refers also to that which follows the satisfaction of instinct. It is this dual meaning which I think one should be ready to accept of Donne. Cf. too, *Works* (ed. Alford), III, p. 166: 'There is so much truth and so much power in these Ideas.'

⁵ Compare Donne's treatment of Reason and its opposition to opinion, *Devotions* (ed. Sparrow), p. 60, and *Works* (ed. Alford), I, p. 339, where opinion is conceived as identical with knowledge received through the senses.

⁶ 'Concrete' is meant to include mental as well as material phenomena, and is used as a convenient antithesis to the abstract idea.

by the poem. Before we examine these, however, it is as well we should be clear as to the way this identity is achieved.

Donne does not merely include the metaphysical 'idea' in the concrete imagination, but, in this poem, that imagination is also dramatic. We come to believe in the concreteness of the 'idea,' the identity of 'idea' and 'image,' because of that dramatic quality, and because, perhaps, of the rhetoric which accompanies it. The basis of the poem is the thwarting of the poet's physical desire. In some of his poems¹ this kind of experience has resulted in satire; here, however, Donne has tried to conceive of an union upon a more abstract plane. In consequence the poem retains the vivid drama of the sensual passion and at the same time expresses that drama refined by the metaphysical reflective power. The immediacy of the thwarted emotion is purged of its crude intensity, while the abstractness of the 'idea' is given full emotional significance.

The drama is important, too, since it is the demands of dramatic exposition which set the outward and verse form of the poem. The 'dramatic situation' is given in the first eight verses, a group which is complete in itself, and in marked separation from the rest of the poem in outward form. The rhyming scheme is a, b, a, b, c, a, c, a. The remaining verses of the poem are given over to an examination of the implications of the situation already given. And if we analyse the poem we shall find that although the element of drama gives the appearance of progression, the thought is actually not so much progressive as elaborative or expansive.

Thus we find that the poem contains next a group of verses separate from the first group, and from all that follows, its rhyming scheme being d, e, d, e, /, d, e, d, e. It will be seen that this second group is different from the first in being definitely divided into two quatrains, whereas the first group's indivisibility of outward form is emphasised not only by the inversion of the 'a' rhyme in the second part, but also by the fact that the fourth line runs on into the fifth. Thus it appears that the form of the first group is disintegrating. This process is manifested throughout the remainder of the poem, since we find in the next place two quatrains which are now definitely separate: f, g, f, g, and h, i, h, i. Finally the quatrain itself is further disintegrated into the rhyming couplet which completes the poem.

What is suggested by the reading of the poem in the first place is borne out, then, by an examination of the verse form, that the apparent progression is disintegrative, very similar to the opening of a bud into

¹ Donne's *Poetical Works* (ed. Græson), p. 36, *Confined Love*, and p. 40, *The Flea*.

full bloom¹. Indeed, Donne's metaphysical expression is seen to be not so much ratiocination towards a goal, however much the dramatic progress and elaboration may make it appear so, but rather ratiocination out from a given situation.

This identification of concrete and abstract achieved through drama accounts in the first place for subtlety. Donne lives as it were upon the border between the concrete and the abstract, and is able to slip in and out of either province at will. Indeed this kind of mental gymnastic was one at which Donne was peculiarly apt. This ability in turn lends itself to the creation of intricate metaphysical patterns which before they can be æsthetically satisfying must not only have entered into the concrete imagination, but also be possessed of a definite form. It is the direct relationship between this pattern and the outward form which helps to provide in great measure the beauty of the poem.

Again, Donne's manipulation of the two meanings included in the word 'heart'—reason and affection—and the two meanings included in the term 'image,' together with his opposition of 'phantasy' and 'reason,' suggests that Donne delights more in the analysis and construction of patterns rather than in the contemplation of simple, unique moments of experience. This again is part of that metaphysical quality so exceedingly difficult to define because of its comprehensiveness.

The music of Donne's poetry then is an abstract music, it is the frozen music inhering in pattern. Towards the end of *The Dreame*, having dissolved the insubstantial pageant of the first part by the reversal of his demand in

But dearest heart, and dearest image stay;

Donne gathers together the elements of the pattern first created and regroups them, gives each element a new significance because of its new relationship. 'True' and 'joy' have previously been contrasted by him, as also have 'true' and 'dreame,' yet now we have

Alas, true joyes are *dreame* enough.

Then the dual significance of heart is compressed very closely in the last two verses,

Fill'd with her love, may I be rather grown
Mad with much *heart*, than *ideott* with none.

Another consequence of the identification of the abstract and concrete is hyperbole. It has been suggested that the thwarting of physical desire

¹ Here we are brought to a comparison with Browning where the drama does not hide a lack of progression, but helps to emphasise that quality; and with Shelley where too there is progression, but very often not of a direct, straightforward kind.

might have led to satire. Here, however, it results in the spiritualisation or abstraction of the physical object into an Idea. In hyperbole the Idea colours the physical object with its own greater significance, and in consequence the latter comes to possess qualities it was not known to possess in its original state. Such was the case with Donne's treatment of Mistress Drury, Prince Henry¹ and Lord Harrington², for after the death of each Donne has divested them of particular embodiment and has abstracted each into an Idea. It is because Donne has abstracted in *The Dreame* that he can allude to the image as 'more than she,' and that hyperbolic quality which Professor Grierson noted is seen, I think, to be due to Donne's concern with the abstract.

Thus it is I suggest *The Dreame* must be interpreted upon the basis of semantic dualism. This refers, as we have seen, not merely to 'image,' but also to 'heart,' and it is, I believe, only an appreciation of this dualistic interpretation which Donne gives these key words that can be adequate in an interpretation of the poem. Besides which such an interpretation emphasises the ultimate unity of Donne's imaginative process, since it co-ordinates the qualities of drama, hyperbole, subtlety, and satire, and gives, I think, a more correct value to the term meta-physical.

E. GLYN LEWIS.

SWANSEA.

ALHART AND ALPHART.

In a Munich manuscript (Cgm. 5140, fol. 317 v.-323 r.) there is a sermon by a certain Alphart, and a St Gall codex (No. 955, pp. 79-82) contains a sermon by Friar Alhart³. Both are stated to be Franciscans and the similarity of names led to the very natural assumption that they were one and the same person⁴. Such is, however, not the case, as we shall see. In the Munich sermon (M)⁵ the name of the author is given as 'der wirdig vatter Johannes Alphart, vicarius in sant Francisen (*sic*) orden.' The word *vicarius* gives us an important clue. Before the introduction of the Observantine Reform, the three Franciscan Provinces of

¹ *Poetical Works*, I, p. 267, especially pp. 53-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 271, especially pp. 1-14.

³ My special thanks are due to Dr Leidinger of the Munich Staatsbibliothek and to the Rev. Dr Muller of the St Gall Abbey Library for their valuable assistance. The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland very kindly defrayed the cost of photographing the MSS.

⁴ Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St Gallen*, Halle, 1875, p. 358.

⁵ Ed. by Lucidius Verschuieren, in *Franziskanische Studien*, Bd. xv, Munster i.W., 1928, pp. 121-5.

Germany were ruled by Provincial Ministers. Afterwards the Conventuals, or unreformed friars, retained their Minister, and the brethren of the Strict Observance had a Provincial Vicar. The Reform reached Brandenburg (which is said to have been the first Observantine centre in Germany) about 1421, Heidelberg (the first South German convent to be reformed) in 1426, and Nürnberg in 1447¹. This gives us a *terminus a quo* for Alphart.

The phonology of the manuscript provides us with the *terminus ad quem*. The dialect is Swabian. We find, *inter alia*, *ai* consistently for *ei*, *ö* for *ou*, *a* and *o* in words like *ston*, *stat*, *gast* (gehst), *verston*d, *au* in *haut* (hat) and *andaucht* (Andacht), *-ent* in the 2nd sing. of verbs. The negative particle *en-* does not occur, nor does *ge-* after a modal verb. The use of *eu* for *iu* in *bedeuten* and *verleucht* shows the influence of the *Schriftsprache*, but the survival of the typical Swabian *au* (for *â*) and *ö* (for *ou*) proves that the influence of the literary language was not complete. This type of orthography is found at Augsburg between 1470 and 1480; a few years later it became common in other Swabian towns². Hence the manuscript was written in the second half of the fifteenth century, or early in the sixteenth. In short, we must search for our friar between 1420 and 1530. The name was comparatively rare, but we discover that there was a Friar Alphart who was elected Vicar of the Upper German Province in 1474. He held this office on two later occasions (1481-4, 1487-90), and died in 1492³. He was famous as a preacher. It is reasonable to suppose that it was he who wrote the sermon in M.

What light does the text throw on the personality of the writer? It is eminently practical in its outlook, and is just such a discourse as we should expect to issue from a friar of the Strict Observance. Apart from a quotation from St Augustine there is nothing in it which by any stretch of imagination could be termed mystical. It shows erudition blended with common sense, wisdom and ripe experience. The text is Luke xvii, 19: a reformer could not have chosen better. The beginning runs: 'Uff das ewangelio von den zeh'n sundersiechen' [i.e., Aussätzigen]; and the end: 'Das sind die weg der ewigkeit, daruff uil sind sellen. Daruon spricht David "Sy hand sich genaigt von den wegen der ewigkait."' "

It remains to be proved that the sermon in the St Gall manuscript (G)

¹ P. Schlager, *Die deutschen Franziskaner*, Regensburg, 1907, pp. 26, 28; H. Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, Freiburg i.B., 1909, p. 108.

² Friedrich Kauffmann, *Geschichte der schwäbischen Mundarten*, Strassburg, 1890, pp. 289, 295-8.

³ 'Chronica Fratris Nicolai Glassberger,' in *Analecta Franciscana*, Tom. II, Quaracchi, 1887, pp. 457, 489; P. Minges, *Geschichte der Franziskaner in Bayern*, Munich, 1896, pp. 55-6, 59.

is not by the same writer. The name is given in G as 'Alhart ein mynner-bruder.' This is similar to *Alphart*, but the etymology is not the same. *Alphart* may be derived from either *Aldabert* or *Alfhart*¹, there being a strong presumption in this case in favour of the former (since his name also occurs in the form *Altpart*), but *Alhart* is a form of *Adalhard*². In addition Alhart has no surname. This at once suggests an earlier date. Up to 1280 the Provincial Ministers of Upper Germany have no middle-class surnames. Either they have a Christian name followed by an adjective, such as Pius, Probus, or they have a cognomen denoting the place of their birth. Surnames of the modern type are not general in the list till the fifteenth century (Jodocus Langenberg, Konrad Bömlin, Heinrich Karrer, Georg Summer, etc.). Finally the style, subject-matter, treatment and language of the two sermons are entirely different.

Alhart's sermon is distinctly a product of German mysticism. The style is less imaginative and poetic than that of Eckhart or Tauler, but it is the language of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century. G is a fifteenth-century manuscript; the script is not later than the middle of the century and the language is certainly earlier than 1450, as we see from the frequent use of the particle *en-* and the prefix *ge-*³. Alphart does not appear as Provincial Vicar till 1474. But we have stronger evidence of the older date of G as compared with M: part of Alhart's sermon appears in a fourteenth-century Munich manuscript (Cgm. 100, fol. 143 r.-144 v.). The passage in this version is not as good a text as that of G; it is evidently an excerpt. The original must have been fourteenth, or even thirteenth, century in date.

In G, Alhart's sermon begins 'Platee tue Ierusalem. Vnser herre spricht durch sant Johannes munt zo der sele "Die straeßen sint bestrowet mit luterme gulde."' The end runs 'Es sint zwa straißen; jn einer geet die sele zo gote, die ander kommet vnser herre zo der selen. Die nützen mit gulde bestrowet sint.' The sermon in Cgm. 100 only treats of the first of the two 'Strassen,' evidently because the first half of the sermon is more mystical in tendency than the second.

The language of G is not only much older than that of M, it is also a different dialect. The use of *o* for *uo* (as in *zo*), of *i* and *e* after long vowels (*groiß*, *straeßen*), of *g* for *ch* (*hog*, *geschag*), the forms *gulde* and *togenden*, *is* for *es*, are all characteristics of Rhenish Franconian, more particularly of Zentralhessisch⁴. G was not written in St Gall, but was purchased at

¹ Forstenmann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, Bonn, 1900, Bd. I, pp. 58, 67.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 170-1.

³ O. Behagel, *Deutsche Syntax*, Heidelberg, 1924, Bd. II, pp. 74-5, 103-4.

⁴ O. Mausser, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, Bd. I, Munich, 1932, pp. 89-100.

Freiburg i. B. in 1699¹. It probably came from the Freiburg convent of Clarisses. Cgm. 100 is a mixture of Bavarian and Middle German. It came from the Pitterich Regelhaus (a convent of Franciscan Tertiaries) in Munich². The conclusion is that the original sermon of Alhart seems to have come from the Rhenish Franconian area, e.g., from Mainz, which was a great centre of mystical activity in the fourteenth century.

J. M. CLARK.

GLASGOW.

¹ Note on p. 7 of the MS.

² E Petzet, *Catalogus manu scriptorum Bibl. Monac.* Tom. v, Pars 1, p. 175.

PROFESSOR EDMUND G. GARDNER

Readers of the *Modern Language Review* will observe with regret that the name of Professor Gardner has ceased with this number to appear as one of the Editors of the *Review*. Edmund Gardner has for fourteen years given devoted service as Romance Editor, and lent something of his great distinction to the journal and to its contents. Many a contributor has felt the advantage of his advice and assistance. At the earnest request of the Editors Professor Gardner has continued his work for the *Review* under difficulties for the last few years, but he has felt compelled at last to refuse our further importunities. It only remains for us to place on record our sense of the heavy debt of gratitude that the *Review* owes to a scholar, a colleague and a friend.

We are fortunate indeed in having obtained the consent of Professor William J. Entwistle, of the University of Oxford, to join the editorial board as Romance Editor in place of Professor Gardner.

C. J. Sisson,
General Editor.

REVIEWS

Linguistica: Selected papers in English, French and German. By OTTO JESPERSEN. Copenhagen. Levin and Munksgaard. 1933. vi+461 pp. 18s.

Students of Philology stand deeply indebted to the Rask-Ørsted Foundation for making possible the publication in collected form of a selection of Professor Jespersen's papers. Freed from academic duties Professor Jespersen has found time not only to give us a reformed auxiliary language, to continue his *Modern English Grammar* and to write his *Essentials of English Grammar*, but also to edit these papers, which illustrate very happily the range of his linguistic interests and the varied character of his contributions to the development of linguistic science.

Some of the papers appear in print for the first time, and here none is of greater interest than his farewell lecture at the University on the occasion of his retirement in 1925, with its reminiscences of the past. Fortunate in his contemporaries and in his friendships, Jespersen had from the earliest days a width of interest which saved his work from any suspicion of narrowness of outlook; Hoffding was his friend and inspirer quite as much as was Vilhelm Thomsen, and it was only after four years' study of law, and seven years' experience as a shorthand reporter in the Danish parliament, that he finally devoted himself to philological studies.

Denmark has been rich in great philologists and Jespersen has much to say of two of the most brilliant—Rasmus Rask, who so nearly anticipated the great discoveries of Grimm, and Karl Verner, that strange eccentric who lives for the world by one great and brilliant discovery. (Jespersen tells elsewhere in the volume the strange story of that discovery as he heard it from the lips of Verner himself.) To Jespersen we owe no single discovery so brilliant as that of Verner, but there is hardly any field of linguistic study which he has not illuminated.

Gifted with singular acuteness of observation and extreme lucidity of expression, he was one of the first writers on Phonetics who succeeded in setting forth his discoveries in entirely unambiguous language, and few men have done more than he in bringing phonetic studies into vital relationship with the teaching of modern languages, whether native or foreign.

His phonetic studies and his power of logical analysis made him a luminous critic of those philologists whose creed was 'sound laws admit of no exception.' His ideas on this matter were first set forth in an article in *Nordisk tidsskrift for filologi* as early as 1888, but supplementary papers on the matter, published in 1904 and 1933, show how fully he was able to maintain views set forth at the very outset of his career.

Jespersen was early attracted by English. It was the study of that language which supplied the theme of his doctoral thesis *Studier over*

engelske kasus, and from his study of the development of our language he became a persistent upholder of the view that the passage from a synthetic to an analytic structure constituted 'progress in language' rather than the reverse. For him questions of syntax and of structure have always been of much greater interest than questions of morphology, and it is not surprising therefore that three out of the four volumes of his great *Modern English Grammar* that have so far appeared concern themselves, not with phonology and morphology, but with syntax and structure. His study of these themes led him to a reconsideration of the whole system of our grammatical terminology and a fundamental discussion of the ideas underlying all grammar. Beginning with such small studies as *Sprogets Logik* and *Tid og Tempus*, his ideas on these matters were first fully developed in his *Philosophy of Grammar*, while they received practical illustration, not only in his larger English grammar, but in his more recent shorter and most persuasive *Essentials of English Grammar*, which should be in the hands of all who are interested in the study of English grammar from the point of view of a moderate reformer.

There is no instinct which is stronger in Jespersen's mind than the logical one and this it is that has inspired, not only his grammatical work, but also his work on behalf of an international auxiliary language. Here he has spent many years in endeavouring to fashion a perfect instrument of expression—first as a critic of Esperanto, then as one of the champions of Ido, and later, when that language failed to satisfy him, as the inventor of Novial.

All these varied interests find their illustration in the volume of essays now presented to us. Of Jespersen it may be said *nihil tetigit quod non illuminavit*. In all his essays alike he shows those gifts of critical observation, logical argument, scientific detachment, and lucidity of expression which have made him one of the most stimulating of modern philologists.

It is pleasant to reflect that shortly after the publication of these essays Denmark recognised in signal fashion its appreciation of the scholarly distinction and public services of Professor Jespersen. A wealthy Danish citizen left to the State his property at Lundehave, with the instruction that it should be used for the honour and well-being of Danish scholars. The first scholar whom the State thus selected for honour was Professor Jespersen. There he lives in daily view of the Sound and of the Castle of Elsinore—a view not without its pleasant symbolism: the Sound, so intimately bound up with the life of the Danish nation and at the same time one of the great highways of the world, happily symbolising the combination in Jespersen to a marked degree of services to national and international scholarship alike; the Castle of Elsinore, with its Shakespearean associations, reminding us of all that he has done for English and his admiration not only for our language but for our literature also.

ALLEN MAWER.

LONDON.

Eger and Grime. A parallel-text edition of the Percy and the Huntington-Laing Versions of the Romance, with an Introductory Study. (*Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*, vol. ix.) By JAMES RALSTON CALDWELL. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press. 1933. x+353 pp. 15s.

A modern edition of *Eger and Grime* was badly needed. That romance which James IV of Scotland heard sung by 'tua fithelaris' in 1497, and which was so well known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that one of the names in it became a popular epithet, has, as Mr Caldwell remarks, received liberal praise from scholars but not much careful study and there are many problems connected with it which call for attention. In some directions this new edition supplies what is needed, though there are certain aspects of the poem which it leaves almost untouched.

Two versions of the romance have been known hitherto, the Aberdeen edition of 1711 reprinted by Laing in his *Early Metrical Tales* (L), and that in the Percy Folio Manuscript (P). Mr Caldwell has tracked down in the Huntington Library a third version (H), a black-letter print of 1687. This is almost identical with L and is plainly its immediate source. There are, therefore, to all intents and purposes two versions only, P and HL, and Mr Caldwell is content to print the texts of P and H, quoting at the foot of the page the comparatively few readings in which L differs from H.

In the matter of the relationship of the two texts he agrees with Reichel (cf. *Englische Studien*, vol. xix) that (H)L is nearer to the original than P and, like Reichel, he mainly bases his opinion on the way in which the two present the story. He adds his own explanation of some of the differences between them. HL, he suggests, is a composite text, the result of an attempt to patch an already imperfect version 'with scraps of another likewise imperfect version.' The evidence for this consists in the peculiar nature of some corruptions in HL which are lacking in P.

In its language, too, HL appears to preserve rather more traces of the original dialect than P. The determination of the language of the original is naturally a difficult matter, since both versions are late and have certainly undergone much alteration. The editor, believes, however, that there is sufficient evidence from rhymes to indicate that the poem was composed in Central or North-eastern Scotland. He is probably right in this conclusion, but the inaccuracy of some of his statements in the section on language makes one hesitate to accept it without independent investigation. He remarks, for instance, that rhymes of O.E. *a* in open syllables with O.E. *ā* are 'strictly Scottish' and that the preservation of O. Northumbrian *ald* (unchanged to *ōld*) is 'characteristically Scottish.' This, of course, is not true if the expressions 'strictly Scottish' and 'characteristically Scottish' have their usual meaning of 'not found except in Scotland.' Another misapprehension occurs in the discussion of the development of O.E. *ō*. Mr Caldwell suggests that the rhyme *stood: yeed* HL, 1715-16, is an indication of the Northern development of *ō* to a sound approximating to Fr. *ū*. This might possibly be so if *yeed* contained the rounded vowel *ō* into which O.E. *eo* first developed.

But this rounded sound certainly never survived in Scotland as late as the fifteenth century and in any case is not likely to be indicated by the spelling *ee*.

Mr Caldwell has some interesting observations to make upon the metre of the two versions. He notes that, though both are in four-stress couplets, at the beginning of each there are lines of three stresses which suggest that in an earlier form the poem was stanzaic. Both show a strong tendency to alliteration, P having a slightly larger proportion of alliterating lines than HL. If the alliteration is carried over from the original poem, as it presumably is, it is odd that P, which in other respects is less near to the original, should have this larger proportion. This is a fact which Mr Caldwell might well have taken into account in discussing the relationship of the two versions to the original, though it is probable that it would not have affected his conclusions.

The great defect of the edition is the complete lack of any apparatus for the interpretation of these two corrupt texts. In order to clear up their many obscurities a glossary or a set of explanatory notes (or both) was essential. Possibly Mr Caldwell considered that Reichel's notes and glossary for L were sufficient, but Reichel himself was by no means satisfied that he had solved all the difficulties.

The editor's interest evidently lies rather in the story and its origins than in the extant texts, and the greater part of his Introduction is devoted to a detailed study of the materials of which the romance is composed. He is anxious to prove that the plot is of Celtic origin and that those earlier critics who spoke of it as 'fundamentally' or partially 'Teutonic' were mistaken. Accordingly he discusses at some length the institution of sworn brotherhood and maintains that its appearance among primitive peoples is so widespread that it would be dangerous to 'refer all mention of brother pacts in mediæval story to Germanic origins.' In any case, he does not believe that the sworn brotherhood theme in *Eger and Grime* is an original feature in the story. According to his view the plot had its origin in the widely disseminated folk-tale known as *Die Zwei Brüder*, in which the two heroes were twin brothers, and in presenting them as sworn brothers the romance is merely conforming to a familiar chivalric convention.

He notes that though the main outlines of the plot can be paralleled in *Die Zwei Brüder*, one radical alteration has taken place. In the folk-tale one of the brothers is turned into stone by enchantment; in the romance, instead of this, we have Eger's adventures in the Forbidden Country. An analysis of these and the similar, but not identical, adventures of Grime suggests that into the middle of *Die Zwei Brüder* there has been introduced a 'Celtic Fairy Mistress tale of strange adventures in the Otherworld.' Mr Caldwell finds precedents for the combination of the two tales and concludes that 'the author of *Eger and Grime* was following a particular Celtic version of *Die Zwei Brüder* in which the Otherworld combat was an established tradition.'

This brief summary hardly does justice to the ingenuity and patience with which the editor has traced in more primitive tales the various

important features of the romance. The task was not an easy one, for the lateness of the romance has inevitably led to the misunderstanding or misplacing of several of the elements essential to the original stories, but Mr Caldwell has succeeded in making an interesting case and, on the whole, a convincing one.

If he had dealt as fully with the textual difficulties as he has with the problems connected with the story, we should have had a very good edition, but even as it is his book makes a considerable contribution to the understanding of the romance and may do the added service of drawing the attention of scholars to those matters which still need investigation.

DOROTHY EVERETT.

OXFORD.

A Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser printed before 1700. By FRANCIS R. JOHNSON. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. xiv+62 pp. 12s. 6d.

In this bibliography Mr Johnson does a useful service to students as well as to librarians and booksellers. Taking the works in the order of their first appearance, he describes—succinctly, and, by reason of his strict method, lucidly—each edition of each separate work, and the collected editions down to the folio of 1679 inclusive, adding the *Axiochus* from Professor Padelford's unique copy. His descriptions are of named copies in each case: a sound plan, it being understood that these are not 'standard' types to which good copies must conform or deviations from which connote rarity. Mr Johnson is properly aware of the interest of variants, and properly resists the temptation to make too much of them. It is possible, however, also to classify sheets as 'earlier' and 'later'—at iv. iv. 21. 5 there are three states in 1596—and even to make a rough series, if not a classification, of copies. One correction may be offered: Mr Johnson states (p. 53) that the MS. of the *View of Ireland* in Trinity College, Dublin, is 'Archbishop Ussher's manuscript, from which Ware's edition was printed.' The error is easy: Ware says he printed from a copy in Ussher's library, and that library was presented to Trinity College in 1661. But it is not certain that this MS. was Ussher's, and an examination of the text shows that it was not Ware's exemplar, though I suspect he may have seen it. It might have been worth noting that Ware's edition of the *View* contains two hitherto unpublished scraps of verse as well as quotations from Spenser's published poems; and quoting the note in the Rawlinson MS. as well as the copy of it in the Stationers' Register. But one has little criticism to offer to a bibliographer who gives so lucid an account of the tangled 1611-12-13 folio *Works*—except that the volume might have been interleaved, so that librarians and others might have entered particulars of their own copies in a bibliography where so many variants exist.

W. L. RENWICK.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

Art and Artifice in Shakespeare. By ELMER EDGAR STOLL. Cambridge: University Press. 1933. 178 pp. 7s. 6d.

It is more profitable for a critic to consider what Shakespeare was doing when he wrote a play than to explain what the critic would have been doing had he written it himself. Professor Stoll has a strong conviction of the advisability of bearing this in mind, and this book once more bears witness to his clear vision. Here, as in his former books, he holds firmly to the conception of Shakespeare the artist, but the artist in relation to his medium and his age, in a series of studies, mainly of the great tragedies. He is led to consider closely how far character and action correspond and are bound up one with another, and to raise the question of their conflict or disparity.

It is certain that Professor Stoll is right in his general insistence upon the all-importance of 'situation' in the drama in general and in Shakespeare in particular. But the term is not easy to define, nor has he succeeded in making clear what limits he would make to his concept. It may well be questioned whether the term has not been stretched unreasonably far when it is applied to the problem of the birth of jealousy in *Othello*, which is not the *donnée* of the play but its whole theme. We may admit the 'improbability' of the division of his kingdom by Lear, acceptance of which is a prerequisite to illusion. But it is a far remove from this to accepting the 'improbability' of Iago's influence upon *Othello*. If this is truly 'improbable,' the play has failed. It is a question, not of artifice, but of art. Nor is it necessary, in order to accept the probability of the main action, to postulate an *Othello* jealous by nature, which Professor Stoll suggests to be the only alternative and to be rejected beyond all doubt. What Shakespeare shows us in *Othello* is true to life to-day, and even more true to Elizabethan life, though not consistent with the dictates of reason or a retrospective analysis of character. It is not here, at any rate, that parallels should be sought with the intervention of gods in human affairs in the earlier drama, leading to a disparity between a man's nature and his conduct. There is more hope in seeking such a parallel in *Macbeth*, and Professor Stoll pushes it very far. But is it not essential to the play, and to Shakespeare's conscious conception, that susceptibility to supernatural solicitings is as much part of *Macbeth's* character as his nobility and honour? Lady *Macbeth's* deliberate analysis of his character forbids any thought of conflict between character and 'situation' here. Shakespeare's heroes are not all of a piece.

It is a matter of degree, after all. I for one will not quarrel with Professor Stoll's main position, that 'in the incidents there is less of unquestionable reality than in the characters.' And I agree heartily with his condemnation of the extreme 'psychologists,' who reduce *Othello* or Lear to the terms of a key to their actions. His treatment of Hamlet in this connexion is very refreshing. The whole chapter on *Hamlet*, indeed, repays careful reading, and shows Professor Stoll's obstinate realism at its best, in dealing with more imaginative views, which have increased in number even since he wrote his *Shakespeare Studies*, and

which sustain throughout this book a number of shrewd hits. The danger of such a critical attitude, of course, lies in a too narrow restriction of the real or the probable in life to what may seem to us to-day to be intelligible or reasonable.

C. J. SISSON.

LONDON.

A Last Elizabethan Journal. By G. B. HARRISON. London: Constable. 1933. vii + 387 pp. 21s.

With this third instalment, Dr Harrison completes his task of putting together 'a journal of those things which most occupied the minds of Englishmen during the years 1591-1603.' It was well worth undertaking, since the social history of this final Elizabethan decade has never yet been completely charted. Froude, with his eye for picturesque detail, now fails us, and the erudite volumes of Professor Cheyney, valuable as they are, take the form of a series of essays, rather than a continuous narrative. Both writers, moreover, were primarily occupied with the underlying political issues, rather than with the day-to-day happenings which made up contemporary life, as the poets and dramatists saw it. One has often had to turn to the attractive, but not always well-informed pages of Agnes Strickland. The present volume covers the last four years of the great reign, from the death of Burghley to that of Elizabeth herself. The war with Spain is flickering out; Ireland is troublesome; the minds of statesmen are occupied with the problem of the succession; those of plain men with the grievance of the monopolies. Dr Harrison has ample material and makes good use of it. He draws from a wide range, but the *Acts of the Privy Council*, the *Calendars of State Papers*, and their invaluable supplement the *Hatfield Calendar* are a standby; and for lighter matters the cheery gossip of John Chamberlain and Rowland White. He has apparently also been able to use a still unpublished second volume of the *Penshurst Papers*. Whether the frequent extracts from obscure pamphlets revealed by the *Short Title Catalogue* add much of interest, I am not so sure. Many of them are dull reading and must have always been so. They cannot have circulated very freely in the London taverns. There is perhaps a touch of pedantry here. But as a whole the book is a useful bit of popularisation. Dr Harrison claims to address 'the common reader,' who is, he says, rather sweepingly, 'the ultimate judge of all books.' But even the professed student of literature, who under modern educational conditions often comes to his task with a somewhat narrow technical equipment, may learn something here. He may at any rate learn that literature has a background. And there are those whose imaginations may be stimulated, by names which pass fleetingly over Dr Harrison's film, to attempt the fascinating task of piecing together some of those minor biographies which help so much to give vividness to the picture of an age. Of Captain Thomas Lee, whose intervention and its result brought a touch of cruel farce into the tragedy of the Earl of Essex, and whose strange portrait was one of the features of the recent Academy Exhibition, I hope myself to write elsewhere.

Sir Edward Baynham would also repay study; it might even be possible to ascertain whether his name was really Edward or Edmund. So would, from earlier volumes, that picturesque gentleman, the Count Arundel of Wardour. Essex himself is, of course, an outstanding figure in Dr Harrison's pages. Quite apart from the vexed question of how far he is or is not in the background of important literature, his chequered career is probably by this time familiar even to the 'common reader,' who can now, however, see for himself how much Lytton Strachey has read into the record.

Dr Harrison's method has, I think, its dangers. The archaistic style which he affects might easily entrap the unwary into taking abbreviated or glossed statements for the very words of the sources which he cites; and if such things got into dissertations there would be, or at any rate ought to be, trouble. And again, to describe the book as a 'journal' or 'record of things most spoken of' is a little misleading. Many of the things here set down may have been matter of common gossip, in London at least. But others come from documents which at the time were secret. We know a great deal more about many Elizabethan transactions, through the opening of archives, than any contemporary citizen was likely to have known. No doubt there was some leakage. Burghley had to sack one of his secretaries. But on the whole we may take it that Elizabeth's ministers, Robert Cecil in particular, were quite capable of keeping their own counsel. Nor, in the absence of those gifted chroniclers who supply us with so much approximately accurate information daily, can news have spread very rapidly. Particularly would this be so as between London and the provinces; witness the alarming and baseless rumours which were abroad as to the Queen's health in the autumn of 1599. In conclusion I may note a few slips which do not seriously detract from the skill and industry with which Dr Harrison has carried out his compilation. Raleigh is made to say of his tinnors (p. 223) that 'buy time at what price soever, they have 4s. a week truly paid.' Surely what he really must have said was 'be tin at what price soever.' The Lord Grey, who quarrelled with the Earl of Southampton (p. 101) in 1600, was not 'of Ruthyn,' but 'of Wilton.' The Ruthyn title was merged in that of the Earl of Kent. Sir Howard Wotton (p. 199) should be Sir Edward Wotton. Sir Jerome Bowles (p. 276) should be Sir Jerome Bowes. This is corrected in the index, but here, on the other hand, Sir William Cornwallis becomes Sir Thomas Cornwallis. The printer who set up 'Counties of Warwick' for 'Countess of Warwick' knew a little about English geography, but not very much.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

The Works of John Milton. Columbia University edition, under general editorship of F. A. PATTERSON. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1931-. 18 vols. £24. Volumes not sold separately. Vols. 1 and 2: *Poetical Works*.

This edition, now nearing completion, is to be the first complete edition of Milton's works. It will contain 'all the poetry and prose considered by the editors to be genuine, together with translations of such works as were not originally written in English. In the final volume will appear certain doubtful pieces.' The nearest approach to such an edition has hitherto been that of Mitford published in 1841, which lacks the *Christian Doctrine* besides other items. The time was certainly ripe for this undertaking, nor was it unfitting that it should be carried through in America as the crowning achievement of all the work done there on Milton this century. All students and lovers of Milton must be grateful to Professor Patterson and his fellow editors.

We expect first that such an edition should be readable, and the Columbia University Press has seen well to that side of the business. The volumes are light to the hand, the type clear and pleasing, the page generously spaced, comfortable and dignified. The fine reproductions of Milton's portraits and of the original title-pages add to the beauty as well as the interest of the volumes. One's only doubt is whether the bindings will endure constant use and whether the stick-on labels will for once belie their names. The notes would have been easier to read with the quoted words italicised, and those to *Paradise Lost* easier to consult with the number of the book given in a running title.

The all-important question on which the edition stands to be judged is of course the treatment of the text. It is more astonishing that up to now there should have been no sound critical text even of the poetry than that there should have been no complete edition. The present editors propose to give us an authentic text with complete textual apparatus of variant readings from the original sources. The general principles by which they have been guided may be stated in their own words:

The text is based on the latest edition published in Milton's lifetime, and in the case of writings that did not appear in Milton's life, on manuscript copies, or on the earliest edition published after his death. The original punctuation and spelling are followed, except in the case of obvious misprints. Whenever the text chosen has been altered in any particular, a full explanation is given. In the notes the several editors attempt to furnish full textual information, including all variations in spelling, punctuation, and use of italics to be found in the texts published before 1674.

These are sound, indeed obvious principles, especially for editing the poetry; but it is the first time they have been acted on. Although Milton's own texts of his poems are exceptionally good, no editor has been content to give us an original text with all the original variants, ignoring subsequent conjectures. Aldis Wright's overrated edition, for instance, which was the best we had to work with, modernises the spelling and punctuation without ever quoting the original readings on these points; and despite his admired observation 'that in most cases

ignorance and conceit are the fruitful parents of conjectural emendation,' he does not disdain to load his notes with such examples as Peck's 'Comes the blind *fairie* with the abhorred shears.' He certainly notes the verbal variants with few omissions and errors, but I fail to imagine those scholars whom Miss Darbishire describes as turning thankfully from the Columbia edition to his. Here at last is an edition which, with a few lapses, offers only Milton's readings and in which we are privileged to read Milton's verse as nearly as possible under his own direction, unhindered and unvexed by two centuries of editors bent on improving his almost perfect text wherever they saw their chance—which chiefly meant playing Old Harry with the punctuation.

The Columbia editors have been reluctant to alter their selected text in any particular, which means that they do not aim at producing a definitive text. This again was a wise decision, since our first need was to be provided with all the authentic material for such a text. They do, however, permit themselves to correct 'obvious misprints'; and even this apparently harmless liberty proves, I think, a mistake, raising the ticklish problem of what may be considered obvious misprints. They might have been better advised to stick to the simple rule of reprinting the latest authentic text, correcting only from the original *errata*; they could still have shown their discretion and conservatism in suggesting emendations in the notes. Where the editing is most conservative and therefore best, the editor would have lost nothing by following this strict rule. But once the editors had taken upon themselves to alter anything in their text they had really committed themselves to constructing a definitive text, laying themselves open to criticism for having missed various misprints which they no doubt deliberately refrained from touching; their extreme conservatism becomes in fact a weakness, since conservatism is no excuse for timidity. Moreover it was now incumbent on them to do what they do not profess to attempt—not only to record the original variants but to sift out of subsequent emendations those few that are unquestionably right. The problems thus needlessly created have been dealt with by the various editors in slightly different ways, which points the moral and shows how dangerous it was to depart from a plain rule that could have been imposed on all alike. In consequence the editing is not as uniform as it should be.

The first volume, in two tomes, contains the Minor Poems. The text is that of 1673, which gives us all the poems published during Milton's lifetime as he finally arranged them; the four poems published afterwards are printed in the order indicated in the manuscript copy. It is difficult, however, to imagine why *Samson Agonistes* was removed from its proper place after *Paradise Regained* and made to share the second tome of this first volume with the textual notes. There is not even the bookmaker's reason that the later tomes are thus saved from excessive bulk. What is worse is that the *errata* to the 1671 edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* are printed together in volume 1, in the notes to the latter poem; so that anyone looking for the *errata* to *Paradise Regained* will not find them in their proper place.

The basis of most modern editions of the early poems is that of 1645; there are accordingly some unfamiliar readings in the present text. 'Th' enameld *Arras* of the Rainbow' (*Christ's Nativity*, 143) gives place to a soberer reading that is obviously Milton's correction; the third line of *L'Allegro* is closed with a full stop; 'And he by Friar's Lanthorn led' (*L'Allegro*, 104) becomes 'And by the Friar's Lanthorn led,' which appears to be Milton's unsuccessful attempt to emend the syntax; *latest* (*The Passion*, 22) is a clear improvement on *latter*. The 1673 edition sometimes corrects misprints in the punctuation of 1645 (*Christ's Nativity*, 180, 185, 231). At two places the editor has been misled by poor printing in the 1645 volume to record variants in punctuation (*Christ's Nativity*, 103; *Il Penseroso*, 106). Sometimes the punctuation has been corrected from 1645, but only when the 1673 reading is clearly impossible.

The value of the edition is fully seen in the notes to *Lycidas* and *Comus*, as anyone will appreciate who has spent weary hours collecting the dispersed material for deciding a textual point in these poems. The editing of these two poems seems to be all that one could desire, though I cannot pretend to have tested it thoroughly. For *Comus* variants are recorded from the 1637 and 1645 editions, the Trinity and Bridgewater manuscripts, and the MS. Additional 11518 in the British Museum; some readings are also given as recorded by Warton and Todd from a leaf attached to the Trinity manuscript that has since disappeared. For *Lycidas* variants are recorded from the 1638 edition, from the copy of this in the Cambridge University Library corrected by Milton, from the Trinity manuscript, and from the 1645 edition. This is a poem for which Aldis Wright's textual notes are seriously deficient. One point worth remarking is that the variant readings settle the question of what to do with lines 23-4. Nearly all editors, with infuriating complacency, make these lines begin a new paragraph; Aldis Wright does so, and his only comment is 'l. 25. A new paragraph in 1645.' But the manuscript and all the editions except 1638 (which does not paragraph at all) indent at l. 25. Nowhere else in the poem does Milton weakly begin the paragraph with a couplet; frequently he concludes with one, and this particular couplet is a fine example of the effect he gets. In their proper place the lines have a sudden force and pathos, the sting of passion; removed to the next paragraph they are reduced to that level of factitious sentiment most readers falsely discover in the poem.

For *Samson Agonistes* the only original text is that of 1671. Thus there are no authentic variant readings; but the editor, evidently wishing to supply something in the way of textual notes, has given the variants of the 1680 edition, which is the first instance we have to note of the editors' unnecessary departure from their professed principles. The 1680 edition is merely a bad reprint of the 1671 edition; it ignores the *errata* of 1671 and commits many further misprints. All this is gravely recorded in the notes. Where is the point in quoting from a posthumous edition such obvious misprints as *solid* for *soild* (l. 123), *hollow* for *hallow'd* (l. 535), *the* for *thee* (l. 546), or in noting the repetition of errors already

corrected in the *errata* of 1671? The one place where the 1680 reading corrects that of 1671 is in the punctuation of l. 1488, and here it can confer no authority on reason.

These faults are repeated and aggravated in the editing of the Latin poems, which falls below the high standard maintained for the most part in the editing of the English. The selected text is that of 1673; but the editor is not quite so careful as the editor of the English poems to observe the sound rule of retaining the 1673 reading wherever possible. Why, for instance, substitute 1645 *littus* (*Elegia*, v, 106) for 1673 *litus*? He goes much further than the editor of *Samson Agonistes* in violating the principle of giving variants only from original sources. Besides the readings of the one other authentic edition of 1645, 'the readings of 1695 also have usually been recorded and the changes of modern editors when it seemed important to discuss them.' The same remarks apply to the 1695 edition of these poems as to the 1680 edition of *Samson Agonistes*: it is a reprint of no authority. So far as I have observed, none of its readings that differ from both 1645 and 1673 are other than misprints. Here are some samples of what we are given: *pocul* for *procul* (*Elegia*, i, 18), *tcuculos* for *titulos* (*Elegia*, v, 74), *solo* for *salo* (*ibid.*, 84), *Natvia* (*ibid.*, 115) reproducing 1673 misprint for 1645 *Navita*. The 1673 edition omits the comma after *misi* (*Elegia*, vii, 59), but to quote 1695 in support of the correct reading of 1645 is as futile as to quote Warton or Masson. The 1695 edition is even quoted as the authority for readings given in the *errata* of 1673 (second poem to Leonora, l. 8; *In Quintum Novembris*, 45, 150). As for the 'changes of modern editors,' they could only be properly used to suggest corrections of what is wrong in both 1645 and 1673, which would mean that the editor intended to give us an emended and definitive text, but this, besides being outside the express purpose of the edition, is not consistently attempted either in the text or the notes. A number of the most probable corrections in modern editions are passed by in silence: there is no note on *surdeat* (*Elegia*, vii, 90); *quid te* (*Epitaphium Damonis*, 82), where C. S. Jerram conjectured *quid de te*; *inulta* (*In Quint. Nov.*, 44), where a full stop is required. In the last case it was the editor's duty to quote the modern correction, since the translator assumes it; as it is, the translation answers to a reading that exists neither in the text nor the notes. This happens at several places, the translator correcting an error that is retained in the text without comment: *multam*, (*Elegia*, iv, 47); *fesso* for *fasso* (*ibid.*, 61). The modern readings actually quoted, all of them from Warton and Masson, are either unwanted 'improvements' in punctuation or brought in to arbitrate on a difference between the original texts, which is precisely where they are without interest or authority. Why, for instance, record an unnecessary comma suggested by Warton and Masson (*Elegia*, vi, 79)? And these editors are certainly not needed to support a correct reading of 1645 against 1673 (*Elegia*, vii, 50). Then, as though the editor could not have superfluities enough, 'Beeching's departures from 1645 are usually noted.' A compendious example of all this work of supererogation is the note on the unquestionably right

reading *ipsa* in the last line of the postscript to *Elegia*, vii: '*ipsa* 1645, 1673; Beeching *ipse*; Warton and Masson *ipsa*.'

I have noted a few omissions and errors: the text reads without comment *merum*, (*Elegia*, vi, 24) and *Tiphoeus* (*In Quintum Novembris*, 37), where both 1645 and 1673 read *merum*. and *Tiphoeus*.; 1645 misprint *aererno* (*Elegia*, vii, 21) is omitted; *tuae* should read *tuae*. (note to *Elegia*, vii, 8). In the note on the Latin verses found with the Commonplace Book there is mystery and a pretty sort of bathos in the remark that 'the original sheet of paper has altogether crumbled to pieces, or at any rate disappeared.' The editor offers a conjectural reading for the illegible word at the end of the fourth line in the second of these poems: 'Stratus purpureo p(rocu)buit st(rato).' This makes a false quantity despite the editor's comment that 'meter and the natural play with *stratus* at the beginning of the line suggest the reading given as the true one.' If the *st*, given on the authority of Mr J. A. Herbert, is not certain, we might read *toro* or *thoro*.

The chief fault of the translator is that he does not trust his author, spurning the literal or straightforward translation and so leading himself into false renderings and bad English. 'Stellarum nec sentit onus Maurusius Atlas' (*Ad Patrem*, 1-2): 'And Maurusian Atlas no longer feels his burden.' *Modico* (*ibid.*, 43) is rendered *modest* when the context clearly suggests *in moderation*. Sometimes the English would be difficult to construe without the Latin: 'Officium chari taceo commune parentis, Me poscunt maiora' (*ibid.*, 77-8): 'I hold my peace about the service rendered by every father to dear son: on me larger demands are made.' 'Tum neque ripa suo, barathro nec fixa sub imo, Saxa stetero loco' (*ibid.*, 65-6): 'then the banks stayed not in their appointed places, nor did the boulders, formerly fixed within the deeps of the Tartarean pit, stay in theirs.' *Tartarean pit* is gratuitous nonsense; Milton is speaking merely of the stones imbedded in the river. Often the translator could have avoided error by following a standard translation: 'Si quando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges' (*ibid.*, 80): 'If ever I shall bring back to my songs the kings of my native land.' This suggests some lost Arthurian poems of Milton's. 'Secreti haec aliqua mundi de parte videbo' (*ibid.*, 97): 'From some corner of a world apart I shall see all that happens here.' The meaning would be more clearly rendered by the straightforward translation of *haec* as *these things*—the honours that the poet has just imagined as being paid to his memory.

Similar criticisms have to be made on the editing and translating of the Italian poems, though the editor is not guilty of loading his notes with readings from posthumous editions. In the Italian ode to Milton by Francini the misprint *privu* (l. 30) should have been corrected and the 1645 misprint *sceglia* (l. 47) should have been noted. It will be sufficient to illustrate the general quality of the work from the first of the Italian sonnets. *Il nobil varco* is mistranslated *the noble gorge*; J. S. Smart showed that *the famous ford* is the Rubicon and that these first two lines indicate the district of Emilia and so the lady's name: all this is missed by the translator. The 1673 misprint *arco*. should have been corrected from

1645: the translator assumes the correct reading. The translator will not translate simple things simply and is prone to grammatical inversions. 'Bene è colui d'ogni valore scarco'· 'Lightened of all burden of worth must he be.' 'Che mover possa duro alpestre legno': 'In such guise that the hardest and wildest oak is moved to feeling.'

Guardi ciascun a gh occhi, ed a gh orrechi
L'entrata, chi di te si truova indegno;
Gratia sola di su gli vaglia.

'One must guard the gateways to ear and eye; For if a man be unworthy favour, may the grace of heaven alone avail him.'

Here the punctuation and syntax has been wilfully altered to achieve an ambiguous but undoubtedly false translation.

Volume 2 in two tomes contains *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The text is the second edition of 1674, with variants from the first issue of the first edition in 1667, from two other issues of this edition in 1668 and 1669, and from the manuscript of Book I. We are again told that the editor has been reluctant to alter his selected text except in the case of obvious misprints. There are, however, a number of such misprints left in the text of *Paradise Lost*: *portumque* for *pontumque* (Barrow's prefatory verses, l. 9); *Aroar* for *Aroer* (I, 507); *hallow* for *hollow* (VI, 484); *Foe*, for *Foe*. (IX, 951); interchange of *for* and *from* (IX, 1092-3); *fanting* for *fainting* (I, 530); perhaps also *desperate reveng* for 1667 *desperat revenge* (III, 85). *Devote?* would appear from the context to be a misprint in both editions for *Devotel*. The text follows the 1667 reading *Earth*; (XII, 29) and 1674 *Earth*, is not recorded. An *erratum* has recently been issued for II, 56-66, where the printer has misplaced five lines. The editor rightly ignores editions later than 1674; but since he undertakes to correct misprints he should have at least noted such indisputable corrections as Bentley's *soul* for *Fowl* (VII, 451) and *swelling* for *smelling* (VII, 321), and Upton's *th' invisible* for *invisible* (VI, 681: see Sumner's note, *Christian Doctrine*, Bohn ed., IV, p. 143). In the main, however, one is grateful for his conservatism. The second edition was certainly revised by Milton and carefully printed, and we can scarcely be too jealous of it as our authentic text. The reading *found out* (I, 703) is an instance of the danger in too readily preferring the first edition or the manuscript to the final version.

What we require is all the original variants accurately recorded; and it is on this basis that the edition must be judged. Miss Darbishire (*Review of English Studies*, January, 1933) has noted three omissions of readings from edition I (II, 506; VII, 63, 109); in an examination of Books I, IX, XI and XII I have noted only two others, the obvious misprints *Put* (IX, 327) and *slight* (XI, 302). I have noted the following errors in readings from edition I: *linkt*, for *linkt*; (XI, 139); *Earth*: for *Earth*, (XI, 335); *waight* for *waigh* (XI, 545). Omissions and errors in readings from the manuscript are much more numerous; it is here that the editor fails us. Some of these are plain oversights: *these* for *those* (71, 432), where the manuscript corrects both editions; variant punctuation (15, 42, 97, 369). But most of the omissions would be explained by Professor Grierson's statement that 'in working on the MS., the Columbia editors

were confined to photostats, the MS. being reserved for the use of Miss Darbishire' (*Review of English Studies*, July, 1933). This was a handicap which, at whatever cost of delay, the editor of such an edition as the present should have refused to accept; a comparison of the Columbia readings from the manuscript with Miss Darbishire's edition of it shows how essential it is in such matters to work from the original document. Here, on the authority of Miss Darbishire's edition, are some typical examples of points missed by the Columbia editor which, judging again from Miss Darbishire's collotype reproduction of the manuscript, are either not to be discerned or not to be accurately deciphered in any photostat: *rhime* (16) in which the *h* has been cancelled by 'a very fine vertical stroke' (but the Columbia editor should have noted that this is recorded by Sotheby in his facsimile of the page in his *Ramblings in Elucidation of Milton's Autograph*); *ethereal* (45) which the scribe originally wrote *etherial*, another hand having corrected the *i* to *e* in a darker ink; *Abyesse*, (21) where 'the comma is, through a glass, clearly seen in the MS.'; *memoriall*, (362) where the stop looks like a semi-colon and is so given by the Columbia editor, but the upper dot is really an accidental flick of ink; *Capitall* (756) which the scribe originally wrote *Capitoll*, the *o* having been altered to *a* in a different ink. I have noted similar instances in the following lines down to 414: 49, 53, 81, 87, 150, 157, 163, 169, 199, 326, 328, 336, 362, 408, 414.

The text of *Paradise Regained*, as of *Samson Agonistes*, is that of 1671; and here again we are given the useless variants from the edition of 1680. In no instance do these readings help to correct the original text, being either misprints or uninteresting alterations in spelling and punctuation. If a posthumous edition was to be quoted it would have been more to the point to give the 1695 correction *here* for *he* (II, 309). But all that was really necessary was to give the *errata* of 1671 which, as already observed, is inconveniently printed in the previous volume.

It is the lowly and thankless duty of the reviewer to find faults, passing by in a phrase what is blameless. Yet after all principles are of more account than detail even in editorial work; and whatever particular criticisms are made on this edition, the fact remains that it is the best we have ever had because it is planned on the right lines. It is not the perfect edition but it could be made so by simple correction; the Columbia editors have shown the way, and any editor that improves on them will in the main do so only in detail. In any case the Columbia *Milton* will be indispensable in all future work on Milton.

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GLASGOW.

Rabelais in English Literature. By HUNTINGTON BROWN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. xvi + 254 pp. 10s. 6d.

Dr Huntington Brown has carried out a job that wanted doing, the only piece of work dealing hitherto with any sort of thoroughness with the English followers or imitators of Rabelais being *Les Interprètes de*

Rabelais en Angleterre et en Allemagne by Lazare Sainéan. And he is specially qualified for doing it, as editor of the folk-tale of Gargantua and King Arthur, which was known in this country earlier than Rabelais' great work, and, as he points out, 'came to be confused therewith.' Tudor literature exhibits pseudo-Rabelaisian elements due merely to affinity of genius, but also others assignable to the incentive of this legendary material, which Rabelais worked up on lines of his own. Thus John Taylor, the Water Poet, could not read French, but has allusions to Gargantua, which must be referred to some English version of Giraut's *Croniques admirables du puissant Roy Gargantua*, rather than to Rabelais.

The verbal exuberance of Rabelais excited enthusiasm from the very first, and was naturally of extreme interest to the philologists and lexicographers; Claudius Holyband, Cotgrave, and John Eliot, author of *Orthoepia gallicana*, drew upon him more or less freely. But it is not so clear how far Nashe was indebted to one with whom he had obvious kinship. It was Gabriel Harvey who made out that Nashe was a debtor rather than a literary relation. Dr Brown comes to the same conclusion as Dr McKerrow, that Nashe 'talked more about Rabelais than he read him.' But there are no pretences about Sir John Harington's admiration, especially his enthusiasm for the 'healthy coarseness,' of Rabelais; and later on the indebtedness of Bishop Hall, Coryat, Bacon, Ben Jonson, Sir Thomas Browne, and other and much unlikelier persons, is not difficult to bring home. After these, Dr Brown comes to the translators, Urquhart, Motteux, and Ozell, and gives us a spirited portrait of that turbulent polyglot, the knight of Cromartie. The debts of the satirist Oldham, of Tom Brown of Shifnal, Samuel Butler, Sir William Temple, Swift, Arbuthnot, and others of the age of Dryden or of Queen Anne's time, are duly set out. With regard to Brown, it is not noted here that his famous *Amusements Serious and Comical* were adapted from C. R. Dufresny's *Amusemens sérieux et comiques*; Brown gave them a shape, as his title put it, better 'calculated for the meridian of London.' After a careful reading of the *Life and Opinions of John Bunce*, Dr Brown cannot find 'any particle of Rabelaisian influence' in the book. But, though we may agree that Hazlitt exaggerated when he said the soul of Rabelais passed into Amory, do we not sense a genuine kinship, only blurred by the latter's incredible obtuseness to his own absurdities?

The survey practically ends with Sterne. It would have been amusing to pursue it further: such names as Burns, Christopher North, R. H. Barham, Peacock, Belloc, and Joyce at once occur; and if Sir Thomas Browne, why not Charles Lamb? This publication of the Harvard University Press was actually printed in France; hence such spellings as 'philogists,' 'dessicated,' 'medecine'; though we cannot so account for 'Montpelier' or 'Abbé de Thélème,' twice applied to that noble institution for the elect.

E. A. BAKER.

LONDON.

The Songs of Thomas D'Urfey. Selected and edited by CYRUS LAWRENCE DAY. (*Harvard Studies in English*, vol. ix.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. x+168 pp. 10s. 6d.

Professor Day has already given valuable evidence of his interest in Restoration song in his edition of *The Songs of John Dryden* (1932) and in his discussion of *Pills to Purge Melancholy* in *R.E.S.* (1932, viii, pp. 177-84). The present attractive volume constitutes an attempt at rehabilitating the reputation of the most popular and most prolific of late Restoration and early eighteenth-century song writers. During the course of some forty years D'Urfey wrote nearly five hundred songs, from amongst which Professor Day has selected twenty-six of 'the most meritorious, the most popular, and the most typical.' D'Urfey's reputation is likely to benefit by the omission of 95 per cent. of his work in this particular field, but even on the strength of the present well-chosen 5 per cent. there is no danger of undue exaltation of his talent.

Professor Day's introduction contains a sketch of the poet's life (c. 1653-1723) that is more detailed than any previous account and a generous appreciation of his lyric achievement. The majority of D'Urfey's numerous productions, whether dramatic or non-dramatic, were written before the close of the century, but he continued, with failing powers, to cater for royalty and patrons of every political hue until his death. By the more refined tastes of the time his activities were regarded with genial amusement, by the less successful wits with scorn; but with the mass of the people, whatever their rank, who sang songs for the rollicking or sentimental pleasure that they gave and not to show their literary discernment, he enjoyed a popularity that was little short of phenomenal. In the country, as Pope remarked, he 'is your only Poet of tolerable Reputation.' The notes to the songs which Professor Day reprints indicate their continued popularity until, in some cases, towards the close of the eighteenth century. The musical settings, facsimiles of which are in most instances given, support his view that D'Urfey's success was due in no small measure to the composers, nearly forty in all, who set his songs to music. Of these the most notable is Henry Purcell, from whom D'Urfey's songs evoked some of his most effective compositions. D'Urfey himself occasionally composed both words and music, but Professor Day has been able to discover only two of the poet's own settings, one of which is here included. At other times he framed his verses to suit existing tunes. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that to judge D'Urfey's words apart from their settings is to do him an injustice.

Professor Day roughly subdivides D'Urfey's songs into three groups. In his conventional 'court songs' he sometimes attains a graceful and polished expression almost worthy of Rochester or Sedley, but he is more individual in his homely 'country songs,' more downright and robust in his 'political songs.' His lack of emotional refinement prevents his ever achieving the highest type of lyric, and even 'The Night her blackest Sables wore,' in which Professor Day finds 'a genuine passion that one can hardly praise too highly,' smacks of the commonplace and

conventional. D'Urfev, in fact, is at his best where he is least ambitious, where he is employing his facile gift of song on everyday subjects for the pleasure of a popular audience.

In his general notes Professor Day is chiefly concerned with giving the bibliographical history of the individual songs, and much labour must have gone to their composition. He has also endeavoured to remedy the unsatisfactory state of the texts, duly recording in his textual notes misprints which he has corrected and variants which affect the meaning. Fourteen such variants are listed for p. 56 alone, but in spite of these suggestions of careful editing a palpable error is made in l. 16, where the meaningless word 'found' supplants 'sound' through the misinterpretation of the long f of the original. No editor, however, can hope to be immune from an occasional oversight, and it is more to the point to remark that Professor Day's welcome volume provides ample evidence of his special qualifications to speak with authority on this period of English song.

F. E. BUDD.

LONDON.

Granville the Polite: The Life of George Granville Lord Lansdowne. By ELIZABETH HANDASYDE. Oxford: University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. ix + 287 pp. 12s. 6d.

Miss Handasyde's problem was not an easy one; she chose to write a biographical study of a minor poet whose few good lyrics are now almost quite forgotten, and whose literary importance to-day is, as she admits, slight. It would have been simple enough to write a short and faintly malicious sketch of George Granville; but Miss Handasyde has attempted the far more difficult task of presenting him at full length among his contemporaries, and not merely as a poet, but as a never very convinced man of action. In her hands this treatment of a minor figure justifies itself; for in Granville's unfortunate political career one may see the whole Tory dilemma of the early eighteenth century clearly illustrated. Miss Handasyde's search for biographical material has been thorough, and her work is carefully annotated, though one may perhaps object to her frequent citation of the Portland MSS. vol. iv as 'Harley ii,' or to the unspecific reference (p. 258) to 'a legal document in Somerset House.' Her statement, too, that 'the newspaper, regularly published, was as yet hardly established, though the news-letter was paving the way for it,' is hardly true of the year 1702: even before the appearance of the *Daily Courant* in that year, several well-established newspapers, published regularly twice or three times a week, were exercising a considerable political influence. But there are few faults, even of this small sort, in Miss Handasyde's book. Granville, one would have said, was hardly worth so much trouble; but it is a sufficient justification of this biography that one closes it feeling that he was.

J. R. SUTHERLAND.

LONDON.

Dorothy Wordsworth. A Biography. By ERNEST DE SELINCOURT. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1933. xiv + 428 pp. 21s.

A story-teller will sometimes play with the story, turning it over and looking at it from various angles, as A or B or C or an omniscient spectator saw it happen. Something like this is done by Dr de Selincourt—as, with some marked differences, it was done by Miss Catherine Maclean. The story, we might think at first, is the story which we already know; and so it is; but it is commonly told with William Wordsworth in the foreground, and here Dorothy is in the foreground. We see people and events in their relation to her, rather than to her brother; Halifax is a place of greater importance than Cambridge, and Farnham and Windsor count for more than Paris and Orleans. If she had not been as remarkable a person as he, the experiment would not have been worth trying, or would have turned out like one of those novels which trouble the reader because the novelist has chosen the wrong line of approach. But Dorothy Wordsworth's relations with the other characters—with, for example, Coleridge and Mary Hutchinson—are as interesting and as important as William's, her need of William and his services to her as memorable as his need of her and her services to him. The experiment, that is to say, is legitimate, and what in fact happens here is that, seeing the familiar figures in a different arrangement, we see them with renewed freshness: Dorothy herself, her brothers—Richard, who never seems to fit in with the rest of the family, John, nearest of all to the hearts of Dorothy and William, Christopher, 'much more likely to make his fortune' than the difficult William, whom, however, he and John both 'adored'—the Hutchinson brothers and sisters, the Coleridges and the Lambs, the Clarksons, the friends of years and of single encounters on the roads of England and Scotland.

For the most part, Dr de Selincourt explains, 'since Dorothy Wordsworth was a writer with a rare gift of description and a transparent sincerity in speaking of herself, I have thought it best to let her tell her own story, leaving her *ipsissima verba* to stand out clear from the narrative that connects them.' The quotations are, he would evidently agree, the jewels of the book, but the narrative is a connecting narrative, not a string on which the jewels are unskilfully threaded. It is coherent and smooth, and it shows the ability to see how the same thing appeared to different people (cf., e.g., the humorous recognition of the troublesomeness of the young Wordsworths, especially the unsatisfactory William, in the eyes of their elderly relations). Dr de Selincourt has lived with the circle of family and friends, until he knows them as we know our own circle, and can be excited, as we are, by the emergence of unexpected characteristics. It is amusing, for example, to find Wordsworth, in the enthusiasm of furnishing a new house, returning from a sale with 'drawing-room curtains with a grand cornice the length of the room,' and being circumvented by his wife and sister, who, having already made curtains, cut the embarrassing purchase up into sofa-covers. Or, to turn to a more serious matter, we know something of his tenderness of word and behaviour towards those whom he loved, but we are perhaps too

ready to look upon him as making heavy demands for sympathy upon them; and it is well to be reminded that, when there was family trouble, it was he who, as Sara Hutchinson writes (p. 364), 'was the life of the party, doing always his utmost to keep up our spirits, which,' she adds, 'he always does, God bless him, where there is real necessity for his exertions.'

Ought we to undertake this casting-up of accounts where love is concerned? Yet the thing is repeatedly done, and it is difficult to avoid it—not only as between Dorothy and her brother, but as between both of them and Coleridge. Dr de Selincourt tells the story of that glorious friendship and its 'lamentable decline' fairly and with no more indignation than is justifiable. It is perhaps hard to exclaim with one reader of the book, 'I have no patience with the Wordsworths for being so patient with Coleridge!' If the Wordsworths gave more love and patience than they received, they are not to be pitied for that, and they themselves reckoned Coleridge worth all they gave. But it is a sad story, and it is pleasanter to turn to the loves of Dorothy's life which were not betrayed: for William, for Mary—of whom, as Dr de Selincourt points out, she only once makes any complaint, and that is that Mary does not take sufficient care of herself—for their children, for her friends, both men and women. She had a full and rich life, there is no great need to pity her, as some have done, for not marrying and having children of her own, and none at all to see her tragically frustrated in life because she and Coleridge met too late. Her comments on his passion for Sara Hutchinson—whether that was wholly genuine or partly worked up does not matter here—do not suggest that she had ever herself been in love with him. Dr de Selincourt's view, especially in its important qualification, seems to come nearer the truth (p. 132): 'If her life had its tragedy, it was not that she loved Coleridge, but rather that her passion for her brother was so intense as to preclude her from feeling for any man an emotion which would have satisfied the physical as well as the spiritual side of her nature.' The doubt must always remain whether her life had in fact its tragedy. There is more than one kind of normality, fortunately for the variety of human life. Dorothy Wordsworth did not belong to the conventual type, but it is at least possible that, like that Caroline Austen who is buried in Alfriston churchyard, she found happiness in vicarious motherhood, in being 'a loving and beloved aunt.' This biography gives no real ground for supposing that the pitiful collapse of her last years was due, as easy psychologists would have it, to frustration.

Dorothy Wordsworth was, as she said herself, 'only half a poet.' 'No one was ever more inapt at moulding words into regular metre,' she lamented to Lady Beaumont in 1806, and time and practice made her no better in technical accomplishment. But the poet comes out in her prose, and part of our debt to Dr de Selincourt is due for the quantity of hitherto unprinted or badly edited letters and extracts from journals which he gives us liberally in the body of the book and in Appendix II, in the last with the added interest of showing how she revised and altered

when there was some prospect of publication. She was not eager for publication: with the artist's necessity for expression she did not combine the desire for an audience beyond her own circle. She would probably have shrunk from the suggestion that she deserved an individual biography. Yet the truest praise which can be given to this volume is that, while she might not have agreed with everything in it, she could scarcely have been pained by a single sentence. At the most she might have protested with some bewilderment that the adjective 'forsaken' is rather oddly applied to Annette Vallon in a passage (pp. 39-40) which shows both brother and sister warmly planning to end the enforced separation of the lovers.

Appendix II has already been noted; Appendix I contains an abridged genealogical tree showing the complicated Wordsworth-Hutchinson connexions, and Appendix III consists of Mary Wordsworth's touching letters on the death of her sister-in-law. Since no good portrait of Dorothy Wordsworth is known, Dr de Selincourt wisely decided not to prejudice us with a bad one; there are, however, reproductions of one of her letters and of two pages of her Journal, there is the Edridge portrait of Wordsworth, and there are five landscape illustrations, besides a map on which the curious can trace some of her long walks.

A few misprints may be noted for correction: 'Lowdett's Castle,' p. 66, for 'Lambert's Castle'; 'dorse,' p. 163, for 'horse'; 'C. T. Bloomfield,' p. 273, for 'C. J. Blomfield' and again on p. 374; 'Shaffhausen,' pp. 323, 329, 338, for 'Schaffhausen.'

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

The Mind of Poe and Other Studies. By KILLIS CAMPBELL. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. 238 pp. 18s.

Professor Campbell here collects seven papers, four of which have already appeared, either in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* or in *Studies in Philology*. In all he shows the careful scholarship and the wide knowledge of Poe for which he is well known. He employs throughout the same method—of bringing together, from files no doubt carefully kept for years, the results of investigation, by himself or others, on matters 'that have been in dispute among students of Poe.' He thus furnishes a very useful summary and index to Poe investigation on controverted points up to the date of his publication.

In a part of the papers this method is quite serviceable. In that on *Contemporary Opinion of Poe*, after examination of more than fifty periodicals, chiefly American (enumerated on p. 36), he reaches conclusions which are not likely to be controverted. In that on *The Poe Canon* he lists all the attributions, 'either spurious or of doubtful authority,' with judicious summary of the evidence for and against each, and with indications of 'where further additions to the canon may possibly be found.' In that on *The Poe-Griswold Controversy*, an admirable exposition,

he reaches conclusions agreeing with Woodberry's—that Griswold sinned against Poe, not as an editor, but as a biographer. The intricacy of this subject, however, is illustrated by Miss Joy Bayless's interesting note (*American Literature*, March, 1934), showing that in 1846 Poe was obsessed by two Rufus W. Griswolds, whom Professor Campbell (p. 69) has confused. In the paper on *The Backgrounds of Poe* he reaches a conclusion, supported by Mr Marchand's subsequent article (*Poe as a Social Critic*, in *American Literature*, March, 1934), that Poe was 'pretty deeply rooted in his age.' 'In his more imaginative writings,' however, Professor Campbell admits that Poe 'showed scarcely any concern... for the everyday affairs of his fellow-Americans' (p. 100). This suggests a more critical discrimination between Poe as mere journalist and as creative writer—between the pot-boilers which found their 'backgrounds' in the newspaper and the imaginative poems and tales to which after all Poe owes his place in world literature. In the latter, in spite of recent investigation, Poe may still seem the 'timeless, placeless embodiment of pure artistry.'

The remaining three papers, in which demonstration must in some degree give place to opinion, are more open to objection. In that on *Self-Revelation in Poe's Poems and Tales*, one cannot be sure that *Annabel Lee* is 'a lament for the death of Virginia'; and especially one cannot be sure that *The Haunted Palace* contains 'no confession of the poet's belief that his own mind was at times unhinged' (pp. 132, 133). One may feel indeed that it is precisely in *The Fall of the House of Usher*, with its included poem (*The Haunted Palace*), that one should look for the fullest 'self-revelation'—perceiving here 'for the first time, a full consciousness on the part of [Poe] of the tottering of his lofty reason upon her throne.' At any rate here looms a danger inherent in the kind of 'research' which this volume records—of giving all the cards in one's index equal value, and of not controlling investigation by discrimination and valuation. That in *Why the Little Frenchman Wears his Hand in a Sling* the hero's address, '39 Southampton Row,' is identical with John Allan's in London, is interesting; that in the *Gold-Bug* Poe aired an interest in cryptography is more so; but after all these are on a quite different plane of 'self-revelation' from that in the story of Usher.

In the paper on *The Origins of Poe* one may not take quite literally the statement that ideas for *Al Aaraaf* 'came from the Koran'; in that on *The Mind of Poe*—perhaps the least valuable of the seven papers—the statement that Poe 'drew the ideas underlying *Morella* from Schelling's theorizing on the subject of ideality.' The implication here is that Poe 'knew' much more than Lanier gave him credit for. One may surmise that Poe got the '*principium individuationis*' of *Morella* not from Schelling but from Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* (where it occurs in chap. xviii, which he almost certainly read), or from one of a number of philosophical summaries in the *Edinburgh Review*. One may surmise further that in a critical treatment Coleridge should be placed on a quite different plane from the minor 'origins of Poe,' and figure much more prominently, as a source of both style and substance, than he does here.

(See, for one example, the entry in Coleridge's *Table-Talk* for August 8, 1831.)

Though this book is more notable for its careful research and documentation than for its critical breadth, it is, like Professor Campbell's edition of the *Poems*, one of the few books which no student of Poe can do without.

F. C. PRESCOTT.

ITHACA, NEW YORK.

Essays by Divers Hands. Being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom. New Series. Vol. XII. London: Humphrey Milford. 1933. xx+162 pp. 7s.

Dr R. W. Macan's own introductory essay on the contributions to this volume is itself a lively review. As he says, all are 'more or less concerned with romance, whether in creation or in criticism.' Thus Mr Laurence Housman, on *Pre-Raphaelitism in Art and Poetry*, takes romantic individualism as the key to both, on the poetic side emphasizing the influence of Coleridge and Keats, and finally concentrating on the *Defence of Guenevere* volume. Mr Harold Child discusses *Some English Utopias*, passing over those which 'are rather political treatises or definite schemes of law and government than imaginative creations,' and dwelling upon More, Bishop Godwin, Bacon, the noble and fantastical Duchess of Newcastle, Swift—pointing out what is sometimes overlooked, that 'Gulliver himself preserves his dignity throughout, even when he is in the company of creatures whom he reverences as immeasurably superior to man'—the author of *Memoirs of Signor Gaudenzio di Lucca*, Lytton—the first to provide for 'such a mastery over the forces of Nature as will relieve man of all danger of want or fear of drudgery'—Butler, Bellamy, William Morris, whose *Nowhere* 'exists as perhaps none of the other Utopias exists,' Hudson, over whose *Crystal Age* broods 'a dainty but dreadful repression,' Mr H. G. Wells, and Mr Bernard Shaw, whose *Back to Methuselah* makes Mr Child, perhaps justifiably, shudder. Mr Charles Morgan's paper on *The Nature of Dramatic Illusion* gives the hardest reading of all in the volume and is, in some ways, the most provocative of thought, as ultimately of assent. Dame Una Pope-Hennessy writes on what Dr Macan calls the 'stratigraphic composition' of Scott's novels, and with her theory of the use in them of material which had been lying by for years accounts for much that is puzzling, but does not diminish his greatness and originality. Sir Robert Rait, in *Boswell and Lockhart*, discusses judicially and mercifully two biographers who have suffered in recent criticism from changes in the ideals of editorial duty and biography. Last comes the late Professor J. G. Robertson's wise and suggestive paper on *The Centenary of Goethe's Death*, which shows how 'Goethe may still be—still is—a living and furthering factor in the life of our twentieth century.' An Appendix contains five of the speeches delivered at the luncheon given to the Canadian Authors' Association in July, 1933.

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

Edinburgh Essays on Scots Literature. Being a Course of Lectures delivered in the University of Edinburgh by Members of the English Department and Others. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1933. xi+174 pp. 5s.

As Professor Grierson says in his Preface, these essays are evidence of the keen interest taken in Scottish literature at the present time. Mr H. Harvey Wood leads off on Henryson, emphasising both the discipleship to Chaucer and the essential originality of 'the greatest, without equal, of the Scots Makars.' This estimate of Henryson, and his deliberate and specific preference above Dunbar, may shock Dr W. Mackay Mackenzie, as it might have shocked W. P. Ker, who once, with a kind of smiling solemnity, spoke of Dunbar to the present reviewer as 'my poet,' but it is defensible, and Mr Harvey Wood defends it with force and spirit. Dr Mackay Mackenzie, on the other side, dwells upon Dunbar's diction and style, both the courtly and aureate and 'the stubborn and assertive vernacular,' his sense of form and power of metrical invention, his absence of padding and didacticism, his mastery of language. There is then a turn to other matter in Mr Westwood's study (really two studies in one, with a bibliography attached) of *Scots Theological and Proverbial Literature* from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, from unjustly forgotten early prose writers through the collectors to Scott, whose use of proverbs in his novels has made some phrases sure of their immortality. Dr John W. Oliver discusses *The Eighteenth Century Revival*, doing justice to Watson and Ramsay for their collections and for their influence particularly on the stanza-forms as well as on the national feeling of their successors, and putting in a deserved claim for the merits of Ramsay as a man, a patriot, and a poet of 'rough energy' as well as of the delightful *Gentle Shepherd*. Dr George Kitchin writes on John Galt, bringing out his 'simple kind-heartedness,' his realism with its occasional touch of 'moral squalor,' and the extraordinary 'language of almost miraculous unction' of his best fiction. Mr Ian A. Gordon leaps a century—with good reason, as he shows—to consider *Modern Scots Poetry* and to point out the two schools of real poets to-day, evidently preferring the 'newer' poets. Finally, Mr Angus Macdonald tries to cover the *Modern Scots Novelists* and, in spite of limiting his field, finds it an almost impossible task. It is interesting to notice that while Mr Gordon believes that 'the future lies along two lines—with the living Scots speech and with English,' Mr Macdonald has 'little hope for the dialect in literature, or at least in prose'; but they agree on the possibility of maintaining a Scots 'attitude of mind.' As Mr Gordon puts it, the Scots poet 'will always be a Scotsman.... The accent will come through.' It remains only to hope that it will come through with a noble and liberal, not ignoble or exclusive, nationalism.

EDITH C. BATHO.

LONDON.

Der Sabbath in England: Wesen und Entwicklung des Englischen Sonntags.

Von MAX LEVY. (*Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten*, herausgegeben von Herbert Schöffler. 18. Band.) Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz. 1933. 297 pp. 10 M.

To one of the most conspicuous phenomena of Anglo-Saxon culture, the English Sunday, Dr Max Levy has dedicated a monograph of nearly 300 pages. Starting *ab ovo*, from the origin of the Sabbath in Hebrew history, he proceeds to describe the development of the institution on British soil from the days before Alfred to the Reformation, gives a detailed and well documented account of the Puritan struggle for the rigid observance of the Sunday, the influential work of Nicholas Bounde and its refutation by Thomas Rogers directed against the 'demi-Jews' receiving particular attention, then expounds the Book of Sports policy of the Crown and shows the victorious progress of the doctrine of the extremists during the course of the seventeenth century. A last chapter deals with the period from the Restoration to the present time with its less rigid principles with regard to the Sunday, which the author seems to disapprove of.

Although the main features of the historical process which the author follows up most conscientiously remain of course what they were, his work enlarges our knowledge in some interesting details. He prints, e.g., an almost unknown treatise from the beginning of the fifteenth century which is directed against the Sabbatians who protested against keeping the Sunday instead of the Saturday. The ultimate origin of the Puritan Sunday remains, however, to a certain extent still a puzzle, Luther and Zwingli being directly opposed to a conception of this kind, and Martin Bucer even holding the opinion that 'to think that working on the Lord's day is in itself a sin, is a superstition and a denying of the grace of Christ.' Calvin on the other hand used to play at bowls on Sunday afternoons, an entertainment which, according to Thomas Rogers, the Puritan preachers in Somersetshire already in 1607 considered 'as great a sin as to kill a man.' So it seems that less Calvin's doctrine concerning the Sunday than the Calvinist system as a whole is to be made responsible for the development. But without objecting to this conclusion of Dr Levy's the question may be raised, whether certain mediæval traditions have not proved more powerful than the author assumes. The book would have gained as well in regard to the solution of this problem as in many other ways if the author had paid more attention to the *practice* of the English Sunday in its various aspects, viz. the way it is celebrated in the family, for which he would have found plenty of material in the neglected conduct books of the seventeenth century which he does not even mention. Some minor errors: *Dives and Pauper* does not date from the fourteenth but from the fifteenth century (p. 83). (When will this important book be reprinted?) Shakespeare's words: 'she is not so fair as Helen is on Sunday' scarcely refer to a superstition about women looking uglier on a fastday or a day of ill-luck; they simply mean the embellishing of Sunday finery.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

The Staging of the 'Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages' of the MS. Cangé. By DOROTHY PENN. New York: Columbia University: Institute of French Studies. 1933. 95 pp. \$1.75.

The forty 'Miracles de Nostre Dame' of the fourteenth century, preserved in the MS. Cangé of the Bibliothèque Nationale (published by G. Paris and U. Robert, Société des Anciens Textes, 1876-93), were written to be recited in one of the *puy*s or literary associations of the time, perhaps by craftsmen in Paris, on one of the major festivals of the Virgin. These Miracles, in which something of the soul of old France seems to have lingered, have recently attracted the attention of various savants. The work at present under review is a study of the *mise en scène* adopted in their representation, the properties, devices, 'mansions,' 'secretz,' shown in stage directions and in miniatures, together with other indications found in the text of the plays. It is also an attempt to trace the influence of the staging on the evolution of the genre.

The well-known miniature of the Passion (MS. 12536 fonds français B.N.) represented as played at Valenciennes in 1547, reproduced by Petit de Julleville and other writers on the *mistères* ('Le Hourdement pourtraict comme il estoit quant fut joué le mistere de la passion N.S.J.C.') forms a starting-point for reconstructing the simultaneous stage of the earlier centuries. Constructions ('mansions') on the stage represented definite places, Rome, Jerusalem, a palace, a hermitage, somewhat after the manner to which M. Guitry, with greater unity of place, has accustomed modern audiences, e.g., in the production of *Don Juan*, recently given in London. By means of diagrams or charts, Dr Penn traces the course of the action of some of the most important Miracles from one 'mansion' to another. She summarises and gives illustrative quotations from No. 1 and also from No. 37, the dramatic value of which is, in her view, distinctly high.

These Miracles may be divided into three classes, according to the number of 'mansions' needed for the staging. Unlike the mysteries, which were loaded with unessential details, these Miracles tend to concentrate on one central scene; there is an increasing use of contrast and suspense, and unity of interest develops through the very exigencies of space and conditions of performance. The 'secretz,' i.e., devices mechanical and other, fire, water, smoke, pretended mutilation, visible separation of soul from body, and various appeals to the eye and the imagination, are studied in their effect upon the development of this form of the mediæval theatre. There were apparently real dogs on the stage, in addition to artificial animals such as the deer of which Froissart says 'il estoit tellement fait et composé qu'il y avoit homme qu'on ne voyoit point qui lui faisoit remuer les yeux, les cornes, la bouche.' Dr Penn thinks that the three knocks customary in the French theatre to announce the entrance of the actors may have been used at this time. The stage directions increase in number, transitions are more dexterously managed in the later plays, the Virgin appears, even when not necessary to the action, while the importance of the Devil gradually diminishes, as human motives are more in evidence. In the charts already alluded to,

not only is the action of some of the Miracles followed, but the characteristics of the staging and even the comparative dramatic value of the plays, are represented in diagrammatic form. The eight miniatures reproduced seem to bear out the theories of the author as to the *mise en scène*.

After comparing the requirements of the different Miracles, Dr Penn comes to the conclusion that they could all be shown on a stage forty feet in width; the restricted space available would even maintain the concentration and symmetry of the production. There certainly seems to be more unity of action in the later than in the earlier plays, if indeed the plays are in chronological order.

Though concerned primarily with the staging, Dr Penn notices other related aspects of the Miracles, the realism, the emotional appeal, the comic elements, which seem to foreshadow the modern French theatre, and perhaps indicate the direction it would have taken, had it not been (*pace* Boileau) for the influence of the Renaissance and of the Classical period. In the language there is imitation of stock words and phrases and of other no doubt previously successful elements. The main thesis may be taken as proved: the *mise en scène* was unquestionably of definite importance, as well as the response of the audience and the insight of the author, in the evolution of the French drama.

There is a full and rather mixed bibliography which has been carefully utilised. The result is a work in which conjecture certainly plays a large part, but which should nevertheless be of definite value to those who are studying the Miracles.

F. C. JOHNSON.

LONDON.

Montaigne et son Temps. By JEAN PLATTARD. Paris: Boivin. 1933. 300 pp. 30 fr.

The prediction of Montaigne, 'j'escris mon livre à (=pour) peu d'hommes et à peu d'années,' has been singularly falsified. He thought that the French language, as he spoke it, was in such a state of flux ('depuis que je vis, elle a changé plus que de moitié') that his written work committed to it had small chance of survival. Yet still from each generation new adherents join the circle of his devotees, and now, after the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth, no work of the sixteenth century seems so modern as the *Essais*. 'Ouvrez-les presque au hasard,' said M. Louis Barthou recently, 'ils vous paraîtront écrits d'aujourd'hui.' And Tristan Bernard invites all who hold in horror ready-made opinions to join the 'convoi idéal et comme perpétuel' commemorated by Sainte-Beuve in his *Port-Royal*.

Montaigne has never ceased to be read. Molière, Pascal, La Bruyère, Madame de Sévigné, Voltaire, all felt his seduction. He has left indelible traces in English literature, and in the last fifty years French scholars have been elucidating many points that were obscure in connexion with the *Essais*. M. Bonnefon used the researches of Dr Payen in his *Montaigne; l'homme et l'œuvre*, and later appeared the epoch-making work of M. Villey, to whose memory M. Plattard has dedicated his recent book,

Montaigne et son Temps. Men have never ceased to delight in the malicious Gascon philosopher, the man of another age who observes and describes himself with so much simplicity and good faith. Not only his love of the natural ('le naïf') but his style is acceptable to modern readers. He appeals by his horror of the pedantic and pedagogic, his very want of coherence, his familiar and conversational flow continually lightened by image and metaphor, 'au reste, style de gentilhomme' as he says of one of his favourite Latin authors.

But with all his charm, there is much that is baffling, apart from the numerous classical quotations. There are many contemporary allusions which, while they give documentary interest to the *Essais* as a record of the French mind between the Renaissance and Classicism, need a commentary for the use of the non-specialist. Montaigne is bewildering by his complexity; he seems to be many persons at once, for instance he is a pagan in his philosophy and a practising Catholic in his profession. It is true that he says 'en ces mémoires je ne laisse rien à deviner de moy.' But in spite of all his confidences, certain questions present themselves to his readers. What was the social and political background to his life and work? What effect upon him was produced by the great novelties of his time? How did he reconcile his philosophic and his religious ideas? And in what respects did his human relationships reflect those of his time?

It is such problems that M. Plattard sets himself to study, qualified as he is for the task by thirty years' familiarity with the mind and manners of the sixteenth century. He sets the *Essais* in their own climate of the French Renaissance, illustrating them by quotations from contemporary authors, Rabelais, Brantôme, d'Aubigné, Marguerite de Navarre, and showing the originality and liberty of mind of their author in the world of his time.

Thus the career of Montaigne is traced as a member of the 'quatriesme estat,' as councillor, courtier, mayor, his reaction to the demands of his successive positions, the 'pli' they left in his nature, his indolence ('le danger n'estoit pas que je fisse mal mais que je ne fisse rien'), his inaptitude for public speaking, the moderation learnt from his profession, his use of legal terms in the *Essais*. The attitude of Montaigne to the 'nouvelletés' of his time is studied, his judgment on the Reformation, the Renaissance, the discovery of America, the Copernican astronomy, the belief in sorcery. His personal opinions are examined in the light of the movements and preoccupations of the intellectual world around him. His religious position is not so easily decided as Pascal and Sainte-Beuve seem to think. His growing Pyrrhonism ('que sçai-je?') must be considered side by side with his steady outward adherence to the church of his birth. He is too much of an artist to be a mere seeker for truth; the clash of ideas interests him, victory is immaterial. 'Je n'enseigne point; je raconte.' He had 'l'esprit de finesse,' emphatically not 'l'esprit de géométrie.' 'Montaigne,' says Faguet, 'est notre Horace, aussi spirituel, aussi malin, aussi aimable et beaucoup plus profond que celui des Latins.'

Then the family relations and the one great friendship of Montaigne are studied against the background of the civilisation of his time. His view 'c'est trahison se marier sans s'épouser' was not at all the opinion of the majority of his contemporaries. Much has been made of his uncertainty as to the number of his children ('j'en ai perdu deux ou trois en bas âge'), but was this extraordinary at a time when infants were at birth put out to nurse?

There is a summary of the life and literary work of Étienne de la Boétie, and the relations of the two friends during the four years of their acquaintance are simply and movingly described. Their mutual attraction was surely due to 'quelque ordonnance du ciel,' 'parceque c'estoit luy, parceque c'estoit moy.' And the parting scene is, for M. Plattard, reminiscent of the death of Socrates: 'Mon frère, mon amy, je t'assure que j'ay fait assez de choses, ce me semble, en ma vie avec autant de peine et difficulté que celle-ci. Je suis prest à partir quand il plaira à Dieu. Quant à moy, je suis certain que je m'en vais trouver Dieu et le séjour des bienheureux.'

At the beginning of each chapter, M. Plattard gives a list of the works consulted. In considering the differences in the successive editions of the *Essais*, Montaigne's marginal notes, his changed philosophic outlook, and the alterations introduced by Mlle de Gournay are taken into account. There are five interesting engravings, one of which represents the 'librairie' where the *Essais* were written.

F. C. JOHNSON.

LONDON.

Chateaubriand en Angleterre. By JULES DECHAMPS. Paris: Les Editions Albert. 1934. 205 pp. 12 fr.

The title of this book is misleading. 'Chateaubriand in England' suggests that here will be found new information or a fuller narrative than has hitherto been available concerning those critical years when the sad young René, a fugitive after Thionville, eked out a livelihood in England by teaching and hack-work, when he had a romantic affair with the parson's daughter at Beccles, and when he was working on *Le Génie du Christianisme*. The book, however, is devoted almost exclusively to the years of political activity between 1818 and 1824, and to the opinions upon Chateaubriand in the English press of that period, with one chapter on his brief term of office as French ambassador in London in 1822. This chapter, about one-tenth of the book, and various judgments on Chateaubriand by English journalists, by Brougham, Cobbett, Darby and others, are the principal English elements in what is in fact a detailed and scholarly narrative of the public life of Chateaubriand at the time when, as delegate to the Congress of Verona and later Foreign Minister, he was a responsible figure in international politics.

By far the most outstanding section of the book deals with the part played by Chateaubriand when France intervened in the affairs of Spain in the war which he, not without reason, considered to be his work. Louis XVIII and his royalist ministers, amongst whom Chateaubriand

was prominent, felt bound to support the Bourbon Ferdinand VII against the Spanish revolutionary movement which was too near home and too likely to stir up undesirable memories of 1789, whilst the English, formerly allied with Spain against Napoleon and intent on securing new markets in Spanish South America which was now only too anxious to break away from the monopolies of the mother country, found—especially such liberals as Brougham—that the French move to restore absolute despotism in Spain was a disgrace to the nation which had, but a few years previously, proclaimed in so spectacular a manner the right of all peoples to liberty, equality and fraternity.

The author says in his foreword that the various chapters of the book, on the Secret Note of 1818, London, the Congress of Verona and the Spanish War, are disconnected and 'episodic' in character. That is true, but from these different episodes in the public life of Chateaubriand M. Dechamps succeeds in drawing a portrait of the man in which there is unity and consistency. It is a damning exposure of the boundless conceit and ceaseless posing of the hero of the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, who toiled so religiously to build up round his own personality a noble legend, that in the end he sincerely believed it all himself. By his copious documentation from English newspapers, political speeches and correspondence, M. Dechamps shows that the matter-of-fact English steadily refused to be impressed by this golden legend, but saw only the thoroughly unsatisfactory statesman. This is, perhaps, the justification of the title of the book.

L. W. TANCOCK.

LONDON.

Alfred de Vigny. By ARNOLD WHITRIDGE. London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1933. 232 pp. 8s. 6d.

The character of Alfred de Vigny has always appealed to the English more than that of his three great fellow Romantics. This is no doubt because his qualities are those on which we pride ourselves—nobility of ideals, honesty, dignity, self-control, dislike of effusiveness, a sportsmanlike sense of justice and practical pity for the downtrodden—whilst his shortcomings are just those which we recognise in ourselves and try to justify by calling them virtues—lack of pliability, pride and cold reserve, which enemies call self-satisfaction and haughtiness, and an excessive mistrust of art and rhetorical devices which again can be called plain sincerity or self-sufficiency according to the point of view. These are the characteristics which explain alike the unpopularity and isolation suffered by Vigny at the hands of most of his contemporaries and the lack of sympathetic understanding of which the typical Englishman is so often conscious in his dealings with the French. What the Englishman honestly believes to be dignity, delicacy and fitting reserve, the average Frenchman, by his character and inherited outlook, finds difficult not to interpret as complacency and a slightly hypocritical preoccupation with externals.

In what is mainly an account of the life of Vigny the man, with here

and there a short passage of literary criticism, Mr Whitridge stresses what might be called the English point of view. He obviously has a warm admiration for his hero, whose story he tells with a wealth of anecdote and description and in an attractive style which makes the book as entertaining as a good novel. Vigny's outstanding traits, according to Mr Whitridge, are the 'curse of involuntary refinement' which made him so miserable at school and in the army, the loyal sense of duty which made his life a continual uncomplaining sacrifice first to the army, then to his mother and finally to his invalid and uninteresting English wife, and the fund of practical kindness with which he mitigated the austerity of his theories by a life spent in helping, often anonymously, the poor and afflicted.

The book, however, is not merely a well-documented popular biography. There is one very sound chapter on the philosophy of Vigny and much useful information about his part in creating the vogue for Shakespeare which assured the triumph of the Romantic drama on the French stage, and for which Hugo is sometimes given far too much credit.

The final chapter, on the last years of Vigny's life, is a welcome corrective to the conventional picture of Vigny as a morose and unbending recluse who contemplates the busy world of men from his 'ivory tower.' Here we are shown how very practical was the life of the master of Maine Giraud, for whom no task was too trivial, whether the packing of fruit, the supply of warm garments for servants or the production of Racine's *Esther* by the local school children, provided that it would contribute to the happiness of the peasants over whom he reigned as a benevolent feudal lord.

Vigny, if not the most lovable or the most brilliant, was at least the most thoughtful, earnest and consistent of the French Romantics. It was this consistently lofty outlook and his voluntary isolation that laid him open to caricature. Sainte-Beuve, whose personal dislikes too often warped his judgment of his contemporaries, could not resist the temptation to ridicule what he considered to be a pose, and his ill-natured gibes have frequently been the basis of subsequent portraits of Vigny. While avoiding the other extreme of unreasoning idolatry, Mr Whitridge does much to right the balance by showing the nobility and dignity, the modesty and simple goodness of this man, who steadfastly refused to indulge in the morbid self-revelation and noisy publicity of some of his brother poets.

The book has two portraits and an excellent bibliography, in which the sources of each chapter are fully discussed.

L. W. Tancock.

LONDON.

Revue Hispanique. Tome LXXXI et Dernier, dédié à la mémoire de R. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC. New York: The Hispanic Society. 1933. Première Partie, 614 pp.; Deuxième Partie, 575 pp.

With two double numbers of homage to its late illustrious editor, Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, the *Revue Hispanique* comes to a regretted,

but appropriate, end. It is fit that the last title-page should bear, like the first, the name of the scholar who founded it as the first and greatest instrument of Hispanic studies, and whose spirit finds expression in the style and contents of each of the eighty-one numbers. The contributors were drawn from all Europe and America; but collectively they illustrated their great editor's conception of Hispanic culture as transcending nationality, of Hispanic scholarship as a thing in many tongues but with one intention, of learning set free from pedagogy and academic rigour, of investigations limited, direct, and yet of magnitude. Nothing quite like the *Revue* remains. We are about to enter on a national phase of publication in which each of us will know far too little of the other's thought. Outside Spain the conception 'Hispanic' guides the studies of scholars publishing each in the language of his own nation. Within the Peninsula periodicals are specialised to Castilian, Portuguese, Catalan and Basque, and international recognition does not go further than allowing French as a second language. Nearly all the flourishing papers represent also an academic vested interest; and yet it is fitting that they should do so. It is but right that those who have long enjoyed the bounty of Mr Archer Huntington and M. Foulché-Delbosc should form their own associations to advance their own studies.

The reader's interest in these volumes will be first attracted by their biographical sections. Three impressions of Foulché-Delbosc, an admirable appreciation of his outlook as a scholar, a list of his publications and of his manuscripts; a biography of his late colleague M. Barrau-Diigo, an estimate of his contributions to history, and a bibliography—these commemorate fittingly the direction and policy of the *Revue*. During the long incubation of the homage-volume death has been active, and a notice of E. Gigas has been required. We owe, I think, to Professor Benjamin P. Bourland especial thanks for the frank and tactful handling of his subject's biography. We of a younger generation have heard a distant rumble of Homeric battles between great Hispanists, have seen some petty sniping, and are aware of trenches and entanglements. Dr Bourland does not minimise M. Foulché-Delbosc's share in these episodes—palpable in the names that one does not find in these two volumes—but he does show the good qualities which they negatively express: the special sense of loyalty in Foulché-Delbosc, the ruthless accuracy of his scholarly sense, his dislike of pontiffs and panjandruns. Still more Dr Bourland shows how much of himself his subject gave for the review, how he sacrificed in its interests his means and health, and how, even after the Hispanic Society eased his work for the periodical, he continued to spend his time and money on editions and manuals that had no chance of a market and benefited primarily his readers.

Among the names offered by this volume it would be well to cite those which stand for long association with Foulché-Delbosc: his widow who has done most of the work of edition, Mrs Fitzmaurice-Kelly in the name of his deep friendship for her husband, Leite de Vasconcellos, Massó Torrents, Peseux-Richard, Giannini, etc. The essays on matters of scholarship are arranged in a roughly chronological order, the first tome

being mainly mediæval, the second classical and modern. Linguistic articles discuss the language of negroes in Portuguese plays, *aljamiado* manuscripts from Tunis, Spanish *l*, the word *pícaro*, Jewish-Spanish, and early conversation books. M. P. Foulché's article on the 'Ligurians' should clear up a difficult question on which archæologists have dogmatised too freely. Briefly, he excludes Ligurians from any considerable influence in Spain. An Iberian folk-tale is discussed. Mediæval matters dealt with are the origins of *cantares de gesta*, the route to Compostela, chess (by Professor Trend), Lucas of Tuy in the Stockholm manuscript, Fajardo, the *danse macabre*, and a fragment on Joseph. This last piece, contributed by Professor González-Llubera, is extremely interesting as an early use of Jewish characters to transcribe Spanish, for its use of the *Séfer ha Yashar*, and for its curious (and, to me, rather attractive) variation on the Alexandrine quatrain. The middles rhyme together as well as the ends, and the fourth line is left unrhymed, ending always in the word *Yuçef*, which gives an impression of a litany. Sr Alonso Cortés identifies Garci-Rodríguez de Montalvo. Boscán is seen as falling between two stools; his memory is dear neither to Castilians nor to Catalans. Two disputed poems of León are championed by Mr Bell against Father Llobera (quite rightly in my judgment), and his influence on the eighteenth century is noted by Professor Atkinson. Mrs Fitzmaurice-Kelly writes on a plagiarism from Vives. Minor poets mentioned are Laínez, Cosme Aldana and Liñán. The dramatic articles are numerous and good: Boccaccio and an *entremés*, Pedraza, Lope and the Boris Godunov theme, Lope's irony in the *Arte Nuevo*, his exequies, Guillén de Castro's life and financial troubles, Tirso's reputation. Professor Peers continues from the *Modern Language Review* his definition of Spanish Romanticism. There is an article on Larra, another on eighteenth-century journalism, and one on use made of Mme D'Aulnoy. For Spanish America we have notes on M. A. Caro's classicism, and on the local element in Mexican novels before 1868. Historical and social themes include Philip II's marriage problems, and his estimated income, the theme of honour, Lisbon in 1772, the *juez protector*, the hospital of Mexico. Several important bibliographies: Freiburg University, translations of the *Buscón*, Góngora, Urrea, books published at Bordeaux, titles of plays, and various notes by Sr Lucas de Torre. Taken in all, these are just the subjects and in just the proportions that would have appealed to Foulché-Delbos, and we contributors express once more and for the last time his presiding mind. *Ave atque vale.*

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

OXFORD.

Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes, als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes. By FRIEDRICH GENNRICH. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1932. xiii + 288 pp. 16 M.

In this book Herr Gennrich has summed up the results of many years of research on the musical and metrical form of the mediæval song. In his *Musikwissenschaft und Romanische Philologie* he pointed in 1918 to

the importance of the study of music for the understanding of mediæval literary forms, and he has elaborated these suggestions since in a number of articles, notably in two contributions to the *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*¹, the second of which covers in briefer form the same ground as the present book. These researches and the related work of H. Spanke and others have already considerably modified the older views of the structure of the stanza forms used by the Troubadours and the Minnesingers, and they have also an important bearing on the problem of the origin of the Minnesang.

The rhyme pattern, Herr Gennrich contends, is not, as Bartsch and so many scholars since his time seem to have thought, a sufficient guide to the form of the stanza. Words and music made one whole, and one cannot in any true sense study the form of a poem that was conceived as a song without considering the musical setting. 'Das Dichten eines Volkes beginnt nicht mit der Zeile, sondern mit der Strophe, nicht mit der Metrik, sondern mit Musik' is a sentence the author approvingly quotes from W. Meyer, who has investigated mediæval Latin forms on similar lines. This is sound doctrine. The difficulty is of course that the settings, if still extant, are so frequently not known by or not easily accessible to the literary historian. Here Herr Gennrich's book, with its numerous musical illustrations, will be of great value in the future. All the principal types he distinguishes are fully illustrated, and the layman's first impression is one of astonishment that so little use has been made until now of the many tunes that have survived. There are, incidentally, many beautiful melodies amongst them.

For the overwhelming majority of mediæval songs, however, and notably for the German Minnesang at its best, no music has come down to us. But here Herr Gennrich claims that we can make much use of argument by analogy. Ten years ago he published 'Sieben Melodien zu mittelhochdeutschen Minneliedern²', arguing from the close similarities in content and metre between certain Middle High German poems on the one hand and Provençal or French poems, of which the tunes are known, on the other that the M.H.G. poems were 'Kontrafakta' of the Romance songs and sung to the same tune. Some of these figure in the present work, and though it must be said that Herr Gennrich does not always distinguish clearly enough for the non-expert reader between tunes actually found with their text and those arrived at by inference, it does seem indisputable that a great deal of light is thrown on the structure of the M.H.G. lyric by a study of the settings to Provençal, French and later M.H.G. poems that have survived.

Herr Gennrich's main thesis is that the song writers of Provence and Central France, who admittedly provided the chief models for the later lyricists in their own country and in Germany, inherited most of their musical and metrical forms from the most natural source, the church, which had in these matters already a long tradition behind it. They owed very little to the uncultivated 'Volk.' 'Die Liedkunst, die wir aus dem Mittelalter kennen, war ausschliesslich Angelegenheit der gebildeten

¹ Vols. 7 (1929) and 9 (1931).

² *Zeitschr. f. Musikwissenschaft*, Bd. 7 (1924).

Stände, die Kunst einer Oberschicht, der die Gesänge der Kirche nicht fremd sein konnten.' He distinguishes four principal types in the song-forms that have come down to us. The first is the 'Litany type,' in which one melody is repeated for a considerable number of similar lines, a 'laisse,' with an instrumental flourish, which might develop into a refrain, at the end. This is the form of the chansons de geste and of the verses in *Aucassin et Nicolette*. Some lyrical forms in stanzas (like the 'Chansons de Toile') seem to be derived from this type, and Herr Gennrich thinks that the Nibelungenstrophe was probably of the same nature. More elaborate derived forms like the 'Rotrouenge' lead up to the second main type, the 'Rondeltypus,' Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade. This is the only type for which no model has so far been found in the music of the church and which contains a popular element, for these were all originally dance songs, composed for (or partly improvised by) a leader and a chorus.

The third and most comprehensive of Herr Gennrich's types (the one, if one may say so, that he seems to have used when in doubt) is that based on the Sequences of church music, compositions characterised by progressive repetitions in the melody, which had developed out of the Gregorian 'Alleluia verses.' The suggestion that the 'lai' and the 'Leich,' with their similar systematic repetitions, are descended from these 'grand Alleluias' (which were provided with a Latin text sung with one note to each syllable) dates back as far as Lachmann. By his thorough examination of the whole question Herr Gennrich seems to have proved the truth of this often disputed theory beyond reasonable doubt. He gives a series of examples, leading by easy stages from Latin sequences, through 'lais' and 'Leiche,' to forms in which a shortened sequence-like 'lai' is repeated. Then by a further contraction of the unit of construction the 'Strophenlai' is reached, and finally various song-forms occur in which the stanza is said to represent a section, either the beginning, the middle or the end, of a 'lai.' Herr Gennrich's explanation of the shorter song-forms is perhaps not quite so convincing as that of the longer ones of this type, repetition being such an obvious principle of design that one might expect it to occur spontaneously. The last type described is the 'Hymn,' derived from the Ambrosian church hymn, in which, originally, no part of the melody was repeated, each stanza being 'durchkomponiert.' One very common later form, however, the 'Canzone,' shows a repetition of the first part of the melody and closely resembles one of the varieties of 'Laiausschnitt' in the Sequence Type, both forms displaying of course the 'Dreiteiligkeit' that Bartsch considered to have been the rule with the Minnesinger.

Herr Gennrich has amply justified his original plea for a working partnership between 'Musikwissenschaft und Romanische Philologie,' and his results are also of great interest to the Germanist, especially if the earlier and never very convincing view is abandoned that the Minnesinger made it a rule in practice never to make use of a 'Ton' invented by another. A melody was taken over unaltered from a French model by Oswald von Wolkenstein, and there is no reason to doubt

that the same kind of thing happened earlier. In any case Herr Gennrich's work throws new light on the principles of construction observed by the German singers too and considerably weakens the case for Arabian influence on the form of the Minnesang.

EDINBURGH.

W. H. BRUFORD.

Die altdeutsche Genesis. Nach der Wiener Handschrift herausgegeben von VIKTOR DOLLMAYR. (*Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, 31.) Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1932. xi+183 pp. 3 M. 20.

A re-edition of the earliest German Genesis poem has long been overdue, and the editor has conscientiously solved what he chose to regard as his problem: to present a text of W (the Vienna MS.) corrected occasionally though sparingly from K (Klagenfurt) and V (Vorau). Since the text is thus conservative few of the emendations of other scholars are even mentioned.

It is hardly to be hoped that the original wording of the Genesis poem can be accurately and convincingly reconstructed, but there is enough material to make us regret that the editor has been so careful of admitting conjecture. However, W has been excellently edited, orthography and accents of the MS. have been retained, and even minor deviations from authority have been indicated. One feature calls for special mention. Wherever the editor has separated two words that appear without division in the MS. (e.g., 84: *ze gote*: MS. *zegote*), this has been indicated by smaller spacing between the words. There is, however, so little difference between the ordinary and the smaller spacing that the utility of this device would seem open to doubt. Variants of V are cited wherever they are of interest, variants of K only when KV agree against W. These KV agreements the editor thinks pure chance in the majority of cases.

The Introduction (pp. iii to xi) deals with the relationship of MSS., the date of the original composition and remarks on the text as printed. In the discussion of the MSS. the editor agrees substantially with the views advanced by Diemer in 1862, 1060-80 is adhered to as probable date of composition, and the theory of multiple authorship, following the investigations of Vogt and Weller, is dismissed.

A longer introduction would have been valuable. Weller's thesis (*Palæstra*, 123) is not as satisfactory as it is long, and on every page of the text questions arise which Weller does not attempt to deal with and which might have whetted the appetite of the curious editor. The references to falconry (ll. 195 ff.), to wax-modelling (ll. 215 ff.), to the uses of the fingers (ll. 291 ff.), the description of trees and flowers in Paradise (ll. 463 ff.) would well repay further study. Ll. 2067 ff.: *do wart ime daz selbe wib/also liep same sin eigen lip* (similar formulas, ll. 2903, 3201, 3829), are early enough to need further comment; ll. 2147 ff.: *Esau wûr ze holze/mit bogen iôch mit polze,/mit netzen iôch mit hunt/en wueng er hirze unde hinten*, are strikingly well-constructed compared to the usual type of line, and one would like to know their connexions and origin (Intro-

duction to Hunter's Charm?). The rudimentary *Minnedienst*, though it has been remarked on before, needs close and careful investigation, and one would like to know whether lines such as *Do er mit ire gespilte/des spiles des si gespilte*. . . (ll. 2713 ff.) are intentional or bad workmanship. In l. 2941 there is a reference to *wolf oder diep* which reminds us immediately of the *Wiener Hundesege*n.

It would have been a great help if these and many similar questions could have found treatment in the Introduction. There are, after all, precedents for that type of introduction in the *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, and it is to be hoped that in a subsequent edition the editor will be less taciturn.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

Althochdeutsches Lesebuch. (*Germanische Bibliothek*, I, III, 3.) Second edition. By JOSEPH MANSION. Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1932. viii + 173 pp. 2 M. 40.

There are several Old High German readers, but as yet there is no satisfactory book which can be used for class purposes. Braune's reader is too difficult for most English students, Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren ahd. Sprachdenkmäler*, makes even less concessions to the beginner, and the little volumes in the *Goschen* series are altogether too condensed.

Professor Mansion's book was meant to fill the gap, and the issue of a second edition proves that the book has been found useful. Professor Streitberg's name still appears as general editor on the title-page. In some of the volumes of the *Germanische Bibliothek* we now find *Begründet von* instead of *Herausgegeben von* Wilhelm Streitberg, from which it seems that in future the publisher intends to dispense with the services of a general editor who is finally responsible. Such a policy can do nothing but harm to the series. Many of the points raised in this review need never have arisen if there had been a vigilant general editor.

The second edition seems to have been prepared in somewhat of a hurry. Two words (*gewesen sein*) have been dropped in a sentence of the *Vorwort* reprinted from the first edition; a short note to the second edition (p. viii) admits that there have been few alterations. The table of contents (first edition, pp. ix and x) has gone to the end of the book without numbering; presumably it appears on pp. 175-6.

The grammatical introduction seems to have been slightly altered in two or three places. Yet complete revision would have made many things clearer. We still meet with the antiquated \bar{e}^1 and \bar{e}^2 , nor is a word of explanation offered. On p. 11 we find a W.Gmc. form *beran* with no indication that a W.Gmc. initial \bar{b} is problematic at best. On p. 15 accusatives such as *gotan* are cited as if they were normal forms, on p. 31 the note 'Vor gedecktem Nasal findet ein Wechsel von *e* mit *i* und von *u* mit *o* nicht statt, daher *bintu*, *gibuntan*, ohne Nebenformen mit *e* oder *o*' will convey nothing to many a student who is not a beginner, on p. 32 *stēn* and *stān* are called irregular forms, on p. 38 (§ 51) the only information the student is given on *denken*, *dāhta*, etc., is: 'Die Gruppe

-ht- erklärt sich hier nicht wie in *rahta* (§ 418 a Anm.), sondern ist schon ug.' If there was no room for a short explanation a reference at least to the appropriate sections in Streitberg's *Urgermanische Grammatik* in the same series might have been included. On p. 40 we read of *wellen*: 'Dieses Verbum ist im Präsens Indikativ unregelmässig.' Simplicity can be carried too far!

The texts remain the same. They are still preceded by on the whole adequate summaries of dialectal features. It is hard to say whether the normalised orthography (*j* for *i* when consonantal, *z* for affricate and *ʒ* for spirant, *w* for *uu*, *f* for consonantal *u*) in the selections from Tatian makes the task of the student any easier. Nor is the normalisation consistent. If *mēr* (p. 55, line 12) is printed for MS. *mээр*, why not *ēr* (p. 54, line 15) for MS. *eer*? P. 58, line 3, read *bigondun* for *bigondon*. In the extract from the *Würzburger Beichte* read *unta* for *unti* in line 1, *chelegiridu* for *chelegirida* in line 5. On p. 65, line 1, read *gotes* for *sīnen* (cf. Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 316), in line 4 read *luggi* for *luggiu*. In the first edition it was stated that *ghu* was the symbol for *kw* in the O.H.G. translation of Isidor. This misprint has not been corrected (p. 65), and on p. 67 we still read the heading: *Hear ghuidit*... In the *Ludwigshied* Professor Mansion prints *Ind er* in lines 15 and 18 (so also Braune; Steinmeyer gives *Inder*). A form *ind* is hardly likely for the *Ludwigshied*, cf. *indi* in lines 42 and 51 before consonants. In line 72 Professor Mansion now reads *gisellon* for MS. and first edition *gisellion*. There is no note. In both editions the first line of *Muspill* (pp. 108 ff.) is omitted, and the poem begins with *uuanta sar*... This line, however, is called 2. It is stated that the text has been taken from the third edition of Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmaler*. This third edition, however, contains the first line. There is no explanation. The *Hildebrandshied* is given on pp. 113 ff. Although an excellent facsimile of the MS. is appended we are told in both editions that the MS. has *p* for *P* in *was*, *want*, *wuntane*, *widar*. This is not so; in every case the MS. has *P* though the fine hair-line is not drawn over the letter. The Upper-German elements Professor Mansion still tends to think non-original, and he still believes in Middle-Franconian, perhaps even Low-Franconian origin. Whatever the MS. tradition may be, there should hardly be any need at this time of day to state that the original poem was certainly Upper German and most probably Bavarian. In line 22 Professor Mansion keeps the MS. *det sid* but admits that the sense is 'ganz dunkel.' In the next line *dat was so friuntlaos man* Professor Mansion takes this, with many commentators, to refer to Hildebrand. It is, however, more likely to refer to Dietrich. The repetition *unti Deotrihhe darba gistontun* is retained against most other editions, and a satisfactory explanation is not offered. A minor difficulty of this retention is that Professor Mansion's line-numbering does not correspond to that of most other editions, commentaries and literary histories. In such cases it is surely better to adopt the usual line-numbering and to introduce letters. In line 29 read *obana ab hevane* for *obana hab hevane*, a misprint that does not occur in the first edition. In line 33 the comma after *dat* is retained; the note is not illuminating.

In line 61 *asck im* (Collitz) has been abandoned and *asckim*, the MS. reading, reintroduced with a reference to Dr Perrett's note. Yet, although Dr Perrett's translation of the whole passage is apparently quoted with approval we still read, as in the first edition, *starm, bort chcludun*, adopted from von Grienberger. Thus text and note do not tally.

Here and there additional notes on the texts have been added, there are a few new items in the bibliography and the vocabulary has been partially revised. But it is a pity that the book was not thoroughly revised. In length, plan and execution it is precisely what is needed but until the exposition is clearer and misprints and inconsistencies have been removed the book suffers from obvious disadvantages.

F. NORMAN.

LONDON.

Die Erlösung. Eine geistliche Dichtung des 14. Jahrhunderts. (*Deutsche Literatur, Reihe Geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Band 6.) Herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH MAURER. Leipzig: Reclam. 1934. 317 pp. 7 M. 50.

Die Erlösung is in many ways an important work. It concludes the development of what we may call the biblical epic in Germany and at the same time it is the forerunner of a new type of literature. The Passion Plays owe very much to *Die Erlösung* and so does that beautiful elegy in prose *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen*. The poem was printed by Bartsch in 1858 on the basis of a late and inferior manuscript. Dr Maurer had before him no less than eight manuscripts. He publishes the text with a very useful introduction, notes and critical apparatus. He possesses a thorough acquaintance both with the period and with the particular dialect concerned. His previous work on the poem was sound and illuminating.

The author of *Die Erlösung* was undoubtedly a cleric. He was a well-educated man, having a respectable knowledge of Latin and even a smattering of Greek. He had had a theological training. But he was also well versed in secular literature. He could quote Virgil's *Eclogues*. He was familiar with the court epic and his model was Gottfried von Strassburg. His composition is skilful, he has an ear for harmony and rhythm, he uses Gottfried's tricks of style. In short, he is a poet, not a mere versifier. Dr Maurer has already demonstrated that he was not the author of the M.H.G. *Legende der hl. Elisabeth*, although the two works are closely connected. We now know the precise relationship. *Die Erlösung* makes use of the *Elisabeth*. The latter was written in 1297, and, in the opinion of Dr Maurer, the former dates from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and was written in Hessen or Nassau, though there is a slight possibility that its home may have been the Trier district.

The editor's methods are excellent. He is thorough, he is clear, but at the same time he is extremely concise. He has made dialect grammars of all the different manuscripts of the poem, but he does not publish them. He just gives comparative results. Such restraint might be copied to advantage by other editors who do not seem able to distinguish

between what is essential and what is superfluous. He does not give a normalised M.H.G. text, but aims at what Dr Frings calls an 'Idealtext,' i.e., such a version as the ideal scribe might be expected to give us. At the same time Dr Maurer places limits on reconstruction. If doublets occur (e.g., *han* and *haben*) he does not give the preference to one of them, which is what Professor Frings would expect of an editor. After all, in a given dialect two forms may, and often do, exist side by side. To simplify is to destroy the nature of the original manuscript. Dr Maurer's criteria are the rhymes, the orthography of all the manuscripts, the language of contemporary legal and literary documents from the Mainz area and the living dialects. Fortunately for his purpose one manuscript is both early and accurate. He follows this unless there are good reasons for deviating from it. We must congratulate Professor Maurer on producing a very readable text and placing the poem in its proper literary and cultural setting.

JAMES M. CLARK.

GLASGOW.

Die deutschen Dichtungen von Salomon und Markolf. II. Band: Salomon und Markolf, das Spruchgedicht. Herausgegeben von WALTER HARTMANN. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1934. xlv+80 pp. 5 M. 40.

In 1880 Friedrich Vogt published a critical edition of the epic poem *Salmon und Morolf*. A second volume containing the so-called *Spruchgedicht* (printed in 1808 by Von der Hagen and Büsching) was planned but never carried out. Dr Hartmann has now edited it, thus completing the work left unfinished by Vogt half a century ago.

The main theme of the poem is the arrival of the buffoon Markolf and his wife at the court of King Solomon, and their exchange of epigrams. The King utters a wise saw and Markolf replies with a witty or merely vulgar parody. The contrast between didactic gravity and impudence is humorous enough, but there is a total lack of continuity and the poem becomes wearisome. An epilogue in the style of the *Spielmann* deals with the abduction of Solomon's heathen wife and Markolf's successful intervention. Markolf is a spiritual ancestor and forerunner of Eulenspiegel. As literature the *Spruchgedicht* does not rank high. The form is crude enough. There is no composition worth speaking of. The versification is rough, the language coarse and often obscene. But there are touches of real humour among the gross ribaldry and of poetic insight in the tedious prosaic verse. We can hear the note of the bugle in line 1803:

So sie vernemen den schal von dem horn.

But apart from any literary value, the poem is a historical document and as such deserves our consideration. The editor of such a work is confronted at the very outset by a serious dilemma. To make a critical text is out of the question, for the oldest manuscript is too late and too unreliable, while the irregular metre cannot serve as a criterion. All the scribes alter in an arbitrary fashion. Nor would a diplomatic text of one

of the manuscripts meet the case. The solution of the problem lies in some kind of compromise. Obvious clerical errors must be rectified, the rhymes of the original restored, the best readings selected, and occasional emendations hazarded. Dr Hartmann is commendably explicit about his methods. He is also very thorough. There are few instances in which he can be accused of inconsistency or rashness. In accordance with his cardinal maxim ('Entstehungszeit und -ort des Gedichtes für die Schreibung zu berücksichtigen'), he restores the Middle Franconian forms *san* and *fran* in the rhyme (116-17) for the MS. readings *sagen: fragen*. He also substitutes *f* for *b* in *lofe* rhyming with *hofs* (423-4). It is, however, surprising to find that he prints

Der kauff enwart nie glich
uff erden noch in himmelreich (209-10).

The best MS. (B) has the rhyme words *geliche: riche*.

As regards the dialect, the editor comes to the conclusion that the original was 'moselfränkisch,' and the MSS. are all 'rheinfränkisch.' He adds 'Welchem Gebiete innerhalb des rhfr. die einzelnen Hss. gehören, ist nicht zu bestimmen.' The note of caution here seems overdone. Surely it is possible to determine a dialect more accurately than this. A large number of Rhenish Franconian documents of the fifteenth century have been printed. In many cases the exact date and place of origin are known. Works on dialect geography and grammar abound. Moreover, Dr Hartmann decides on rather scanty evidence that all the MSS. are in the same dialect. But in E we find *weiz*, not *wiz*, for the adjective *weiss*, and *ph* initially. This is not pure Rhenish Franconian of the middle of the fifteenth century. How does Dr Hartmann account for it? Is it *ostfränkisch*? Or is it due to the influence of the *Kanzleisprache*? Again, how is it that the prefixes *ver-* and *zer-* appear as *vor-* and *zur-* in the words *vorzeig* (in E) and *zursniden* (in B)? The other MSS. have the normal M.H.G. forms. It is not irrelevant to point out that the phonology of Dr Hartmann's text (if we ignore the substituted Middle Franconian forms) corresponds roughly to that of the Mainz *Kanzleisprache* about the year 1460. There are many interesting features in the dialect of the *Spruchgedicht*. We observe *inter alia* the complete absence of *i* as a sign of length after vowels (such cases as *hait*, *geit* and *steit* are no exceptions, since *i* is a termination in these verbs). This, in a Middle Franconian poem transcribed in Rhenish Franconian, is important. The ending *-ent* in the 2nd pers. plur. of verbs is noteworthy. Is it a relic of the Middle Franconian source, or a trace of Alemannic? There are many such problems that await elucidation.

I have examined the text and the critical apparatus in order to discover how the different scribes treated the prefixes *ge-* and *en-*. I found that in at least forty cases E drops *en-*, whereas there are only some eighteen examples of this in D. B and H occupy an intermediate position. Dr Hartmann prints *en-* if the majority of the MSS. support the reading, not if it is found in one MS. only. He evidently thinks that a copyist was quite capable of inserting *en-* against the original, and that in the latter *en-* was not consistently employed. The latter hypothesis is plausible, the

former a little doubtful, considering the difference in date between the MS. and the source. But it is curious to note that D and H, which are most conservative with regard to the retention of *en-*, are most prone to drop *ge-*. Is this due to chronological or to linguistic differences? I have only noticed one misprint: p. xiii, *wfieder* for *wieder*.

Dr Hartmann comes to the conclusion that the original was written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and the existing MSS. in the middle of the fifteenth. No further light is thrown on the problem of authorship. Von der Hagen surmised that the poem was written by a monk because of the lines 'Ich saz in der zelle min Und vant ein buoch, daz was latin.' In support of this theory we might mention the fact that in E the first illustration depicts a monk writing or reading at a desk. The epic *Salmon und Morolf* was a glorification of the *Spielmann*, being the work of a minstrel, but this tendency is much less prominent in the *Spruchgedicht*. The coarseness of the language cannot be used as an argument against clerical or monastic authorship, as much contemporary evidence will show. Pfaffe Amis, a close relation to Markolf, is a case in point. In fairness to the author we must add that he apologises twice for the 'unhubscher wort vil' that he uses, and blames his Latin source! Such an apology would be unnecessary in the mouth of a minstrel.

The metre is treated in a scholarly manner and this section of the book calls for little comment. Dr Hartmann stresses the tendency to make the metre purely mechanical. The poet often ignores ordinary prose stress. This was characteristic of the decadent days that followed the glorious outburst of M.H.G. poetry. Dr Hartmann finds that only thirty lines have three beats, but is reluctant to call them 'dreiebig Verse.' He prefers to think that they should be reconstructed in order to obtain the regulation four beats. In one case he actually attempts such a reconstruction. On the other hand he freely admits that three other lines have five *Hebungen* or more. Surely a poet who could perpetrate this would not hesitate to make a line one beat short. But in spite of all reservations we can safely say that Dr Hartmann has made an important contribution to his subject. This, his first published book (being his Ph.D. thesis in an expanded form), augurs well for the future and we hope to see more of his work.

JAMES M. CLARK.

GLASGOW.

Faust der Nichtfaustische. By WILHELM BÖHM. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1933. 136 pp. 5 M. 60.

Der dramatische Vortrieb in Goethes 'Torquato Tasso.' By PEPI ENGEL. (*Bausteine zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, xxxiii.) Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1933. 99 pp. 3 M. 60.

Die Wandlung Goethescher Gedichte zum klassischen Stil. By HANS KEIPERT. Jena: Frommann. 1933. viii+165 pp.

Freies Deutsches Hochstift. Festgabe zum Goethejahr 1932. Herausgegeben von ERNST BEUTLER. Halle: M. Niemeyer. 88 pp. 4 M. 80.

W. Böhm, who comes to Goethe from Hölderlin, assails the commonly accepted interpretation of *Faust* as the drama of 'perfectibility.' He holds, on the contrary, that there is no evidence to show that Faust's 'Streben' leads to anything but repeated disappointment, and that his titanic nature must remain for ever unsatisfied. The tragedy in *Faust* is that of the 'Übermensch,' torn between his human frailties and his superhuman desires, who, to the end, fails to find the harmony of life. It is a mystery play in which all tragedy is finally resolved in the eternal peace of God which passes all understanding. This is, of course, the negation of the 'Humanitätsideal' which we had been taught since F. Th. Vischer and W. Scherer to find in Goethe's greatest works, *Faust* and *Iphigenie*, as it was also enshrined in *Nathan der Weise*. Faust remains for Böhm, as he does for Emil Ludwig, essentially the 'dämonische Mensch' whose 'Streben' is selfish and almost criminal. The Gretchen tragedy, the Helena scenes, the reclamation of the sea-shore—all three are but tragic episodes which set forth the bankruptcy of 'unendliches Streben,' are but a caricature of Faust's entelechy. *Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*. And so Böhm emphasises the dæmonic, the irrational, the insatiable superman in Faust: 'Er unbefriedigt jeden Augenblick!' And even his final vision of human freedom and happiness gives no promise that it would ever have materialised in the face of Faust's dæmonic character whose tragic fate on earth it is to err: 'es irrt der Mensch, so lang' er strebt.' Faust does not achieve salvation from merit or through good works, but solely through the grace of an all-loving Deity.

This latest attempt to find a consistent motive running through Goethe's *Faust* is supported by well-marshalled evidence and systematic scholarship. Although it may not bring entire conviction, being, like all such theses, overstated, it has the merit of disposing of numerous difficulties and apparent contradictions. In its emphasis on the religious solution it will not be new to English scholars. The late Marshall Montgomery¹ laid stress on this aspect of *Faust* when he saw in it the asseveration of Divine Providence in the face of evil, and discovered the unity of the work in its theological foundation. And he even anticipated Herr Böhm by his vision of Faust as the superman, 'all compact of contradictory energies,' whose 'Streben' can only find ultimate satisfaction in unity with the Divine.

If Herr Pepi Engel had pursued his studies in English criticism beyond Lewes he would have discovered that the dramatic merits of *Torquato Tasso* needed no *apologia* in this country. The edition of the late J. G. Robertson in the Manchester University Press Series (1918) is a great tribute to this much misunderstood work of Goethe and, outside Germany, the verdict of Balzac that *Tasso* is Goethe's 'chef d'œuvre' still finds a responsive echo². The fact would seem to be that the Germans

¹ 'Goethe's Faust as a whole' in *Studies in the Age of Goethe*, London, 1931. Böhm lists the book in his bibliography without specially defining his attitude to it in the text.

² Hugo von Hofmannsthal claims Tasso as 'Goethe's vollkommenstes dramatisches Kunstwerk,' *Prosaische Schriften*, II, Berlin, 1907, p. 153.

have been too concerned to fit the play into the artificial frame of dramatic theorists like Gustav Freytag to realise its innate dramatic intensity. To have brought home this point is the merit of this dissertation from the school of the late Franz Saran of Tübingen. Herr Engel analyses the play according to its 'Stimmungsbewegungen,' i.e., the psychic reactions of the hero to his environment as exemplified in the rhythmical impulse of the diction. His resulting graphic representation shows that the peak of emotion—we must no longer speak of 'dramatische Handlung' but of 'Vortrieb'—is not reached until near the end of the fifth act, which makes the sudden descent to the final catastrophe (Tasso's despair at his final banishment from Ferrara and the Princess, the source of his poetry) all the more effective. Herr Engel claims to have proved by this means that *Tasso* is intensely dramatic (and so a fit subject for the stage), although the climax, contrary to orthodox theory, does not occur until the fifth act instead of in the third. He makes another useful point when he describes *Tasso* as a 'Gefühlsdrama' rather than a 'Seelendrama,' thus supporting Ampère's description of it as 'ein gesteigerter Werther.'

Few lyric poets reacted more intensively to the numerous experiences which came crowding upon him in his youth than Goethe, and few gave them such subjective and individual expression. But with advancing years, and under the formative and sedative influence of Frau von Stein and of official responsibility, Goethe, it is well known, turned from the sentimental and passionate exuberance of his 'Storm and Stress' to the calmer, reflective mood of classical harmony. It is just this change of outlook, as reflected in his lyrical poetry, that Dr Keipert has set himself to investigate in an unusually well-written and careful dissertation. He takes the poems as printed in the first collected edition of 1789 and collates them with the earliest and the intermediate versions, with most illuminating results. Under the headings 'language, form, content,' he illustrates by well-chosen examples the modified attitude to nature and art implied by the considerable modifications that Goethe made in the text on his return from Italy. Idiosyncrasies of speech and inequalities of style are made to conform to the norm established by Adelung, the metre now tends to regularity and uniformity, the poems are divested of personal allusions, feeling makes way for perception of the senses, and man, from being considered as part of the living processes of nature, now looks upon the external world reflectively and objectively. Dr Keipert has accomplished a useful work carefully and conscientiously, and though his critical attitude is freely and frankly adapted from Strich, Burdach, Gundolf, Wolff and others, he has learned to apply their method with most excellent results.

Apart from festal orations delivered in the Goethehaus in Frankfurt during the course of 1932 the 'Festgabe' of the Freies Deutsches Hochstift contains a most valuable and attractive account of the artistic background against which Goethe's artistic education in Frankfurt was set: Seekatz, Schütz, Hirt, Trautmann, Junker, and Goethe's own teacher, Morgenstern; names familiar to all readers of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*,

become realities in the beautiful illustrations of Adolf Feulner to his article 'Der junge Goethe und die Frankfurter Kunst.' Under his expert guidance—he is one of the chief authorities on the subject¹—we are taught that the German plastic arts of the eighteenth century are by no means as negligible as we have been accustomed to regard them, but that, like German music, German art was, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, decidedly in advance of German letters. It is true that the commercial, middle-class traditions of Frankfurt were inimical to aristocratic rococo, and it has left few traces either on the city, or on young Goethe's artistic development. In Leipzig Goethe passed from Gothic direct to the classicism of Winckelmann. So, too, with painting: the Frankfurt artists employed by Rat Goethe and, at his recommendation, by Count Thorane, were not inspired geniuses. But they were honest and skilful craftsmen and, in their attachment to their Dutch models, reflected the prevailing middle-class distaste for rococo affectation. The result was a return to natural simplicity which was not without its effects both on Goethe's own artistic attempts, and on his attitude to art as a whole. 'Das Auge war vor allem das Organ, womit ich die Welt fasste. Ich hatte von Kindheit an zwischen Malern gelebt und die Gegenstände wie sie, im Bezug auf die Kunst, angesehen.' These significant words from *Dichtung und Wahrheit* are in themselves ample justification for this fascinating reconstruction of artistic life in Frankfurt during the most impressionable years of Goethe's boyhood.

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

LONDON.

A History of the German Novelle from Goethe to Thomas Mann. By E. K. BENNETT. Cambridge: University Press. 1934. xiii + 296 pp. 12s. 6d.

Mr Bennett's subject involves him in the difficulties of definition. He must have the understanding sympathy of anyone who has ever tried to make clear to others the sense of the German term *Novelle*. The conception of the *Novelle*, as he points out, differs from period to period, and German fiction writers themselves frequently make the confusion worse confounded. Indeed, one is sorely tempted to cry enough and justify oneself by reference to W. H. Riehl, who had the honesty to admit that he did not know what a *Novelle* actually was and the temerity to assert that many other practitioners shared his ignorance. Mr Bennett, by his careful arrangement of the *Novelle* in types, helps one not to be guilty of such weakness. Undoubtedly, his method of contrasting the varying types must bring out such ultimate qualities of the *Novelle* as may exist.

A certain unevenness in treatment may well be due to the fact that the author was not equally interested in all the material of which he felt he ought to make use. One might also, in an examination of the *Novelle*, expect more attention to be paid to the problem of style, but the author's chief interest clearly does not lie in that direction. He is much happier dealing with the fundamental attitude to life, as it may be found in the

¹ Cf. his *Skulptur und Malerei des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, Wildpark-Potsdam, 1929.

differing types of *Novelle*. His remarks on the Romantic *Novelle* especially will repay careful reading.

No one will wish to deny Mr Bennett latitude in the matter of classification, but he must admit that he goes too far in calling *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* a 'village story,' when Ludwig definitely speaks of the 'town.' Again, having readily conceded the presence of terminological difficulties, one will wonder why he should write of a 'bourgeois reading public,' while, in his introduction, he rejects '*bourgeois*' as a 'quasi-English term.' One cannot be in entire agreement with Mr Bennett's decision not to translate certain German words, a decision which has involved him in some remarkable problems of congruence. The student will have, also, an occasional title to correct, but he should be grateful to Mr Bennett for his guidance along a road full of pitfalls.

KENNETH C. HAYENS.

ST ANDREWS.

Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte. Unter Mitwirkung hervorragender Fachgenossen nach dem Tode von J. W. Nagl und J. Zeidler. Herausgegeben von E. CASTLE. 3. (Schluss-)Bd., 1848-1918, 8.-11. Abteilung. Wien: C. Fromme. 1931-4. 1113-1752 pp. 14 Sch.

With the publication of the third volume of Nagl-Zeidler-Castle's history of the Austrian-Hungarian literature this monumental handbook has been brought up-to-date. The editor's introductory chapter gives a survey of the national crisis from 1890 to the Great War. Whilst the Slavs and Hungarians were relentlessly usurping the privileged positions hitherto held by German-Austrians, Kaiser Franz Joseph I, like the king in Shaw's *Apple Cart*, appears as the sole security of the Empire in its rapid decline. Mark Twain's *Stirring Times in Austria* gives a vivid account of these conditions. As Vienna's power grew, the provinces were impoverished. H. Bahr and P. Rosegger realised the danger and worked for the 'discovery of the Province.'

The literature of Lower Austria, Heanzenland and the Viennese dialect are treated by Häckel and Wache. In Upper Austria (this chapter largely contributed by M. R. von Stern) we become aware of two distinct currents, the one clerical and dynastic in sympathy, the other German and National Liberal. Neither Matosch nor Samhaber or many other writers were able like Hanrieder to reach a synthesis of the two. The *Kyffhäuser*, edited by Greinz, was German national in spirit. The *Innviertel* gave birth to Billinger, a young poet of great promise. Modernism found little echo in Salzburg (chapter by Feichtlbauer). Wrede and the Pan Society encouraged the new movement, one of whose finest poets, Trakl, was doomed to an early death. P. Rosegger, who became the pride of Styria (chapter by Pock), gathered young compatriots together through his editorship of the *Heimgarten*. The pages dedicated to the work of Grasberger and W. Fischer reveal both knowledge of fact and sensitive insight on the part of the author. An inborn tendency towards lyricism may account for the fact that, with the exception of such plays as Mell's *Apostelspiel*, *Nachfolge Christi Spiel* and others, Styria's contributions

to drama rank as decidedly weak. Carniola (chapter largely by Puschnig), which already held a representative place in Austrian literature by virtue of Baumbach's *Zlatorog*, has produced only few names of outstanding merit since, e.g., Gagern, the votary of nature, in its struggle against the annihilating cult of the metropolis. In the following chapter Zimmermann, reviewing Trieste and its neighbouring coastland, singles out O. von Leitgeb as the supreme poet who conquered Friuli from Tagliamento to the Isonzo for German literature. Regarding the Tyrol (chapter by Lederer) Domanig, Greinz, Schullern, Seeber and others take second rank in comparison with A. Pichler whose leadership found recognition by younger writers in the *Almanach Jung Tirol*, 1899. Amongst the contributors were Kranewitter, Wallpach and R. Chr. Jenny, whose *Hoamele* is a translation into Tirolese dialect of Dickens' *Cricket on the Hearth*. The fame of R. Byr and J. Wichner, whom Rosegger called the Austrian Hebel, spread beyond their native boundary of Vorarlberg (chapter by Gasser). In Bohemia (chapter by Mühlberger) it was the Sudetendeutsche who won the laurels. F. Mauthner, the co-producer of the *Freie Bühne* and editor of *Deutschland*, was closely connected with the naturalistic movement in Berlin. R. von Kralik upheld the cause of Christian Germanic culture. Salus, Ginzkey, Meyrink and especially Rilke became the exponents of Neo-Romanticism. Expressionism too was able to develop here. The author's sure insight realised the greatness of Kolbenheyer, who in contrast to Kafka's irrationalism seeks salvation from the darkness of our age in complete surrender to life. Moravia and Silesia (chapter mainly by K. Kreisler) tend towards a more effeminate style. Schaukal and Greiner are not discussed in connexion with this chapter. Apart from Filek and Hadina special attention is drawn to Strobl's monumental trilogy *Bismarck*. W. von Molo, who seeks to rival Schiller's heroism, and Hohlbaum, who even prior to the appearance of Werfel's *Barbara* gives us a poignant picture of post-war Vienna, soon forsook their native countryside for the city. 'Sacher-Masoch and K. E. Franzos are two lonely names amidst the barren field of literary effort in Galicia (chapter mainly by Rollauer). Literature in the Bukovina (chapter by Kaendl and Klug) was inaugurated by the foundation of the University at Czernowitz. The main exponents are represented in the *Jahrbuch Deutscher Dichter und Schriftsteller Grossrumaniens* (1928)—amongst others the Pole Pihowicz whose lyric plagiarisms were over-rated by K. Kraus to such an extent as to win for him the name of the greatest lyric poet since Goethe. With the exception of translations from the works of Petöfi, Arany, Madách, Jókai, Mikszáth, Csiky, etc., Hungary (chapter by Pukansky, E. E. Schmidt and the editor) has produced little German writing above the level of journalese. Nordau's *Entartung* (1892), however, published in close connexion with Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement, achieved international fame. The most distinguished representative since Lenau of the Banat (selections from Milleker and J. Stein) is A. Müller-Guttenbrunn, who in his *Schwaben im Osten* sums up the finest literary achievements of his countrymen. Siebenbürgen (chapter mainly by Schullerus) stoutly maintained the

German language. Meschendorfer's *Karpathen* became the herald of the East. Croatia and Slavonia are dealt with by Matl adequately.

The next chapter (by Ranegger) gives a detailed account of the Catholic movement which was infused with new vitality by the ascendancy of the Christian Socialist party under Lueger and later Seipel. The exceptionally vivid narrative is apt to suffer sometimes from too lenient a criticism of certain writers. Literary problems arising in connexion and in opposition to Schonerer (chapter by Molisch), questions of national intermarriage, conflicts between students, workers and officers, the antagonism between Prussia and Austria, the 'Los von Rom' movement, are to the fore. We now proceed to Zohner's chapter on the cultural development of the Proletarians (e.g., Petzold), especially under the leadership of V. Adler, and the influence of naturalism. Whilst the harvest of the seed sown by Marx and Darwin was reaped in the Empire, the struggle against an historical and eclectic attitude was already felt as an undercurrent. The eleventh part deals with the influence of Bayreuth on Austrian writers (article by Zohner). An important contribution to cultural history is supplied by a somewhat lengthy chapter on the intellectual catholic conservative writers, R. von Kralik and the Gralbund (article by the editor in co-operation with Eibl, Ranegger, Straka). Kralik deserves our gratitude for having prepared the ground for those festival plays which we subsequently enjoyed under the direction of Reinhardt. The latter possesses a keen sense for dramatic effects even using Salzburg itself as a scenic background, whilst the purer simplicity of Max Mell's *Apostelspiel* offered the audience (for the most part foreigners) too little of the spectacular. From the point of view of literary development the most important chapter in this volume is the editor's account of the '*Jung Wien*' movement which centred upon H. Bahr, the most productive critic of Austrian culture in our time. He reminds us of M. Barrès. Like the latter he outgrew decadence to become an apostle of race consciousness, 'Heimatkunst' and religious faith. Bahr's great work as a champion of modern Austrian literature is clearly revealed and appreciated. The ninth chapter (A. Zohner) adds much to our knowledge of the naturalistic movement as represented by A. Holz, but to introduce J. Schlaf under the general heading of *Naturalismus* seems to us misleading. On the other hand the same writer's exposition of the development of the new style as a synthesis of romanticism, naturalism and modern neurotic art characteristic of the subtle and melancholic refinement of Vienna is clearly shown. The eleventh volume ends with A. Schnitzler. Editor and publisher are to be congratulated on this comprehensive study. Special credit is due to the editor's skill in shaping such heterogeneous matter into a unity. An all too generous use of the title 'poet' may perhaps be excused on account of the inevitable lack of distance both in time and place.

AUGUST CLOSS.

SHORT NOTICES

The eighteenth volume of *Essays and Studies*, collected by Hugh Walpole (1933 for 1932. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 159 pp. 7s. 6d.), fully maintains the reputation of the series. Pride of place may perhaps be given to Professor B. I. Evans' paper on 'The Limits of Literary Criticism,' in which he makes a welcome and much-needed protest against the obscuring of individual works of art by sweeping generalisations of literary history or by successive layers of theory built on theory. Professor H. G. Wright brings evidence from Keats' *Letters* of his interest in politics and of his opinions thereon; Mr H. F. B. Brett-Smith does tardy justice to the pioneer work of Mr Thomas L'Estrange in connexion with the biography of Peacock; Mr J. B. Priestley, arguing that the present time is one of many novels but few novelists, pleads for more serious consideration of the novel as a work of art. Professor S. G. Dunn, in an endeavour to formulate Wordsworth's metaphysical system, brings forward the charge of Pantheism followed by a return to orthodoxy which Miss Batho has since shown to be based on a misconception of Wordsworth's attitude and a disregard of the Christian doctrine of divine immanence. Mr F. T. Wood treats the question of 'Shakespeare and the Plebs' more fully perhaps but not more cogently than it was treated by Professor R. W. Chambers (in *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of 'Sir Thomas More'*), of whose work Mr Wood seems to be unaware. Mr A. Watkin-Jones' paper on 'Bishop Percy and the Scottish Ballads' completes a volume of very varied interest. H. W. H.

In *An Attempt to Approach the C-text of Piers Plowman* (London: University of London Press. 1934. 83 pp. 3s. 6d.) Mr F. A. R. Carnegy gives three Passus of a revised C-text with a short Introduction describing his investigation of the MSS. Some years ago Miss B. F. Allen showed that the *p*-group of C-text MSS., from one of which Professor Skeat printed his C-text, is inferior to two other groups, the *t* and the *i*. Of these, *t* is the nearer to the original C-text, but is unfortunately defective; *i*, inferior to *t* but superior to *p*, is complete.

Mr Carnegy finds that his results agree with Miss Allen's. Accordingly he has selected as the basis of his text the best MS. of the *i*-group, one which was not collated by Professor Skeat and which has hitherto received little notice. His 'Approach' concerns itself, for the most part, with the meaning of the poem, generally ignoring problems of dialect, spelling, etc. The revised text shows a closer approximation to the B-text than the accepted C-text and confirms the theory, held by some students, that scribal interference is responsible for many of the variations between the B- and C-texts. By producing this text and by printing, for the first time, a portion of this MS., Mr Carnegy does good service to *Piers Plowman* studies.

According to the Preface this essay is part only of a larger work from which it has been extracted for publication 'without alteration.' Probably

this accounts for certain gaps which make it difficult to follow the argument, as, for example, in the estimation of the *p*-group of MSS. In addition, there is a serious error in the section dealing with B-text contamination of some C-text MSS. in that it seems to have escaped the author's notice that practically all the readings, which are here quoted as proof of B-text contamination, occur in the A-text also. This ~~invalidates~~ his conclusion.

Apart from these shortcomings there is here embodied some careful and valuable work.

E. B.

Most of the papers in Sir E. K. Chambers' *Sir Thomas Wyatt and Some Collected Studies* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. 1933. viii + 228 pp. 7s. 6d.) have appeared before: *Some Points in the Grail Legend* and *Sir Thomas Malory* belong to that side of Sir Edmund's studies which is most fully represented in *Arthur of Britain*, and many of us are familiar with *Some Aspects of Mediaeval Lyric* and even with *The English Pastoral*. It is good, however, to have these essays collected here, and to be able to welcome the two additional papers. *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is full of wisdom as well as acute criticism and scholarship, especially in the discussion of Wyatt's 'periods,' his types of verse, and his 'awkward' sonnets. *The Disenchantment of the Elizabethans* deals with that side of Elizabethan life and literature—the disillusion in the writings of the recusants, and not only of the recusants—which it is well to find a recognised authority asserting against some recent popular declamations on the traditional theme of 'an ungirt and garlanded adolescence.'

In an Appendix the Folger fragment of *The Courte of Venus* is printed, by permission of the Trustees of the Folger Library and Dr J. Q. Adams.

E. C. B.

Miss Clara Gebert's *Anthology of Elizabethan Dedications and Prefaces* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. London: H. Milford. 1933. x + 302 pp. 12s. 6d.) is interesting for its own sake, and also as a pendant to Miss Sheavyn's *Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*. And it is attractively produced, agreeable to look upon and to handle, and a pleasing piece of typography. The choice of dedications to be reproduced has been well made, to present fairly the change in tone which reflects the changing circumstances of the professional writer. I regret the constant use of the word 'title' to mean 'book,' as in 'the reader of the same title' (p. 5) and elsewhere. The adverbial use of the word 'due' (pp. 20, 24) is also unfortunate. Miss Gebert asserts confidently that Heminge and Condell were 'obviously' incapable of writing the prefatory matter of the First Folio of Shakespeare (p. 280), and that it was 'indubitably penned by Ben Jonson' (p. 24). Steevens, of course, argued in this sense, but his arguments were anything but convincing. Why should not Heminge and Condell have been capable of writing these prefaces? It is the purest assumption. It is, however, less surprising to find his view revived here, now that Sir Edmund Chambers has lent his patronage to it. It is certainly incorrect to speak of the

Stationers' Company as 'a government Corporation' (p. 23). And the ancient confusion of Nathan Field, the actor and dramatist, with Nathaniel Field, the bookseller, has been continued once more in quoting the prefaces to *A Woman is a Weathercock* (pp. 204-5). The text, on the other hand, as far as I have tested it, is to be relied upon, and the book is a very useful compilation of considerable interest. C. J. S.

The best features of Mrs Elizabeth Drew's *Discovering Poetry* (Oxford: University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933. 224 pp. 8s. 6d.) are the author's genuine delight in widely different kinds of poetry, and her obvious desire to discuss them without pedantry. In this she is entirely successful, and those readers to whom her book is addressed should find their appreciation of poetry stimulated, and at the same time purified from irrelevant elements. They will learn much that they did not know before, and know better what they only half understood. The pedant, however, must have his say; and he will point out that even in a very brief discussion of prosody it is unnecessarily misleading to define an anapaest as 'two short syllables followed by a long'—particularly in view of the example given:

Ī ām mōn|ārch ōf āll | Ī sūrvey.

On p. 73 a poem of E. E. Cummings, first introduced to the English reader in *A Survey of Modernist Poetry*, is quoted again by Mrs Drew; she rightly stresses the fact that Cummings' peculiar spelling and punctuation have got a meaning for him, and yet she varies from the original (at any rate as it is printed in my copy of 'is 5') in no less than six places. More generally, Mrs Drew's book suffers from a plethora of quotations, both poetical and critical. Phrases like 'as I. A. Richards says' are irritatingly frequent, and, if she cared to be perfectly scrupulous in her acknowledgments, might be still more so. The pedant, however, should not be allowed the last word here. Mrs Drew writes with real sincerity and enthusiasm; and as for the quotations, if there are too many of them, they are almost invariably the best to be had, and the most apt to her purpose. J. R. S.

The reader of a modern literature is aware that more than literary history is required to interpret his authors. On the one hand, literary history brings together writers not mutually acquainted; on the other, each author is acutely sensitive to the conditions of his age, and has a general notion of the development of his country. In *Spain: a Brief History* (London: Methuen. x+200 pp. 1934. 6s.) Professor W. C. Atkinson seeks to supply this background of general knowledge for Spanish studies. He describes the lie of the land; four chapters say how Spain was made; four say what she did with herself as a nation; and an epilogue gives the contemporary crisis and suspends judgment. In all this the author shows a command of pleasant English, great expository skill, especially in the region of simplification, and impartiality. He feels the difficulty about spelling proper names in a peninsula of three languages; and that other more insidious one, the difficulty of finding suitable

collective names. Castile is often too restricted a term, Spain too inclusive. I doubt if there is sufficient evidence for Rodrigo's survival after the battle of the Wadi Baka or Jalón. Ferdinand the Handsome died in 1383. Personally, I admire the Catalan national dynasty more than Professor Atkinson allows, especially Peter of the Dagger, who had elements of greatness. The *Comuneros* should be restricted to Castile.

W. J. E.

There are a number of genial heresies in Mr Francis J. Carmody's *Franco-Italian Sources of the Roncesvalles* (New York: Institute of French Studies. 1934. 33 pp. \$0.75), which rightly insists that we must not move a closure on problems which do not admit, at best, of more than probable solutions. The *Roncesvalles* was published in 1917, together with a masterly study by Sr Menéndez Pidal. Mr Carmody accepts the textual and philological conclusions of the great Spanish scholar. He protests, however, against the attempt to reconstitute a long poem out of this fragment and two ballads (*Fuga del rey Marsín* and *Doña Alda*), and goes so far as to suggest that the *Roncesvalles* may always have been a fragment. He does not believe that the metrical irregularities of the manuscripts necessarily prove that the *cantares de gesta* were 'anisosyllabic'; but he does not animadvert on the attempts of Lang and Cornu to demonstrate a syllabic metre for the *Cid*. It is surely unnecessary to group the names of Sres Menéndez Pidal and Henríquez Ureña in this connexion, as the latter's thesis of 'versificación irregular' mixes together quite different propositions in a manner never done by the master. Mr Carmody argues that Charlemagne's lament at *Roncesvalles* contains elements borrowed from a late version of the *Infantes de Lara*; that the appearance of Renaldos de Montalbán in the fragment reflects his popularity in Italy rather than in France; and that the other proper names correspond with those given in the *Entrée d'Espagne* (verses 11826-14104). These are interesting possibilities. Oddly enough, his theory of Franco-Italian origin would have been more plausible had he been able to accept the *Doña Alda* ballad as part of this poem. He holds back the Spanish *cantares de gesta* to the second quarter of the twelfth century, and thinks the *Cantar del rey Sancho II* may have been the oldest. There are obvious gaps in the bibliography used by Mr Carmody, and a number of slips in detail. It is unlikely that many of his propositions will command universal assent; but it is well that he should vindicate his right to approach the problem with a free mind. To-day's heresy is so often the dogma of to-morrow.

W. J. E.

El Retorno a la Naturaleza, by B. Isaza y Calderón (Madrid: Bolaños y Aguilar. 260 pp.), is a thesis for the doctorate of the faculty of *Filosofía y Letras* in the University of Madrid. It is rather similar in motive (but, so far as it goes chronologically, wider in scope) to Dr Macandrew's *Naturalism in Spanish Poetry*, which, however, does not appear to be known to the author. But not only does the present work embrace all forms of literary expression, it also aims at interpreting them

not so much for their own sake as works of art (which was to be expected in the earlier study, restricted to pure lyricism), but as symbolical of a fundamental need in human nature to refresh the intellect, whose development and that of culture in general must necessarily be urban, with a return to and a participation in rural life. However, Dr Isaza Calderón's book does not go beyond the sixteenth century, closing with a detailed study of Guevara's *Menosprecio de corte* (which indeed, he tells us, was the original study he undertook, and served as the point of departure for this general analysis). There is a bibliographical note to include the more important additions to the literature of the theme down to, more or less, the end of the eighteenth century.

At one point (p. 241) we are told that this study may contribute to a philosophy of Spanish art: but the rustic-urban conflict is not peculiar to Spanish literature, and if the tendency for it to assume the form courtier-peasant or state-folk is specially strong in Spain, it is (without in any way disputing its intrinsic interest) still a little difficult to see any specially significant contribution to the philosophy of art inherent in a study of it; it is, surely, a question of cultural levels, not of culture versus chaos. Art, even primitive art, is essentially not nature, though not less essentially does art reside within nature; a renewed consciousness of nature cannot, however, destroy the artificiality of art.

In the main, this study is a clear analysis of the whole of mediæval and classical Spanish 'nature-seeking' literature as contrasted with that exclusively concerned with ideas. A theme lying close to such a study is that of popular influence, so vital and typical in Spanish literature. The author takes this into account, but in his conclusion makes some rather vague and not altogether germane remarks in a kind of sociopolitical application of the fact. An interesting book is marred by an unsuitably precious and self-conscious style. E. S.

The value of Dr Geoffrey Brereton's *Quelques précisions sur les sources d'Espronceda* (Paris: Jouve et Cie. 1933. 146 pp. No price stated) is somewhat marred by the incompleteness and inexactness of its bibliography. Numerous critical articles, of which the best known is Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's centenary contribution to the *Modern Language Review* (1908), are omitted, while works on the Romantic period which have little to do with Espronceda are given a place. Various errors of nomenclature occur; the most serious is the description of the *Revista de Filología Española* as 'Rev. franco-española.' The text of the study, however, is praiseworthy. Dr Brereton has found several new French sources for his author, and with considerable skill has followed up other indications of indebtedness. His best chapter is perhaps that on the *Cancones*: Béranger is occasionally given as a source for some of these in the periodical criticism of the time, but I do not believe that the attributions have previously been examined. The most surprising statement in the book is that *Sancho de Saldaña* (*sic*) is not directly inspired by Scott. It has been shown (*Revue Hispanique*, LXVIII, pp. 40-69)

that Espronceda translated long passages from *Ivanhoe* and incorporated them in *Sancho Saldaña*, making only the slightest verbal changes.

E. A. P.

In celebration of Professor Schröder's seventy-fifth birthday, a number of friends and pupils have issued a list of his published writings, bearing the title *Bibliographie Edward Schröder*. That Schroder has never deserved the reproach of any narrow specialisation in his studies is made clear by the briefest examination of this bibliography of his printed writings; it is equally plain that he can have enjoyed but little leisure during his long academic life. First as sole editor and later in collaboration with Gustav Roethe, and since 1932 with Arthur Hübner, Schröder has been responsible for thirty-three years for the production of the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* and its accompanying *Anzeiger*. During the same period he revised thirteen successive editions of Scherer's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. Yet this constant and exacting editorial work did not prevent him from producing over fifteen hundred articles and reviews. His activities ranged over the whole field of the Germanic languages from the earliest period down to the late nineteenth century; he wrote on history, on place-names and on personal names, on coins, folk-lore, and mythology, on grammar, metrics, and lexicography, as well as on a vast number of literary and linguistic themes.

Professor Schroder's many friends in England will join with his colleagues and pupils in Germany in the good wishes which accompany this admirably compiled bibliography.

J. W.

Dr August Hoyler's *Gentleman-Ideal und Gentleman-Erziehung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Renaissance (Erziehungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Studien zur Problemgeschichte der Pädagogik)*. Herausg. v. A. Fischer, O. Kroh, u. P. Luchtenberg. Leipzig: Felix Meiner. 1933. xi + 223 pp. 8 M. 80) is the first of a new series of studies in the History of Education. Sixteenth-century England is shown to afford a striking example of that prolonged phase in the history of civilisation when the man of good family was the acknowledged controlling force in culture, politics and religion. Having examined the process whereby the revival of learning modified the mediæval *Ritterideal* into the sixteenth-century 'courtier-' or 'governor-ideal,' and determined the value of this combination of Soldier, Scholar and Statesman to the general welfare of the people, Dr Hoyler reviews the efforts of renaissance educationists to fit the gentleman for his responsible position. Treating his subject from the point of view of the modern educationist, and concerning himself with ideals rather than with actualities, he does not embark on any detailed historical analysis of the practical success or failure of the theories he describes. Dr Hoyler has found ample evidence on which to base his conclusions in the more outstanding members of the large body of literature devoted to the fashioning of a noble person in virtuous or gentle discipline, particular attention being paid to Castiglione's *Courtier*, Elyot's *Governour* and Ascham's *Scholemaster*, which are taken to repre-

sent the æsthetic, political and scholarly aspects of sixteenth-century educational theory. The student of literature cannot fail to find much to interest him in this able exposition of the system that helped to form that constant theme of speculation, the 'Elizabethan Mind.'

M. C. P.

Dr W. R. Hicks' well-documented study of *The School in English and German Fiction* (London: Soncino Press. 1933. xiv+138 pp. 6s.) was originally submitted in dissertation form to the University of Erlangen and is restricted to boys' secondary schools, both day and boarding. The book is mainly based on material collected during a fairly long residence in Germany and is divided into two parts, each with a useful chapter describing the background in England and Germany respectively. It is strange that the German boarding school has more space devoted to it than the State day school, which would seem to be more important both in fiction and fact. This arrangement of his sources has led Dr Hicks to dismiss Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* too briefly. It would have been well to point out that the school described in this 'Patrizier- und Kaufmannsroman' was becoming more suitable for the sons of officials than for the heirs of old Hanseatic families. The author apologises unnecessarily for his 'aridities.' It is, however, true that some of William Howitt's vigorous remarks on German schools might have been added and that some appropriate quotations from K. Ph. Moritz' *Anton Reiser* would have been welcome. Two sentences in Dr Hicks' concluding section show clearly the differences between the novels dealing with English and German schools. 'The German novel, owing to its literary ancestry (*Bildungsroman*, *Entwicklungsroman*), is in part self-confession, in part a study of child psychology. The English novel, whose ancestor is *Tom Brown* rather than *Tom Jones*, finds a ready-made setting in a concrete institution made palatable by tradition, and in spite of recent tendencies is still essentially narrative and descriptive.'

H. G. W.

In his article *Der Gott Lobbonus* (K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundets in Lund Årsberättelse 1932-3, vi. Lund: Gleerup. 1933. 11 pp.) Ivar Lindquist discusses the etymology of the name *Lobbon(n)us* mentioned in Latin inscriptions found in Utrecht in December, 1929. These were interpreted by C. W. Vollgraff, with the help of A. G. van Hamel in Germanic and Celtic matters, in the following year in an article published in the *Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*. A second article by Vollgraff with some omissions but with some fresh material appeared in *Mnemosyne, Nova Ser.*, vol. LIX, 1932, under the title of *Inscriptiones Traiectenses*. Vollgraff is inclined from the form of the letters to assign the inscriptions to the third century A.D. The deity *Lobbon(n)us*, who occurs in the inscriptions with other gods both Germanic and Celtic, is mentioned six times on stone A and eight times on stone B. His name, however, is given twice only in full, on stone A 2: *genio s[ancto] Lobbonno, deo B[ata]b[orum]*, and on

stone A 8: *d[eo] B[ata]b[orum] Lobbono*. In every form of the name, however, we have *-bb-*, which Lindquist, in opposition to van Hamel, considers to be a mere graphical variant of *-b-*, supporting his opinion by examples given on p. 3 of his article.

The etymology of *Lobbon(n)us* causes Lindquist more difficulty. He first suggests 'eine echt batavisch-germanische Ausspracheform' **Loḃōnaz* or possibly **Luḃōnaz*, with which he connects the name of the Icelandic goddess, *Lofn*. After a lengthy discussion of the formation of the second syllable of *Lobbon(n)us* it occurred to Lindquist that it would be better to abandon the Germanic origin in favour of a Celtic form **Luḃōno*. His concluding sentences are worth quoting in full: 'Drittens würde Zusammenhang bestehen, einerseits mit keltischen Götternamen vom Typus *Epōna*, andererseits mit mittellat. *co-lba* "Liebe." Solch eine Annahme würde jedoch natürlich nicht hindern, dass meine obige Auseinandersetzung im Wesentlichen zu Recht bestünde. Die Nationalität ist in diesem batavischen Grenzbezirk wirklich eine untergeordnete Frage.' In spite of Lindquist's indifference it appears that a further discussion of the etymology of the god's name by a Celtic scholar would be welcome.

H. G. W.

M. Fernand Mossé has translated *La Saga de Grettir* (Paris: Editions Montaigne, Fernand Aubier. 1933. lxxvi+272 pp. 30 fr.) and written his introduction for those who are inexpert in Old Norse, but this does not mean that his book is unscholarly. The introduction alone, in fact, makes it valuable, by reason of the explanation of the background of life and thought and the clarity with which the problems of text and story are set forth and debated. The bibliography, again, is useful to the student as well as to the general reader. The translation follows the text of Boer, but M. Mossé follows Dasent's plan of relegating some of the genealogies to footnotes, and he does not attempt an exactly literal or a verse translation of the stanzas. He sometimes, however, translates a kenning literally with a footnote (e.g., pp. 45 and 52), and he also adds brief footnotes to the prose to explain customs and plays upon words. The translation, as far as a foreigner may be allowed to pronounce upon it, is easy and graceful, as well as correct. Nicknames are translated, where that can be done with some certainty—Onund Jambe-de-bois, Helgi le Maigre, Olaf le Paon. It is more questionable that M. Mossé should also have translated some of the place-names: as he says, they would be entirely incomprehensible if kept in their original form, and it is true that translation often makes the lie of the land clearer; but for a reader who likes to use maps a list of the translated names with their original forms would have been useful. That is, however, a small complaint to make against a book which successfully caters both for the amateur of Old Norse and for the lover of good stories.

E. C. B.

In Old Icelandic Literature, a bibliographical essay (Islandica, vol. xxiii. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; London: H. Milford. 1933.

50 pp. 5s.) Professor Halldór Hermannsson has added to his well-known series another annual relating to Iceland. In vol. XIX the author dealt with manuscripts; in the present volume, which unfortunately lacks both a list of contents and an index, he gives us the history of old Icelandic literature during the age of printing. The inclusion of a list of translations from Icelandic into other languages, of which French has a respectable number in comparison with the other Romance tongues, is most helpful; but a selected summary of reviews to indicate the popularity of these translations might well have been added. The material on editing and translating is arranged according to countries. In section 7 relating to England the opening statement that it was a mere accident that an Icelandic text was printed in England in the seventeenth century is not just. In the second half of the seventeenth century there was in England much interest in Iceland and Icelandic. Sir Thomas Browne corresponded for several years with an Icelandic minister and communicated some of the information contained in these letters to his London friends. Browne too had some knowledge of the language. His son, Edward, recorded in his diary the visit 'of the Bishop's son of Skalhault in Islande,' Feb. 9, 1663/4 (cp. S. Wilkin, *Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, I, p. 49, and E. Gosse, *Sir Thomas Browne*, pp. 146-7). Moreover, if one may judge from early eighteenth-century auction catalogues, seventeenth-century scholars were much interested in Icelandic and kindred matters.

In the account of Gudbrand Vigfusson (p. 27) the references made in the Grimm Centenary volume (1886) to this scholar's early published works in his interview with Jacob Grimm in 1859 might have been given (*Prologue in Berlin*, pp. 2-3). On p. 30 in section 7 there is a proper expression of regret that W. P. Ker never undertook the translation of any Icelandic work. The brief renderings in his *Epic and Romance* and elsewhere do not contain the archaisms which disturb in reading William Morris's translations. Hermannsson has unfortunately omitted to mention Miss B. H. Barmby's translations published posthumously in 1900 in a volume containing her play *Gísli Súrsson*, with a valuable preface by York Powell.

One of the best sections in this work deals with illustrations in which regret is expressed that no Icelanders have assisted with their local knowledge (p. 41). In the Epilogue (pp. 42-50) Hermannsson has much to say on the future of Icelandic studies. He thinks that the editing of old texts has been done in a haphazard way and also points out that many writings have not yet been edited. With the suggestions that there should be an adequate history of Iceland and that the Icelanders should publish a collection of their popular idioms before the wireless and other inventions have made it too late, Hermannsson concludes his pleasant volume.

H. G. W.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

April—June 1934

With the collaboration of Dr MARY S. SERJEANTSON (English).

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Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1, 1933. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade.

French.

(Place of publication is Paris, unless otherwise stated.)

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